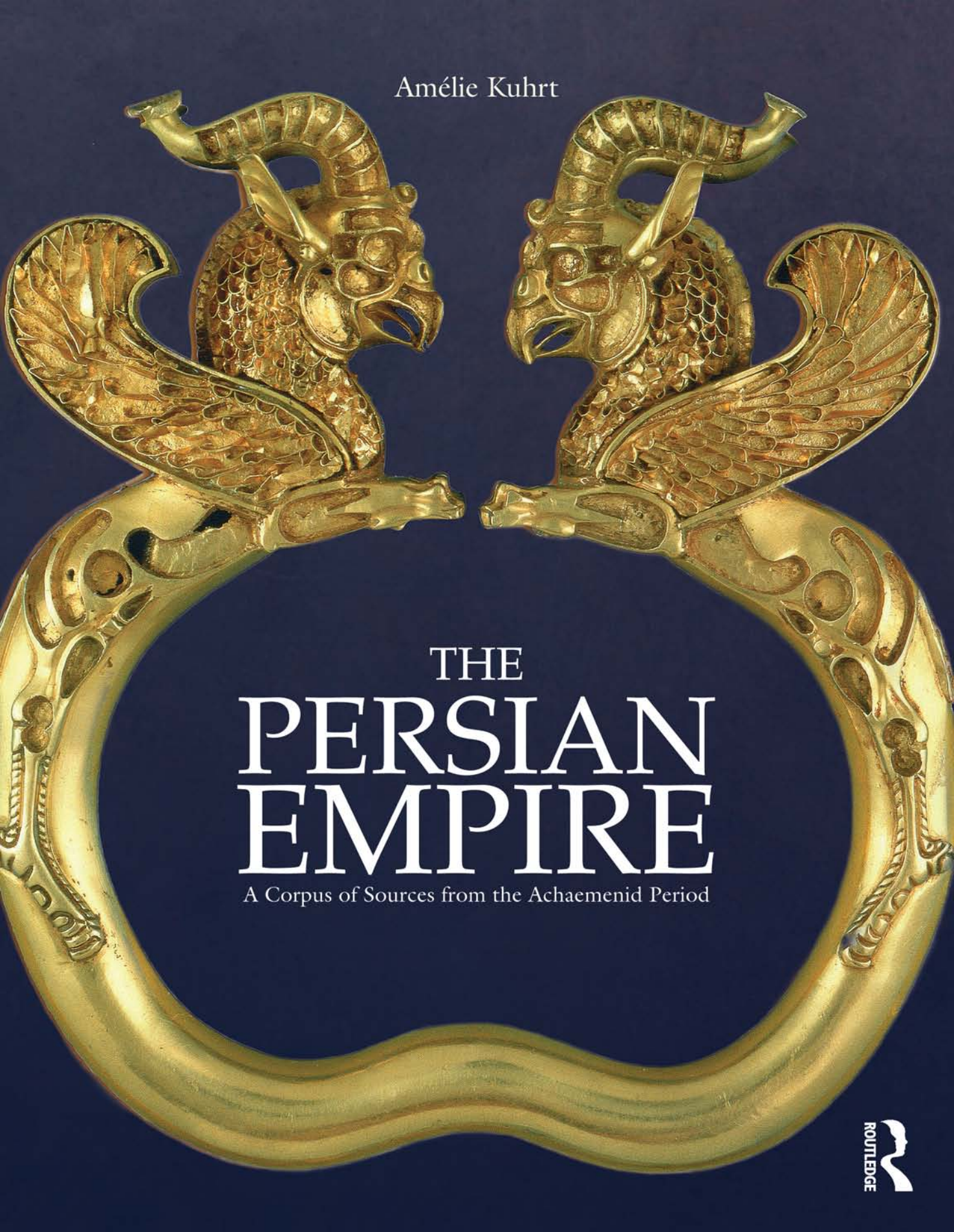


Amélie Kuhrt



THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period

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THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period

This lavish volume contains the most complete collection of raw material for reconstructing the history of the Achaemenid Persian empire in existence.

The Achaemenid dynasty (550–330 BC) ruled over the first and largest ‘world empire’ in history: the Persian empire extended from Central Asia in the east to the Jews and Greeks in the west, with fingers of control in the fringes of the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere. Its sheer size was a factor in its destruction by Alexander the Great, yet long after its dismemberment its influence can be seen in the development of Judaism, the Old Testament of the Bible, and the formation of classical Greece.

Studying Achaemenid history has therefore been difficult in the past because original sources include texts from hugely disparate origins, many different languages and various periods in history; the risk is to rely too heavily on prejudiced and often inaccurate Greek and Roman sources.

Amélie Kuhrt presents here an unprecedented collection of key texts to form a complete and balanced representation of all aspects of the empire, in her own translations from their original Greek, Old Persian, Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic, Egyptian or Latin.

Kuhrt selects from classical writers, the Old Testament, royal inscriptions, administrative documents and Babylonian historical writing, as well as examining evidence from archaeological sites. All material is accompanied by a detailed introduction to the sources and guidelines to their interpretation.

A truly monumental achievement, this collection will prove to be the ultimate resource for any student of Persian history, from undergraduate level to the most advanced scholar.

Amélie Kuhrt is an Ancient Historian specialising in the Middle East, particularly the history of Mesopotamia and Iran in the first millennium BC. She is Professor of Ancient Near Eastern History at University College London and fellow of the British Academy.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

Amélie Kuhrt

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OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

List of illustrations	xlvi
Preface and acknowledgements	1
Introduction	1
1 The sources	6
PART I	
Prehistory and formation of the empire (c.750–520)	17
2 The Medes	19
3 Cyrus the Great	47
4 The reign of Cambyses	104
5 From Cambyses to Darius I	135
PART II	
Achaemenid history and its problems	179
6 The empire under Darius I: expansion, revolt, consolidation	181
7 The reign of Xerxes	238
8 From Artaxerxes I to the last years of Darius II (465–405)	310
9 Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III (405–338)	347
10 The fall of the Achaemenid empire (338–330)	418

OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

PART III	
Kings and kingship	467
11 Images of empire, visions of majesty and the divine framework	469
12 The organisation of the court	576
13 Mechanisms of power	620
 PART IV	
Achaemenid imperial organisation	667
14 Tribute, tax, imposts	669
15 Routes and communication networks	730
16 Bureaucracy, production, settlement	763
17 Unity and diversity	826
 Tables	879
Index of texts	890
List of abbreviations	910
Bibliography	919
General index	953

CONTENTS

List of illustrations	xlvi
Preface and acknowledgements	1
Introduction	1
(a) The physical environment	2
(b) The political situation preceding the Persian empire	4
1 The sources	6
(a) Classical writers	6
(b) Old Testament books	10
(c) Royal inscriptions	10
(d) Administrative documents	11
(e) Archaeological sites	13
(f) Implications	14
PART I	
Prehistory and formation of the empire (c.750–520)	17
2 The Medes	19
Introduction	19
2.A. The official Assyrian presentation of the Medes	22
1. Tiglath-pileser III (745–727)	22
(i) Year 2 (744) (Tadmor 1994, Iran Stele IB, 5'–14')	22
(ii) Year 9 (737) (Tadmor 1994, Iran Stele IIB, 25'–44')	22
2. Sargon II (722–705)	24
(i) Year 6 (716) (Levine 1972, Najafehebad Stela, 46–71)	24
(ii) Year 7 (715) (Lie 1929, Sargon Annals, 114–16)	25
(iii) Year 8 (714) (TCL 3, Sargon's 8th Campaign, 38–51)	25
(iv) Year 9 (713) (Lie 1929, Sargon Annals, 191–4)	25

CONTENTS

3. Sennacherib (705–681), Year 2 (703) (Luckenbill 1924, Bellino Cylinder, p.60, l.33)	26
4. Esarhaddon (681–669), Year 5? (676?) (Borger 1956, Nineveh A–F, Ep.15–16)	26
5. Ashurbanipal (669–c.630), c.658 (Piepkorn 1933, Prism B, iv 3–8)	27
2.B. Assyro–Median relations in the central Zagros as revealed by Assyrian queries to the Sun God (reign of Esarhaddon 681–669)	27
6. Kashtaritu of Karkashshi forms an alliance against Assyria (SAA 4, no.43)	27
7. Kashtaritu makes peace overtures to the Assyrians (SAA 4, nos.56–7)	28
8. The Assyrians plan an attack on Kashtaritu (SAA 4, no.62)	28
9. Assyrian tribute-gathering in Media (SAA 4, no.64)	29
2.C. The Medes and the fall of Assyria	30
10. Babylonians and Medes victorious over Assyria (ABC, no.3)	30
11. Median destruction of sanctuaries during the war against Assyria (VAB 4, Nbn.8)	33
2.D. The Scythians in the Zagros	33
12. Peace negotiations between Assyria and the Scythians (SAA 4, no.20)	33
2.E. Later writers on the Medes	34
13. Herodotus’ view of the development of Median kingship (Hdt. I, 96–101)	34
14. The successors of Deiokes and the Median struggle against Assyria (Hdt. I, 102–7)	35
15. The Lydo–Median conflict (Hdt. I, 73–4)	38
16. Ctesias’ story of the fall of Assyria to the Medes (FGrH 688 F1b)	39
17. The Median dynasty according to Ctesias (FGrH 688 F5)	43
18. Relations between the Babylonian and Median king according to a late Babylonian writer	44
(i) Nabopolassar and Astyages (FGrH 680 F8b)	44
(ii) Nebuchadnezzar and the Median princess (FGrH 680 F9a)	44
19. Life at the Median court according to Xenophon	45
(i) Court dress (Xen. Cyrop. I, 3.2–3)	45
(ii) Eating, drinking and audience at court (Xen. Cyrop. I, 3.4)	45
3 Cyrus the Great	47
Introduction	47
3.A. The expansion of Persia under Cyrus II	50
1. Cyrus’ defeat of the Medes and his conquest of Babylonia (ABC, no.7)	50

CONTENTS

3.B.	Persia before Cyrus II	53
	2. A 'Persian' hostage at the Assyrian court? (Weidner 1931–2, Nassouhi Prism, ll.7–13)	53
	3. Inscription on cylinder seal of Cyrus I (PFS 93*)	54
	4. Transactions in the Palace of Susa (MDP 9, no.34)	55
	5. The Persian tribes (Hdt. I, 125)	55
3.C.	Cyrus defeats Astyages, king of the Medes	56
	6. Nabonidus' vision of Cyrus' war against the Medes (VAB 4, Nbn.1)	56
	7. Herodotus' story of Cyrus' defeat of Astyages (Hdt. I, 127–8; 130)	57
	8. Ctesias' story of Cyrus' defeat of Astyages and its consequences (FGrH 688 F9 (1–3))	58
	9. The further fate of Astyages (Justin I, 6.16)	59
	10. The death of Astyages (FGrH 688 F9(6))	59
	11. Cyrus' take-over of Median power according to Xenophon (Xen. Cyrop. VIII, 5.17–20)	60
3.D.	Cyrus' conquest of Lydia and western Asia Minor	60
	(a) Herodotus' version of the fall of Lydia	60
	12. Croesus plans to make war on Cyrus (Hdt. I, 53–4)	60
	13. Croesus attacks Cyrus (Hdt. I, 73; 75–7)	61
	14. Croesus defeated and Sardis besieged (Hdt. I, 79–81)	62
	15. The fall of Sardis (Hdt. I, 84)	63
	16. The Persians in Sardis and the fate of Croesus (Hdt. I, 85–8)	64
	(b) Greek images of Croesus' fate preceding Herodotus	65
	17. The fate of Croesus recalled by the poet Bacchylides (Maehler 1982/1997, F3)	65
	(c) Ctesias' version of the Lydian conquest	67
	18. The capture of Sardis (FGrH 688 F9(4))	67
	19. Croesus' miraculous delivery (FGrH 688 F9(5))	68
	(d) Aftermath	68
	20. The consolidation of the Lydian conquest (Hdt. I, 141; 153.3–154; 156.2–157; 160.1–4; 161–3.1; 168–9; 171.1)	68
3.E.	The Persian conquest of Babylonia	70
	(a) The Babylonian evidence	70
	21. Marduk leads Cyrus into Babylon (Weissbach 1911+ BIN 2, no.32)	70
	22. Cyrus' activities in Babylonian cities	74
	(i) Uruk (Weissbach 1911: 8–9; Walker 1981, no.115)	74
	(ii) Ur (UET 1, no.194)	75

CONTENTS

(iii) Cyrus acknowledges the help of Sin of Ur in his conquest(?) (UET 1, no.307)	75
23. A poetic condemnation of Nabonidus and paeon in praise of Cyrus (BHT, 83–91)	75
24. Cyrus' rule in Babylonia in 'prophetic' perspective (BHLT, 28; 32–3)	80
25. Berossus' account of Cyrus' Babylonian conquest (FGrH 680 F10a)	81
(b) Old Testament writers and the Persian conquest of Babylon	82
26. Yahweh chooses Cyrus as ruler of the world (Isaiah 41; 42; 44–45)	82
27. Cyrus' decree sanctioning restoration of the Jerusalem temple (Ezra 6.2–5)	84
(c) A Greek version	85
28. Herodotus' account (Hdt. I, 177–8; 188–92)	85
3.F. Pasargadae, the city of Cyrus	87
29. The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae (Arr. Anab. VI, 29.4–7)	87
3.G. Legends of Cyrus	92
(a) Family, birth, childhood and rise to power	92
30. Herodotus' story of Cyrus' origins and birth (Hdt. I, 95; 107–13)	92
31. Cyrus restored to his parents (Hdt. I, 114–23)	94
32. Cyrus' family and youth according to Ctesias (FGrH 90 F66(1–7))	97
33. Cyrus' family according to Xenophon (Xen. Cyrop. I, 2.1–3.2)	98
(b) The death of Cyrus	99
34. Herodotus' moralising tale of Cyrus' death among the nomads (Hdt. I, 201; 205–6; 208; 211–14)	99
35. Cyrus' death in the east according to Ctesias (FGrH 688 F9(7–8))	101
36. Xenophon's picture: Cyrus dies at home surrounded by his family and officials (Xen. Cyrop. VIII, 7)	102
37. Cyrus' reputation (Hdt. III, 160)	103
4 The reign of Cambyses	104
Introduction	104
4.A. The accession of Cambyses	106
1. Cambyses' parentage (Hdt. II, 1)	106
2. Cambyses' accession and his courtiers (FGrH 688 F13(9))	107
4.B. Explanations for Cambyses' Egyptian campaign	107
3. A Persian story (Hdt. III, 1)	107
4. The Egyptian version (Hdt. III, 2)	108

CONTENTS

5. A variant of the Persian story (Hdt. III, 3)	109
6. Further variants on the story (FGrH 688 F13a)	109
4.C. The conquest of Egypt: the Greek accounts	110
7. The Persian preparations	110
(i) Obtaining inside information (Hdt. III, 4)	110
(ii) Planning the crossing of the Sinai desert (Hdt. III, 9)	110
(iii) Gathering individual ships (Hdt. III, 44)	110
(iv) Manning the fleet (Hdt. III, 19)	112
8. The fall of Egypt (Hdt. III, 10–11; 13)	112
9. The fate of the Egyptian king	113
(i) Herodotus' story (Hdt. III, 14–15)	113
(ii) Ctesias' version (FGrH 688 F13(10))	114
10. Campaigns to consolidate frontiers	115
(i) Nubia and the western desert (Hdt. III, 17; 20–1; 25–6)	115
(ii) Cambyses reaches Meroë (Strabo XVII, 1.5)	116
(iii) Cambyses introduces Nubian fruit-trees to Egypt (D.S. I, 34.7)	116
4.D. Cambyses' conquest of Egypt: the Egyptian evidence	117
11. The autobiography of Udjahorresne(t) (Posener 1936, no.1)	117
12. Epitaph of Apis bull from Cambyses' sixth year (Posener 1936, no.3)	122
13. Cambyses' inscription on the Apis sarcophagus (Posener 1936, no.4)	124
14. Regulations on the verso of the Demotic Chronicle (BN 215, rev.C–D)	124
15. Seal from the Egyptian administration under Cambyses (Coll. Golénischeff, no.992)	127
4.E. The north-western frontier in Cambyses' reign	127
16. The Persians curtail the power of Samos (Hdt. III, 120–5)	127
4.F. Cambyses' reputation	129
(a) Offences against Egyptian traditions and cults	129
17. The maltreatment of Amasis' mummy (Hdt. III, 16)	129
18. The affair of the Apis bull (Hdt. III, 27–9)	130
19. More sacrileges against Egyptian cults (Hdt. III, 37)	131
(b) Cambyses' cruel treatment of his wife, courtiers and officials	131
20. Cambyses kills his sister (Hdt. III, 32)	131
21. Cambyses' murder of a Persian courtier's son (Hdt. III, 34–5)	132
22. Cambyses abuses Persian nobles and turns against Croesus (Hdt. III, 35–6)	133

CONTENTS

(c)	A harsh but just ruler	133
23.	Cambyses' punishment of a corrupt judge (Hdt. V, 25)	133
5	From Cambyses to Darius I	135
	Introduction (with Appendix on the chronology of Darius I's accession)	135
5.A.	The official Persian perspective	141
1.	Darius' account of his seizure of the throne (DB)	141
5.B.	Cambyses and Bardiya according to Graeco-Roman writers	158
2.	Bardiya: the blot on the Achaemenid escutcheon (Aeschylus, <i>Persians</i> , 765–79)	158
3.	The murder of Bardiya (Smerdis): Herodotus' version (Hdt. III, 30)	159
4.	Bardiya's revolt and Cambyses' death according to Herodotus (Hdt. III, 61–8)	160
5.	Ctesias' story of how Cambyses murdered his brother, died and a magus acceded to the throne (FGrH 688 F13(11–15))	163
6.	Cambyses and Bardiya according to Justin (Justin I, 9.4–13)	165
5.C.	The unmasking and killing of the pretender	165
7.	The imposture discovered and the magus denounced (Hdt. III, 68–9; 74–5)	165
8.	The magus publicly exposed (FGrH 688 F13(15))	167
9.	The seven noble conspirators and the killing of the impostor (Hdt. III, 70–3; 76–9)	167
10.	Another version of the magus' assassination (FGrH 688 F13(16))	170
11.	The seven conspirators agree privileges among themselves (Hdt. III, 83–4)	170
5.D.	Darius becomes king	171
12.	Cyrus the Great dreams of Darius' future kingship (Hdt. I, 209–10)	171
13.	Darius wins the kingship (Hdt. III, 84–8)	172
5.E.	Consolidating Darius' kingship	173
14.	Darius' marriages (Hdt. III, 88)	173
15.	The elimination of Oroites (Hdt. III, 126–8)	173
16.	The Intaphernes incident (Hdt. III, 118–19)	175
17.	The removal of Aryandes (Hdt. IV, 166)	175
18.	A new foundation legend? (Ael., NA 12.21)	176
19.	Cyrus the Great inscribed into Darius' lineage (CMa; CMb; CMc)	177

CONTENTS

PART II

Achaemenid history and its problems	179
6 The empire under Darius I: expansion, revolt, consolidation	181
Introduction	181
6.A. Darius renews and develops the imperial strategy	185
1. Persian reconnaissance in Greece (Hdt. III, 135–6; 138)	185
2. Samos becomes a Persian client principality (Hdt. III, 139–47; 149)	186
3. The conquest of north-western India (Hdt. IV, 44)	188
4. Reassertion of Persian control along the south-western front (Hdt. IV, 165; 167; 200–4)	189
6.B. The Scythian expedition	193
(a) Reasons for the Scythian campaign	193
5. Revenge for earlier invasion (Hdt. IV, 1)	193
6. Punishment for an insult (Justin II, 5.9)	194
7. Follow-up to preliminary reconnaissance (FGrH 688 F13(20))	194
(b) Darius' preparations	195
8. Gathering the forces (Hdt. IV, 83; 85; 87)	195
(c) Persian and Scythian strategies	196
9. The Persian advance by land and sea (Hdt. IV, 89; 91–3; 97–8)	196
10. The Scythian response (Hdt. IV, 102; 120–8)	197
11. A Scythian challenge to the Persians (Hdt. IV, 131–3)	199
(d) The outcome of the expedition	200
12. Darius' withdrawal (Hdt. IV, 133–8; 140–3)	200
13. An abbreviated story of Darius' expedition (FGrH 688 F13(21))	202
14. Punitive measures for non-cooperation (Hdt. V, 27)	203
15. Repercussions of the Scythian campaign (Hdt. VI, 40)	203
16. The Danube as Persia's frontier (Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 36.4)	203
6.C. The Persians establish themselves in Thrace	205
(a) Establishing Persian power	205
17. Megabazus enforces Persian control over the Hellespont and Thrace (Hdt. IV, 144; V, 1–2)	205
18. The Paeonians deported (Hdt. V, 14–15; 17; 98)	205
19. Macedon accepts Persian overlordship (Hdt. V, 17–18; 21–2)	206
20. Otanes replaces Megabazus (Hdt. V, 25–6)	206
21. Reassertion of the Persian grip after the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. VI, 43–5)	207

CONTENTS

(b) The strategic importance and resources of Thrace	207
22. Raw materials and manpower (Hdt. V, 11; 23)	207
23. Precious metal deposits in Thrace	208
(i) The gold of Thasos (Hdt. VI, 46–7)	208
(ii) The mines of Mount Pangaeus (Hdt. VII, 112)	208
(c) The nature of Achaemenid power in Thrace and its wider impact	209
24. The client kingdom of Macedon (Justin VII, 4.1–2)	209
25. Persian depots and forts in Thrace (Hdt. VII, 25; 59; 105)	209
26. Thracian tribute (Hdt. VII, 108)	210
27. The limits of Megabazus' conquest (Hdt. V, 16)	210
28. The Satrae escape Persian control (Hdt. VII, 110–11)	210
29. Local links with the Persian court (Thuc. VI, 59)	210
30. Athens seeks an alliance with Persia (Hdt. V, 73)	211
6.D. The Ionian Revolt (499/8–493)	211
(a) The beginnings of the revolt (499–7)	211
31. The Naxos debacle (Hdt. V, 28; 30–4)	211
32. The decision to revolt (Hdt. V, 35–8)	213
33. The Ionian rebels appeal for help in Sparta (Hdt. V, 49–51)	215
34. Aristagoras is promised help by Athens and Eretria (Hdt. V, 55; 96–7; 99)	216
35. The burning of Sardis (Hdt. V, 100–2)	217
36. Extension of the revolt (498/7) (Hdt. V, 103–5)	218
(b) The Persian response (498/7–494/3)	219
37. Persian action in Cyprus (Hdt. V, 108–16)	219
38. Persian action in Ionia (Hdt. V, 117–23)	220
39. The flight of Aristagoras (Hdt. V, 124)	222
(c) The Persian victory	223
40. Histiaeus' arrival in Sardis (496?) (Hdt. VI, 1–6)	223
41. High-level reconnaissance preceding the final Persian offensive? (PF-NN 1809)	224
42. The Persian fleet delayed at Lindos? (FGrH 532, I)	224
43. The Battle of Lade (494) (Hdt. VI, 6–11)	225
44. The fall of Miletus (494) (Hdt. VI, 18–22)	226
(d) The aftermath of the revolt	227
45. Reinstatement of the ruler of Samos (Hdt. VI, 25)	227
46. Capture and execution of Histiaeus (Hdt. VI, 26; 28–30)	227
47. Reconquest and reprisals (493) (Hdt. VI, 31–3)	228
48. Miltiades, tyrant in the Chersonese, is forced to flee (493) (Hdt. VI, 41.1–2)	229
49. The Persians reorganise affairs in Ionia (493–2) (Hdt. VI, 42–3)	230

CONTENTS

6.E.	The extension of Persian power in the Aegean	231
50.	Persian control extended westwards (491) (Hdt. VI, 48–9)	231
51.	Preparations for a campaign in the Aegean (Hdt. VI, 94–5)	231
52.	The capture of Naxos (Hdt. VI, 96)	232
53.	Persia establishes control over the islands (Hdt. VI, 98–101)	232
54.	Persian patronage of Greek shrines	233
(i)	The Persian commander makes offerings on Delos (Hdt. VI, 97)	233
(ii)	The Persians restore a looted statue of Apollo (Hdt. VI, 118)	233
55.	The Persians receive expert advice for their campaign against Athens (Hdt. VI, 102; 107)	234
56.	Datis' army defeated at Marathon (490) (Hdt. VI, 112–13; 115–16)	234
57.	The Eretrian captives resettled (Hdt. VI, 119)	235
58.	A summary of the Aegean campaign (FGrH 688 F13(22))	236
6.F.	The end of Darius' reign	236
59.	Darius' last years (Hdt. VII, 1; 4)	236
60.	Darius' mortal illness (FGrH 688 F13(23))	237
7	The reign of Xerxes	238
	Introduction	238
7.A.	The succession to Darius	244
1.	Darius' choice of successor (XPf)	244
2.	Darius' sons compete for the succession (Hdt. VII, 2–3)	245
3.	Darius' sons dispute the succession after his death (Justin II, 10.1–10)	246
4.	Xerxes' court and family (FGrH 688 F13(24))	246
5.	Xerxes' suitability to rule (Hdt. VII, 187)	247
7.B.	Revolts in Egypt and Babylonia	248
6.	The Egyptian revolt suppressed (Hdt. VII, 5; 7)	248
7.	Revolt in Babylonia (FGrH 688 F13(26))	248
8.	A possible reprisal for Babylon's revolt? (Hdt. I, 183)	249
7.C.	The Greek campaign	250
(a)	The planning of the campaign	250
9.	The decision to invade (Hdt. VII, 5–6)	250
10.	Gathering the Persian forces (Hdt. VII, 8; 19; 21)	251
11.	Securing the route for the army and the fleet (Hdt. VII, 22; 24)	251
12.	Bridging the Hellespont (Hdt. VII, 33–5)	252
13.	Xerxes requests the Greeks to surrender (Hdt. VII, 32)	253
14.	The Greek response to Xerxes' request (Hdt. VII, 131–3)	253
15.	All of Thessaly joins the Persians (Hdt. VII, 172; 174)	253
16.	Many Greeks are tempted to surrender (Hdt. VII, 138)	254

CONTENTS

(b) The march to Greece	254
17. The contingents gather to set forth (Hdt. VII, 26)	254
18. Xerxes reaches Sardis (Hdt. VII, 31)	256
19. Xerxes honours the gods and heroes of Troy (Hdt. VII, 43)	256
20. The crossing of the Hellespont (Hdt. VII, 55)	256
21. The fleet arrives at Doriscus (Hdt. VII, 58–9)	257
22. The march through Thrace (Hdt. VII, 115)	257
23. Xerxes honours Acanthus for its support (Hdt. VII, 116–17)	258
24. The order of marching and the fleet sent ahead (Hdt. VII, 121–2; 124; 127)	258
(c) The Persians advance into central Greece	259
25. Persian and Greek forces move into position (Hdt. VII, 177; 179; 183)	259
26. Part of the Persian fleet destroyed in a storm (Hdt. VII, 188; 190–2)	259
27. Persian ships captured by Greeks (Hdt. VII, 192–5)	260
28. Xerxes moves through Thessaly and Achaëa (Hdt. VII, 196–7)	261
29. Persian and Greek forces confront each other at Thermopylae (Hdt. VII, 201; 207; 210–12)	261
30. The Persians circumvent the Pass of Thermopylae (Hdt. VII, 213; 215; 217–18)	262
31. The final Persian assault and victory (Hdt. VII, 223–5; 233)	263
32. The Greek and Persian fleets face and engage each other (Hdt. VIII, 4; 6–7; 10).	264
33. The Persian fleet victorious against the Greeks (Hdt. VIII, 15–16; 18; 21)	265
(d) Persian successes and setbacks	266
34. The Persians conquer north Euboea (Hdt. VIII, 23)	266
35. Xerxes displays the corpses of the defeated (Hdt. VIII, 24–5)	266
36. Greek deserters supply information to the Persian army (Hdt. VIII, 26)	267
37. The Persian advance through Doris and Phocis (Hdt. VIII, 31–2)	267
38. Boeotia joins the Persians (Hdt. VIII, 34)	268
39. The Greeks withdraw to the Peloponnese and Attica is evacuated (Hdt. VIII, 40–1)	268
40. Athens falls to the Persians (Hdt. VIII, 51–3)	268
41. News of the Persian victory relayed to the royal centre (Hdt. VIII, 54)	269
42. Xerxes' fleet and more troops arrive in Attica (Hdt. VIII, 66–7)	270
43. A later account of the Battle of Salamis (D.S. XI, 17–19)	270
(e) Xerxes returns to Sardis	272
44. Xerxes' directions (Hdt. VIII, 107)	272
45. Mardonius prepares for another offensive in spring (Hdt. VIII, 113)	272
46. The march to the Hellespont (Hdt. VIII, 115)	273

CONTENTS

47. Xerxes sails to Ionia (Hdt. VIII, 118)	273
48. Abdera rewarded for its loyalty (Hdt. VIII, 120)	274
49. Persians encounter setbacks in Mygdonia and Thrace	274
(i) The sacred chariot lost (Hdt. VIII, 115)	274
(ii) Revolts in Chalcidice (Hdt. VIII, 126–7)	274
(f) The Greek campaign continued on two fronts	275
50. Greek attempts to compel islanders to join them (Hdt. VIII, 111–12)	275
51. Persian overtures to Athens (Hdt. VIII, 136; 140)	276
52. Stalemate in the Aegean (Hdt. VIII, 130–2)	277
53. The Athenians divided among themselves (Hdt. IX, 4–5)	278
54. Argos in league with the Persians (Hdt. IX, 12)	278
55. Mardonius withdraws to more advantageous terrain (Hdt. IX, 13)	279
56. Building the Persian camp at Plataea (Hdt. IX, 15)	279
57. The Persian cavalry charge (Hdt. IX, 20; 22–5)	279
58. The Persian commanders disagree on strategy (Hdt. IX, 41)	281
59. Mardonius' death (Hdt. IX, 62–3)	281
60. Artabazus withdraws his forces (Hdt. IX, 66; 89–90)	282
61. A sea-battle at Mycale (Hdt. IX, 90; 96–7; 99; 102)	284
7.D. Persian strategies and responses to the setback on the north-western front	286
(a) Maintaining royal prestige	286
62. The Persian response to news of the Greek battles (Hdt. VIII, 99–100)	286
63. A votive statue from Athens dedicated in Sardis (Plut. <i>Them.</i> 31.1)	286
64. A Persian vision of the Greek campaign? (Dio Chrysostom 11.149)	287
65. Booty from Greece distributed to imperial capitals (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> VII, 19.2)	287
(b) Greek attempts to follow up the Persian defeat	287
66. The Persians lose control of Sestos (Hdt. IX, 114–16; 118–19; 120)	287
67. The Greeks take Byzantium and cities in Cyprus (Thuc. I, 94.1)	289
68. Athens forms a league to pursue the struggle (Thuc. I, 96.1)	289
69. The impact of Persian booty (Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 9)	290
70. The Persians lose forts in Thrace (Hdt. VII, 106; 107)	290
71. Towns in Caria and Lycia surrender to Cimon (D.S. XI, 60.4)	291
72. A Lycian city tries to resist Cimon (Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 12.4)	291
73. An Athenian victory over the Persian forces on land and sea (466) (D.S. XI, 60.5–61.3)	292
74. A pact between the Athenians and the Persian king? (Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 13)	293
75. The Athenians in difficulties (Thuc. I, 100.2)	293
(c) Persian countermoves	293
76. Xerxes sets out for Iran after Mycale (D.S. XI, 36)	293
77. Xerxes' building at Celaenae (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 2.7–9)	294

CONTENTS

78. A Persian counterattack in Asia Minor? ((i) FGrH 688 F13(31); (ii) Paus. VIII, 46.3)	294
79. The Persians refit the navy (D.S. XI, 62.2)	296
80. Persia's hold on Cilicia reinforced (Hdt. IX, 107)	296
81. Pausanias ingratiates himself with Xerxes and the Persians reorganise Hellespontine Phrygia (Thuc. I, 128.2–131.1)	296
82. Loyal Greeks established as local lords in the Troad (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> III, 1.6)	298
83. Argos maintains its friendship with the Persian kings (Hdt. VII, 151)	300
7.E. Xerxes the guardian of Darius' heritage	300
84. Xerxes commemorates his father's work (XSa; XSd)	300
85. Xerxes continues his father's work (XPg)	300
86. Xerxes completes his father's plan (XV)	301
87. Xerxes and Darius: two sides of the same coin	301
(i) Father and son physically linked (XE)	301
(ii) Father and son in mirror image (DPb & XPk; DPb ^H /DPj & XPe ^b /XPP)	304
88. Xerxes restates and elaborates the imperial ideology (XPh)	304
89. Xerxes a worthy successor to his father in the eyes of a Jewish historian (Jos. <i>AJ</i> XI, 120)	306
7.F. From Xerxes to Artaxerxes I	306
90. Xerxes' death (BM 32234)	306
91. The beginning of Artaxerxes I's reign (<i>AP</i> 6)	307
92. Three stories about the assassination of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I's accession	307
(i) Ctesias' account (FGrH 688 F13(33); F14(34))	307
(ii) Diodorus' story (D.S. XI, 69)	307
(iii) Justin's version (Justin III, 1)	309
8 From Artaxerxes I to the last years of Darius II (465–405)	310
Introduction	310
8.A. Artaxerxes I (465–424/3)	314
(a) Artaxerxes I establishes his position	314
1. The new king's administrative arrangements (D.S. XI, 71.1–2)	314
2. A challenge to the throne in Bactria (FGrH 688 F14(35))	315
3. Court hierarchy and etiquette reformulated? (Plut. <i>Them.</i> 29.5; Plut. <i>Mor.</i> 565a)	315
4. The genealogy of Artaxerxes I (A ¹ I)	316
5. Artaxerxes completes his father's palace(s) at Persepolis	316
(i) Trilingual inscription from Palace H (A ¹ Pa)	316
(ii) Babylonian foundation text found in Hundred Column Hall (A ¹ Pb)	318

CONTENTS

(b) Egypt in revolt (464/3–454)	319
6. The course of the Egyptian rebellion as seen by a later historian (D.S. XI, 71.3–6; 74; 77.1–5)	319
7. The Egyptian revolt in Athenian perspective (Thuc. I, 104; 109–10)	321
8. Inscription of a Persian official in Upper Egypt (Posener 1936, no.31)	323
9. A Persian story of the Egyptian revolt and its outcome (FGrH 688 F14(36–9))	323
(c) Problems in the Levant	325
10. A revolt in the satrapy of Beyond-the-River? (FGrH 688 F14(40–2))	325
11. The Athenians make an attempt on Cyprus (451 or 450–449) (Thuc. I, 112)	326
(d) The Aegean front	326
12. Erythrae between Persia and Athens (ML, no.40)	326
13. A peace agreed between Persia and Athens? (450/449) (D.S. XII, 4.4–6)	327
14. The Persians exploit political rivalry on Samos (441/0) (Thuc. I, 115.2–5)	328
15. A noble Persian exile in Athens (FGrH 688 F14(45))	329
16. Sparta plans to enlist Persian help in the war against Athens (430) (Thuc. II, 67.1)	329
17. Colophonians call in Persian help (428/7) (Thuc. III, 34.1–2)	330
18. A Persian embassy to Sparta intercepted (424/3) (Thuc. IV, 50)	330
8.B. Darius II's reign (424/3–405)	331
(a) From Artaxerxes I to Darius II	331
19. Artaxerxes I's death and his offspring (424/3) (FGrH 688 F14(46); F15(47))	331
20. The struggle for the kingship (FGrH 688 F15(48–50))	332
21. The family and court of Darius II (FGrH 688 F15(51))	333
22. Darius' tenure of the throne threatened (FGrH 688 F15(52))	334
23. Darius II asserts the legitimacy of his kingship (D ² Sb; D ² Ha)	334
(b) The Asia Minor front	335
24. Peace between Athens and Persia, c.423?	335
(i) An orator recalls a pact between Athens and Persia (Andoc. On the Peace 29)	335
(ii) Herakleides honoured by Athens for his part in concluding a pact with Persia (ML, no.70)	336
25. Rebellion by the satrap of Sardis (FGrH 688 F15(53))	336
26. Persia intervenes in the Athens–Sparta conflict (Thuc. VIII, 5.4–6.3)	337
27. The first treaty between Sparta and Persia (summer 412) (Thuc. VIII, 18)	338
28. The rebel Amorges is taken (Thuc. VIII, 28.2–4)	338

CONTENTS

29. A Lycian dynast oversees an agreement between Tissaphernes and Sparta (TAM I, 44)	339
30. The satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia gains the help of the Spartans (411) (Thuc. VIII, 80.1–2)	341
31. Pharnabazus comes to terms with the Athenians (409/8?) (Xen. Hell. I, 3.8–9)	341
32. The arrival of Cyrus the Younger on the western front (408?) (Xen. Hell. I, 4.1–7)	342
33. Tissaphernes' strategy dismissed (Xen. Hell. I, 5.8–9)	343
(c) Problems in the imperial territories in the reign of Darius II	343
34. Unrest in Egypt (AD, 5)	343
35. Revolt in Media (Xen. Hell. I, 2.19)	345
36. Problems in southern Babylonia? (Stolper 1990a, no.6)	345
37. Darius campaigns in the northern mountains of Iran (Xen. Hell. II, 1.13)	345
9 Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III (405–338)	347
Introduction	347
9.A. The war of the brothers (405–401)	353
(a) The death of Darius II and Artaxerxes II's accession	353
1. Darius II's death (Xen. Anab. I, 1–2)	353
2. Uncertainty about the succession? (Plut. Arttox. 2.3–5)	354
3. Darius' last words (Athen. XII, 548e)	354
4. Cyrus summoned to court to explain his behaviour (Xen. Hell. II, 1.8–9)	354
5. A tale about Cyrus' attempt on the life of his brother (Plut. Arttox. 3.3–6)	356
(b) Cyrus' stealthy preparations for revolt	356
6. Cyrus gathers support (Xen. Anab. I, 1.4–6)	356
7. Cyrus builds up his army (Xen. Anab. I, 1.6–7; 9–11)	356
8. Sparta colludes with Cyrus but keeps its options open (D.S. XIV, 19.4–5; 21.1–2)	357
9. Cyrus sets out and Tissaphernes reports his suspicions to the king (Xen. Anab. I, 2.1; 2.4)	358
10. The Persian king receives an early warning of his brother's plans (D.S. XIV, 11.2–3)	358
11. Artaxerxes II orders a military commander to act against Cyrus (Xen. Anab. I, 6.6; 6.7)	359
(c) The fragility of Cyrus' support	359
12. Lycaonia refuses aid (Xen. Anab. I, 2.19)	359
13. A plot against Cyrus (Xen. Anab. I, 2.20)	360

CONTENTS

14. The Cilician dynast hedges his bets (D.S. XIV, 20.2–3)	360
15. A riot among the Greek mercenary force (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 3.1–2)	361
16. Cyrus and his mercenaries reach a compromise (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 3.20–1)	361
17. Two mercenary leaders defect (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 4.7)	361
18. The mercenaries bribed to ensure their support (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 4.11–13)	362
19. A traitor in Cyrus' camp (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 6.1–3)	362
(d) Artaxerxes II's countermoves	363
20. Defences in northern Babylonia (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 7.14–16)	363
21. Gathering the royal forces	363
(i) The call-up of troops from the Upper Satrapies (D.S. XIV, 22.1–2)	363
(ii) Royal reinforcements encounter the mercenaries (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 4.25)	364
(iii) The Persian army advances at Cunaxa (Plut. <i>Artax.</i> 7.4–6)	364
(e) Artaxerxes triumphant	364
22. Artaxerxes II proclaims his genealogical legitimacy (A ³ Sa + Mayrhofer 1978, 7.1)	364
23. Cyrus' Greek troops offer their services to Artaxerxes	365
(i) Some Greeks are tempted to serve the king (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 1.7–8; 1.14)	365
(ii) Clearchus offers his forces to help against unruly tribes and Egypt (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 5.13)	365
24. Artaxerxes rewards Tissaphernes (D.S. XIV, 26.4)	366
25. The commander of Cyrus' troops changes sides (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 4.1–2; 4.9)	366
26. The Greek commanders trapped and executed (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 5.31–3; 6.1)	367
27. Persian forces harass the Greeks (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> III, 4.14; 4.16)	367
9.B. Achaemenid strategy in Asia Minor and Greece, 400–386	367
(a) Persian action in the wake of Cyrus' defeat (400–396)	367
28. Tissaphernes tries to impose his control (D.S. XIV, 35.6–7)	367
29. A Spartan general recruits the remnants of Cyrus' mercenaries (400–399) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> III, 1.4–6)	368
30. Satrapal rivalries exploited by the Spartans (399/8) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> III, 1.9)	369
31. The Persian king appoints an Athenian to command the navy (398 or 397) (D.S. XIV, 39.1–4)	369
32. The Persian governors and Sparta try to reach an agreement (397?) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> III, 2.19–20)	370
33. The Spartans are told of Persia's naval preparations (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> III, 4.1)	370
34. Conon intercepts Spartan ships returning from Egypt (396) (D.S. XIV, 79.4–8)	370

CONTENTS

(b) A Spartan incursion into western Asia Minor (396–394)	371
35. Agesilaus despatched to Asia Minor (396) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> III, 4.2–6)	371
36. Persian intelligence for the Spartans (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> III, 4.10)	372
37. Battle near Sardis (spring 395) D.S. XIV, 80.1–5)	373
38. Artaxerxes' anger and the execution of Tissaphernes (Poly. VII, 16)	373
39. Agesilaus diverted to raid Hellespontine Phrygia and Paphlagonia (autumn 395) (<i>Hell.Oxy.</i> 21.1–3, 5–6; 22.1–3)	374
40. Spithridates and the Paphlagonians abandon Agesilaus (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> IV, 1.26–8)	376
(c) The Persians gain the upper hand (394–387/6)	377
41. Persian victory at Cnidus (394) (D.S. XIV, 83.4–7)	377
42. Persia ejects Spartan garrisons (394/3) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> IV, 8.1–2)	377
43. Pharnabazus in Greece (393) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> IV, 8.7–10)	378
44. Persians between Athens and Sparta (393–1) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> IV, 8.12–14, 16–17, 21)	378
45. The Persian governor arbitrates between Miletus and Myous (391–388) (SIG, 134)	380
46. The perverse behaviour of Athens and Sparta (390–389) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> IV, 8.24)	380
47. The King's Peace (387/6) (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> V, 1.25, 28, 30–1)	381
9.C. Conflict and revolt in Cyprus and Egypt	382
(a) Events in Cyprus (c.400–381)	382
48. A panegyrist's view of Evagoras' seizure of power in Salamis (c.415?) (<i>Isoc. Evag.</i> 23–32; 47)	382
49. Friction between Evagoras and Artaxerxes II (before 398) (FGrH 688 F30)	383
50. Kition commemorates its victory over Evagoras (392/1?) (Yon and Sznycer 1991)	384
51. Evagoras' aggressive expansion and the Persian reaction (c.391–386) (D.S. XIV, 98.1–4)	386
52. Persian preparations against Evagoras and his allies (c.391–386) (D.S. XIV, 110.5; XV, 2)	387
53. The Persians defeat Evagoras at sea (386?) (D.S. XV, 3.4–4.1)	388
54. Evagoras obtains grudging help from Egypt (D.S. XV, 4.3; 8.1)	388
55. A Babylonian notice of the Persian subjugation of Salamis? (spring 381) (Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.440)	389
56. The Persians reach a settlement with Evagoras (381?) (D.S. XV, 8.1–3; 9.1–2)	389
(b) Egypt secedes from the empire (401–374/3)	390
57. A late summary of the end of the first period of Persian rule in Egypt (FGrH 609 F3c)	390

CONTENTS

58. One of Cyrus' partisans seeks refuge at the Egyptian court (401/0) (D.S. XIV, 35.3–5)	391
59. Aramaic letter referring to the end of Amyrtaeus' reign and the accession of Nephertites I (398) (BP, 13)	392
60. Amyrtaeus and the rulers of Dynasty XXIX judged in an Egyptian tract on kingship (BN 215, obv.III 18–21; IV, 1–3; 7–12)	393
61. Akoris' allies (FGrH 115 F103)	394
62. The Persians defeated in Egypt (385–3?) (Isoc. <i>Paneg.</i> 140)	395
63. A Persian commander seeks help from Akoris (384/3?) (D.S. XV, 9.3–4; 18.1)	395
64. Egypt and Persia prepare to face each other	396
(i) Egyptian and Persian recruitment (c.379) (D.S. XV, 29.1–4)	396
(ii) The Persian king recruits Greek soldiers in 375/4 (D.S. XV, 38.1)	396
65. The rulers of Dynasty XXX according to an Egyptian tract on kingship (BN 215, obv.IV 4–5; 13–18)	397
66. The war against Egypt (374/3) (D.S. XV, 41–43.4)	398
9.D. The final decade of Artaxerxes II's reign (369–359)	400
67. A royal campaign in northern Iran(?) in 369 (Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–369)	400
68. Fighting in northern Mesopotamia in 367 (Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–366)	400
69. The Egyptian king seeks refuge at the Persian court (361/0–359/8) (D.S. XV, 92.2–5)	401
70. The Greek cities affirm their neutrality vis-à-vis the Persian king (IG IV, 556)	402
71. A new royal palace at Susa (A ² Sd; Vallat 1979)	403
72. The death of Artaxerxes II (359/8) (Plut. <i>Artax.</i> 30)	405
9.E. Artaxerxes III	406
73. Artaxerxes III recites his genealogy (A ³ Pa)	406
74. Artaxerxes III succeeds his father (D.S. XV, 93.1)	407
75. Artaxerxes III's war against Egypt delayed by rebellions in Phoenicia and Cyprus (D.S. XVI, 40.3; 40.5–43.3; 44.1–2, 4; 45.1–6; 46.1–3)	409
76. Sidonian prisoners arrive in Babylon and Susa (345) (ABC, no.9)	412
77. Egypt reconquered (343/2) (D.S. XVI, 46.4–7; 51)	413
78. Two contemporary Egyptian responses to the Persian reconquest	414
(i) The eldest son of Nectanebo II (Clère 1951)	414
(ii) Restoration of Udjahorresne(t)'s statue (Anthes 1965)	415
79. Artaxerxes III's reconquest in hostile retrospect	416
(i) The aftermath of the Persian victory (BN 215, obv.IV 22–3)	416
(ii) The Persian king's sacrilege (Ael. <i>VH</i> 4.8)	416

CONTENTS

80. Artaxerxes III supports Perinthus against Philip II of Macedon (340/339) (D.S. XVI, 75.1–2)	417
10 The fall of the Achaemenid empire (338–330)	418
Introduction	418
10.A. The struggle for the Persian throne and Macedonian aggression, 338–336/5	423
(a) From Artaxerxes III to Darius III (338–336/5)	423
1. Artaxerxes III is succeeded by his son (Hunger 2001: 40–5)	423
2. Fragment concerning Arses and Alexander (Sachs 1977: 146–7)	424
3. A tale of assassinations at the Persian court (D.S. XVII, 5.3–6)	424
4. Babylonian echoes of the struggle for the throne	425
(i) The murder of Arses (BHLT, 34–5)	425
(ii) Unrest in Babylonia? (Van Dijk 1962)	425
5. A story of Darius’ elevation to the throne because of his bravery (Justin X, 3.2–5)	426
(b) The first Macedonian offensive and the Persian response (336–336/5)	427
6. Philip II of Macedon sends an advance guard to Abydos (spring 336) (D.S. XVI, 91.2)	427
7. Darius III responds to the Macedonian incursion (336–5) (D.S. XVII, 7.1–3, 8–10)	428
10.B. The Macedonian invasion: resistance, defeat, surrender	429
(a) Alexander in Asia Minor (334–333)	429
8. Persians and Macedonians meet on the Granicus (May 334)	429
(i) The Persians discuss tactics at Zeleia (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 12.8)	429
(ii) Darius’ strategy (Justin XI, 6.8–10)	429
(iii) The noble Persians killed at the Granicus (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 16.3)	429
9. Sardis surrenders to Alexander (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 17.3)	430
10. Miletus sits on the fence (summer 334) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 18.3–4)	431
11. Resistance at Halicarnassus (late summer 334) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 20.2–3; 23.1–5)	432
12. The Persian counteroffensive in the Aegean (spring–summer 334) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> II.1.1–2.3)	433
13. A setback for the Persians in Caria (spring 333) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> II, 5.7)	434
14. Sparta supports the Persian commanders (summer–November 333) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> II, 13.4–6)	435
(b) The aftermath of the defeat at Issus (winter 333/2–spring 331)	436
15. The Persian retreat after Issus (November 333) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> II, 13.1)	436
16. Amyntas in Egypt (winter 333–2) (D.S. XVII, 48.2–4)	436
17. Damascus betrayed (winter 333/2) (Q.C. III, 12.27–13.4; 13.17)	438

CONTENTS

18. Macedonian successes in Phoenicia (winter 333/2) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> II, 13.7–8; 15.6)	439
19. The reduction of Tyre (spring–summer 332) (D.S. XVII, 40.2–3; 46.3–4)	440
20. Persian counterattacks and setbacks in Asia Minor and the Aegean (end 333 to early summer 332)	441
(i) Persian commanders regroup (D.S. XVII, 48.5–6)	441
(ii) The Persians fight back in northern Asia Minor (Q.C. IV, 1.34–5)	441
(iii) Alexander’s commanders begin to wrest back control of the situation (Q.C. IV, 5.13–14)	442
21. Persian naval contingents join Alexander (spring 332) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> II, 20.1–3)	442
22. Local people obstruct Alexander’s attack on Tyre (late April 332?) (Q.C. IV, 2.24–3.1)	443
23. Gaza refuses to surrender and is taken by force (late summer 332) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> II, 25.4–26.1; 27.7)	444
24. The fall of Egypt (late 332 to spring 331) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 1.1–2)	444
25. Revolt in Samaria (spring 331) (Q.C. IV, 8.9–11)	445
(c) Gaugamela and its consequences (late 332–May 330)	446
26. Darius’ military preparations (D.S. XVII, 53; 55.1–2)	446
27. The Battle of Gaugamela and the surrender of Babylon (18 September to 21 October 331) (Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–330)	447
28. Darius’ retreat to Iran (winter 331/0) (D.S. XVII, 64.1–2)	448
29. Susa surrenders (December 331) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 16.6–7)	449
30. Resistance, treason and destruction in Fars (January to May 330)	449
(i) At the Persian Gates (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 18.2)	449
(ii) The loyal satrap of Fars is killed (Q.C. V, 4.33–4)	450
(iii) A Persian traitor (D.S. XVII, 69.1–2)	450
(iv) Alexander in Persepolis and Pasargadae (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 18.10–11)	450
(v) Alexander secures territory in Fars (Q.C. V, 6.12–13, 17, 19)	450
(d) The death of Darius III (spring–summer 330)	451
31. Darius leaves Ecbatana (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 19.4–5)	451
32. Persian soldiers desert (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 20.2)	452
33. Dissension in the Persian camp (Q.C. V, 9.1, 13–17)	452
34. The plot against Darius (Q.C. V, 10.1–9)	453
35. Darius is arrested and killed (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 21.1, 4–5, 10; 22.1)	454
10.C. Local élites and factions between Persians and Macedonians: some test cases	456
36. Oligarchs massacred at Ephesus (summer 334) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 17.11–12)	456
37. Aspendus pays the penalty for not complying with Alexander’s terms (winter 334) (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 26.2–3, 5; 27.3–4)	457

CONTENTS

38. The autobiography of Somtutefnakht (Tresson 1931)	458
39. The autobiography of Petosiris (Lefebvre 1924)	460
40. Alexander's entry into Babylon ((i) Q.C. V, 1.17–23; (ii) Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 16.3)	461
41. Alexander's victory in a Babylonian prophecy (BHLT, 34–5)	462
 PART III	
Kings and kingship	467
 11 Images of empire, visions of majesty and the divine framework	469
Introduction	469
11.A. Territorial imagery	476
1. A vision of imperial space (DPh; DH)	476
2. Persia holds Egypt (DSab; Yoyotte 1974)	477
3. The diversity of Persia's imperial realm (DPg)	483
4. The king depicts and enumerates the subjects of his realm (A?P)	483
5. The vast span of the empire (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 7.6)	484
6. Linking centre and periphery (DZc)	485
7. Persian supremacy in the empire (DPe)	486
8. A prayer for Persia (DPd)	487
9. The centrality of Persia (Hdt. I, 134)	487
11.B. The royal centres	488
(a) Persepolis	488
10. The construction of the Persepolis citadel (DPf)	488
11. A later description of Persepolis (D.S. XVII, 70.1–2; 71.1, 3–8)	489
(b) Susa	491
12. The fortifications of Susa (DSe)	491
13. Darius I's palace at Susa	492
(i) The Susa foundation charter (DSf)	492
(ii) Two foundation charters from the Apadana terrace ((ii/a) DSz; (ii/b) DSaa)	495
(c) Ecbatana	497
14. Artaxerxes II's palace at Ecbatana(?) (A ² Hb)	497
15. A later description of Ecbatana (Polyb. X, 27.5–10)	501
11.C. The mirror of princes	502
16. War and peace (DNa)	502
17. The kingly qualities (DNb; XPl)	503
18. A Greek disquisition on Persian kingship (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 9.1–2, 5–8, 11, 13–20, 22–8)	506

CONTENTS

19. Standard features of Persian kingship noted by classical writers: ((i) Strabo XV, 3.21; (ii) Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 1.1; (iii) Nepos <i>Kings</i> 1; (iv) Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 4.4; (v) Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 21.6)	508
11.D. Microcosms of empire	509
20. The king's table supplied by the empire: ((i) Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 6.6; (ii) <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 6.23; (iii) Athen. XIV, 652b–c; (iv) Strabo XV, 3.22; (v) FGrH 688 F53)	509
21. The royal gardens	510
(i) The king in his garden (Xen. <i>Oec.</i> 4.13)	510
(ii) Fruit-trees to be planted in royal parks in Fars (PFa 33)	510
(iii) A royal park in Phrygia (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 2.8)	511
(iv) The gardens of kings and nobles in Iran (Q.C. VII, 2.22)	511
(v) A game reserve in Central Asia (Q.C. VIII, 1.11–12)	511
(vi) A royal park set in a barren landscape (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 25.1–2)	512
11.E. Imperial spectacles	514
22. A royal pageant (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 3.1, 3, 5, 9–19, 24–5, 33–4)	514
23. The royal camp (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 5.2–3, 8, 13)	517
24. The king and army in marching order (Hdt. VII, 40–1)	517
25. Staging the empire (Hdt. VII, 61–80; 83–7.1; 89–94.1; 95)	519
26. King and peasant	529
(i) Peasants honour the king along his route (Aelian <i>VH</i> 1.31)	529
(ii) The king's delight with humble gifts (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 4, 5–5.1)	530
27. Public homage (FGrH 115 F263a/b)	531
11.F. The king in majesty	531
28. The royal dress (Q.C. III, 3.17–19)	531
29. The royal audience	534
(i) Paying homage to the king (Plut. <i>Them.</i> 27.4–5; 28.1)	534
(ii) A Greek quandary (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 22.8)	535
(iii) Datames honours a royal order (Poly. VII, 21.5)	537
30. The king's jewelled bower	539
(i) Pythius' gift to Darius I (Hdt. VII, 27)	539
(ii) A Greek belittles the king's golden plane-tree (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> VII, 1.38)	539
(iii) The golden vine in the Susa treasury (D.S. XIX, 48.6–7)	539
(iv) The decoration of the golden vine (Athen. XII, 514f)	540
31. The king dismounts (Athen. XII, 514a)	540
11.G. The royal hero	541
32. The king meets his enemies face to face (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 11.1–3)	541
33. The royal victor ((i) Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 10.1–3; (ii) Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 16.1–2)	542
34. The hardy soldier (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 24.1–3, 10–11)	544

CONTENTS

11.H. The king between gods and men	548
(a) Greek perceptions of Persian religion	548
35. A contemporary Greek impression of Persian beliefs and cult (Hdt. I, 131–2)	548
36. A later writer's view of Persian religion (Strabo XV, 3.13–14)	551
(b) The king and his gods	554
37. Divine protection invoked for a royal building (A ² Ha)	554
38. God and king entwined (DSk)	555
(c) Cults within Fars	556
39. Grain for Auramazda (PF 337)	556
40. Wine for Auramazda and two other gods (PF 338)	557
41. Supplies for Auramazda and Humban (PF 339)	557
42. Beer for Adad and Napirisha (PF 353)	557
43. The <i>lan</i> -Oblation (PF 767)	558
44. Record of grain dispensed for cult in 499/8 (PF 1960, ll.3–4)	558
(d) Magi	559
45. A magus receives material for a cult ceremony (PF 769)	559
46. Magi interpret a solar eclipse (Hdt. VII, 37.2–3)	559
47. The magi seek a favourable omen (Hdt. VII, 113.2)	560
48. The magi assuage a tempest with offerings to local deities (Hdt. VII, 191.2)	560
49. Cyrus institutes the magi (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 1.23)	560
50. Magi select shares of booty for the gods (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VII, 3.1)	561
(e) The place of fire in Persian cults	561
51. 'Guardians of the fire' in Fars (PF 741)	561
52. The sacred fire in procession (Q.C. III, 3.9)	562
(f) The sun and Mithra	562
53. Xerxes at the Hellespont (Hdt. VII, 54)	562
54. The king worships the sun (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 29.11–12)	564
55. An image of the sun (Q.C. III, 3.8, 11)	564
56. Cyrus the Great and the sun (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 1.3)	565
57. Horses for Mithra's festival (Strabo XI, 14.9)	565
58. The Persian king at the festival of Mithra (Athen. X, 434e)	565
(g) Anahita	566
59. Artaxerxes II and the cult of Anahita (FGrH 680 F11)	566
60. The lions of Anahita's shrine (Aelian NA 12.23)	567

CONTENTS

11.I.	Royal rituals	568
61.	Proclamation of the crown-prince (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 26.4–5)	568
62.	Special water reserved for king and crown-prince (Athen. XII, 515a)	568
63.	The king-to-be undergoes a <i>rite de passage</i> (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 3.1–2)	568
64.	The king's birthday (Hdt. IX, 110.2–111.1)	569
65.	The king and the sacred fire (D.S. XVII, 114.4–5)	571
66.	Mourning for the king ((i) Q.C. X, 5.17; (ii) Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 72.2)	571
67.	Alexander's funeral cortège: an impression of Persian royal obsequies (D.S. XVIII, 26.1–28.2)	572
68.	Cults at the tombs of royalty	574
	(i) Rations for the staff at Hystaspes' tomb in Persepolis (PF-NN 1700)	574
	(ii) Supplies for offerings at the tombs of Cambyses and Phaidyme (PF-NN 2174)	574
12	The organisation of the court	576
	Introduction	576
12.A.	The king's residence	579
(a)	Royal apartments	579
	1. The furnishings of the royal tent (Hdt. IX, 82.1–2)	579
	2. The royal bathroom (Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 20.12–13)	580
	3. The king in his palace ([Arist.] <i>De Mundo</i> 398a)	581
	4. The 'Gateway of All Lands' at Persepolis (XPa)	581
(b)	Care of the royal person and court etiquette	582
	5. The royal bodyguard ((i) Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VII, 5.66–8; (ii) Q.C. III, 3.15)	582
	6. Seating protocols (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 4.3–5)	584
	7. The royal cup-bearer (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> I, 3.8–9)	584
	8. The king's cup (Athen. XI, 503f)	585
	9. The punishment for poisoners (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 19.9)	585
	10. The king's drinking water (Hdt. I, 188)	585
	11. The king dines apart (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 5.5)	586
	12. Royal doctors and Persian medicine	586
	(i) Cyrus gathers doctors and medicaments (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 2.24)	586
	(ii) A Persian medical treatment (Hdt. VII, 181)	586
	(iii) The princess and the doctor (FGrH 688 F14(44))	586
12.B.	Eunuchs	588
(a)	Stereotypes	588
	13. The treacherous servant (FGrH 688 F9a)	588
	14. The sinister plotter (FGrH 688 F15(54))	588
	15. Effeminate creatures ((i) Q.C. VI, 5.22–3; (ii) Q.C. VI, 6.8)	588
	16. Naturally loyal and able servants (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VII, 5.59–65)	589

CONTENTS

17. The defeated master's devoted slave (D.S. XVII, 66.3–4)	590
18. Faithful beyond death (Plut. Artox. 12.1)	590
(b) Realities	590
19. Eunuchs in lowly positions (Plut. Artox. 17.5–6)	590
20. Specialist slave traders (Hdt. VIII, 105)	591
21. The care of royal children (Plato, Alc. 121d)	591
12.C. Queens, princesses, concubines and female attendants	593
(a) The distinction between wives and concubines	593
22. Royal wives withdraw from the dining room (Plut. Mor. 140b)	593
23. Royal wives versus concubines (Athen. XIII, 556b)	593
(b) Concubines	593
24. From courtesan to royal concubine (Plut. Artox. 26.5–9)	593
25. Young girls as tribute (Esther 2.2–3)	594
26. The life of the concubine (Esther 2.12–14)	594
27. Palace women entertain the king at night (Athen. XII, 514b)	595
28. Keeping one's distance from royal concubines (Plut. Artox. 27.1)	595
(c) The king's female kin: individuals, journeys, activities, retinues, property	595
29. Women of the royal family	595
(i) Artystone (PF 1795)	595
(ii) Irdabama (PFa 27)	596
(iii) Ishtin (PF 823)	596
30. A classical image of cloistered royal women (Plut. Them. 26.5)	598
31. Artaxerxes II's wife in public (Plut. Artox. 5.6)	598
32. Princesses receive provisions for travel	598
(i) The daughter of Darius I (PFa 5)	598
(ii) Darius I's sisters (PFa 31)	599
33. A Persian lady archer (FGrH 688 F15(55))	599
34. Royal women on campaign (Q.C. III, 3.22–5)	600
35. The queen-mother's retinue (D.S. XVII, 38.1)	600
36. A royal wet-nurse (Evetts 1892, App. Nr.2)	601
37. Personnel attached to royal women	601
(i) Irdabama's workforce at Shiraz (PF 1028)	601
(ii) Select servants (PFa 14)	601
38. Parysatis: a cruel queen or the defender of dynastic integrity?	602
(i) Parysatis, Stateira and Artaxerxes II's marriage to his daughter (Plut. Artox. 6.8; 19.1–8, 10; 23.2–6)	602
(ii) Parysatis and the annihilation of the Hydarnids (FGrH 688 F15(55–6))	603

CONTENTS

12.D. The royal banquet and entertaining	604
39. 'The king's dinner' (Poly. IV, 3.32)	604
40. Food supplies for the king in Fars	607
(i) Cattle (PF 694)	607
(ii) Small cattle (PF 696)	607
(iii) Poultry (PF 698)	608
(iv) Varieties of flour (PF 699)	608
(v) Grain for royal horses (PF 708)	608
(vi) Oil (PF 726)	608
(vii) Wine (PF 728)	608
(viii) Honey (PF 719)	608
41. The Persian meal (Hdt. I, 133.2)	609
42. Dining with the king (FGrH 689 F2)	610
43. The royal banqueting staff (Athen. XIII, 607f–608a)	611
44. Royal tableware ((i) Athen. XI, 781f–782a; (ii) Athen. XI, 784a–b)	613
45. Royal entertainment	614
(i) Darius II is entertained by a Greek pankratist (Paus. VI, 5.7)	614
(ii) Artaxerxes II's favourite dancer (FGrH 688 F31)	614
12.E. Replication of the court system at satrapal level	615
46. Satrapal parks	615
(i) Tissaphernes' gardens near Sardis (Plut. <i>Alc.</i> 24.7)	615
(ii) The estate at Dascylium (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> IV, 1.15–16)	615
(iii) The governor's palace and park in north Syria (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 4.10)	615
47. Audience with the satrap	616
(i) Cyrus the Younger's throne (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> I, 5.1–3)	616
(ii) Difficulties in gaining access (Plut. <i>Lys.</i> 6)	616
48. Satrapal luxury	618
(i) Tiribazus' tent (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> IV, 4.21)	618
(ii) Spartan simplicity versus satrapal luxury (Xen. <i>Hell.</i> IV, 1.30)	618
49. A mirror image of the royal court (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 6.10)	619
13 The mechanisms of power	620
Introduction	620
13.A. Persian society	624
(a) Social stratification	624
1. Broad distinctions	624
(i) Distinctions in food (Hdt. I, 133.1)	624
(ii) Distinctions in dress (Strabo XV, 3.19)	624
(iii) Social standing signalled by modes of greeting (Hdt. I, 134)	624
2. Persian marriage and child bearing	625
(i) The ceremony (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> VII, 4.7)	625
(ii) Polygamy and consummation (Strabo XV, 3.17)	625

CONTENTS

(iii) The king honours fathers of many sons (Hdt. I, 136.1)	625
(iv) Royal gifts to mothers (Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 69.1)	625
(v) Inheritance in the male line (Hdt. VII, 224)	626
3. Persian military ethos	626
(i) The obligation to serve in the army (Hdt. IV, 84)	626
(ii) Persia's women honoured for their role in Cyrus' victory over the Medes (FGrH 90 F66(43–4))	626
4. Persian scribes at Persepolis (PF 871)	627
5. Tribal affiliation (PF 1797)	627
6. A blue-blooded Persian leader (Q.C. X, 1.22–3)	628
7. Relative ranking (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 2.1)	628
(b) Socio-political reproduction	629
8. Persian education	629
(i) The training of boys (Hdt. I, 136)	629
(ii) A detailed curriculum (Strabo XV, 3.18–19)	629
9. Entitlement to, and benefits of, education (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> I, 2.15)	630
10. A school for future rulers (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 9.3–4)	631
11. Songs and tales of the Persians	632
(i) In praise of Cyrus (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> I, 2.1)	632
(ii) A singer foretells Cyrus' victory (Athen. XIV, 633d–e)	632
13.B. Royal gifts and royal favour	633
(a) Hierarchy and royal favour	633
12. The terrible fate of Xerxes' nephews (Plut. <i>Them.</i> 13.2)	633
13. Feeding the princes' mounts (PF 1793)	633
14. The kinsmen cavalry (D.S. XVII, 59.2)	634
15. Cyrus the Younger's closest companions (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 8.25)	634
16. Proximity to the king	634
(i) The king mounts his horse (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> IV, 4.4)	634
(ii) Xerxes consults before Salamis (Hdt. VIII, 67.2–68.1)	635
17. Loss of favour (Plut. <i>Artōx.</i> 22.6–7)	635
(b) The king's benefactors	635
18. The register of benefactors	635
(i) Xerxes watches the Battle of Salamis (Hdt. VIII, 90.4)	635
(ii) Ionian captains reap rewards (Hdt. VIII, 85.2–3)	636
19. Honours and punishments (Xen. <i>Oec.</i> 4.6–10)	636
20. Service and reward ((i) Esther 6.1–9; (ii) Plut. <i>Artōx.</i> 22.9–11)	636
(c) The gifts	637
21. The unmatched quality of royal gifts (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 2.7–8)	637
22. Types of gifts	639
(i) Cyrus the Younger decorates the Cilician dynast (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 2.27)	639

CONTENTS

(ii)	Artaxerxes II rewards Mithridates' service (Plut. Artox. 14.5; 15.2)	639
(iii)	Artapates' marks of honour (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 8.28–9)	639
23.	Public conferment of gifts and honours	640
(i)	Cyrus rewards swift obedience (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 3.23)	640
(ii)	Darius I expresses his esteem for Megabazus (Hdt. IV, 143.2–3)	640
(iii)	Royal presentations to embassies (Aelian VH 1.22)	640
(d)	The redistribution of wealth	641
24.	Demus and his gold phiale (Lysias 19.25)	641
25.	Silver distributed at royal command ((i) PT 4; (ii) PT 5)	641
26.	Food from the royal table	643
(i)	The rationale of royal food distribution (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 2.2–4)	643
(ii)	Supplies for Parnaka and his retinue (PFa 4)	643
(iii)	Zishshawish provided with supplies for a religious feast (PF 672)	643
13.C.	Reciprocity and obligations	644
(a)	Services	644
27.	The king reaps the benefits of his generosity (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 2.10–12)	644
28.	Services weighed against offences	645
(i)	The principle (Hdt. I, 137.1)	645
(ii)	Darius I reverses his decision (Hdt. VII, 194.1–2)	645
29.	The limits of reciprocity	645
(i)	Pythius oversteps the mark (Hdt. VII, 28–9; 38–9)	645
(ii)	A soldier finds fault with his reward (Plut. Artox. 14.6–9)	646
(b)	The precariousness of royal favour	647
30.	The career of Megabyzus (FGrH 688 F14(34; 43))	647
31.	Episodes from the life of Tiribazus	648
(i)	Tiribazus and the king's robe (Plut. Artox. 5.3–4)	648
(ii)	Tiribazus saves king and army (Plut. Artox. 24.4–9)	648
(iii)	Tiribazus is accused, tried and vindicated (D.S. XV, 8.3–5, 10–11)	648
(iv)	Tiribazus falls out with the king (Plut. Artox. 27.6–9)	650
(v)	Tiribazus is involved in a plot and killed (Plut. Artox. 29.1, 6–7)	650
32.	Orontes' chequered progress	651
(i)	Governor of Armenia (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> III, 5.17)	651
(ii)	Orontes tries to regain the king's favour (D.S. XV, 91.1)	651
(iii)	A late summary of Orontes's career (OGIS 264)	651
(c)	Loyalty and treason	652
33.	Persian nobles obligated to attend court (Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 1.6, 8, 16)	652
34.	Execution of a traitor (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 6.10)	652

CONTENTS

35. The erosion of family ties (D.S. XV, 91.2–3)	653
36. From loyal officer to rebel (Nepos, <i>Datames</i> (14))	653
13.D. The broader impact of the system	658
(a) Promises of great riches	658
37. A simple gift lavishly rewarded (Aelian VH 1.32)	658
38. A clever doctor gains privileges (Hdt. III, 132)	658
39. Royal blessings for an anonymous benefactor (Plut. <i>Artox.</i> 12.4–6)	659
(b) Gifts to non-Persians	659
40. Themistocles' exceptional standing at the Persian court (Thuc. I, 138.1–2, 5–6)	659
41. Demaratus' presumption (Plut. <i>Them.</i> 29.8)	661
42. Amyntas of Asia (Hdt. VIII, 136.1)	661
43. Metiochus' children honoured as Persians (Hdt. VI, 41.3–4)	661
44. Artabazus, Memnon and Mentor of Rhodes (D.S. XVI, 52.3–4)	662
45. The king rewards the ruler of Sidon (CIS I, 3)	663
PART IV	
Achaemenid imperial organisation	667
14 Tribute, tax, imposts	669
Introduction	669
14.A. Kings, satraps and tribute	672
(a) The basic framework	672
1. A Greek writer sets out principles of management ([Arist.], <i>Oec.</i> 2.1.1–4)	672
(b) Setting the tribute	673
2. Darius I fixes the basis for regular payment of tribute (Hdt. III, 89–97)	673
3. Traditions of the generous king ((i) Plut. <i>Mor.</i> 172f; (ii) Poly. VII, 11.3)	677
(c) Gifts and dues	678
4. Indian incense (FGrH 688 F45(47))	678
5. A special drug (Aelian NA 4.41)	678
6. Brilliantly coloured textiles (Aelian NA 4.46)	679
7. The contents of some royal treasuries ((i) D.S. XIX, 48.7–8; (ii) Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 36.1–2)	679
8. Dues in kind and the processing of precious metals (Strabo XV, 3.21)	680
9. Tax paid in silver and kind (BE X 97)	680

CONTENTS

14.B. Revenues, resources, obligations	681
(a) Taxes	681
10. A customs account from Egypt (TADAE III, C3.7)	681
11. Tax-farming in Babylonia (TCL 13, no.196)	703
12. A commercial tithe in Lycia (TAM I 45, TL 45)	704
13. Registration and taxation of slave sales in Babylonia ((i) BM 30126; (ii) ROMCT 2, no.35; (iii) BM 62588)	704
14. Receipt for tax paid on the installation of a wab-priest of Khnum at Elephantine (PBerlin 13582)	706
(b) Mineral resources	706
15. Mines in Armenia (Strabo XI, 14.9)	706
16. Bitumen, salt and petroleum in Elam (Hdt. VI, 119.2–3)	707
17. The stone quarries of Egypt (Posener 1936, no.18)	707
18. Carmania's mineral wealth (Strabo XV, 2.14)	708
19. Silver and gold (FGrH 688 F45(26))	708
(c) Labour obligations	708
20. Transport service ((i) VS VI, no.160; (ii) VS VI, no.302)	708
21. Work on canals ((i) BM 74463; (ii) BM 61330)	709
22. Road maintenance	710
(i) Measuring (BM 79746)	710
(ii) Clearing (Aelian NA 15.26)	710
23. Labour duty (BM 49718)	711
(d) The duty to supply the royal table	711
24. The Uruk temple provisions the king ((i) AnOr 8, 67; (ii) GCCI II, 120)	711
25. Supplying the king on campaign (Hdt. VII, 118–19)	712
26. Contributions for the royal entry (UET 4, 48)	713
(e) Satrapal and royal levies	713
27. The wealth of Babylonia (Hdt. I, 192)	713
28. The governor's bread (Neh. 5.14–18)	714
29. Animals levied over and above the tribute (Strabo XI, 13.8)	714
30. The tribute of the Memphis garrison (Segal, no.24)	715
31. The cost of soldiers borne by subjects	715
(i) Equipping valets accompanying the cavalry (Dar. 253)	715
(ii) Tenants of a bow-land take a loan in order to acquire their military equipment (BE X, no.61)	716
(iii) A Babylonian businessman makes a payment to discharge his obligation to supply military equipment and travel provisions (BM 33928)	716

CONTENTS

14.C. Precious metal payments	717
(a) Silver taxes	717
32. Account of silver taxes in Fars (PT 85)	717
33. Land mortgaged to pay taxes in Yehud (Neh. 5.4.–6)	718
(b) Transmission of taxes	719
34. Silver transports to the central authority	719
(i) From Susa to Macezish (PF 1342)	719
(ii) From Babylonia to Persepolis (PF 1357)	719
35. Egyptian tribute is brought to Babylon (AD 10)	720
14.D. The system in practice	720
(a) Records of grants and duties	720
36. A military land grant in Egypt (AP 16)	720
37. Request for a land grant from the satrap (AD 8)	721
38. Registration of a Babylonian cavalry soldier (Lutz 1928)	722
39. Local recruitment of troops (Hdt. VII, 96)	723
(b) Management of resources and revenues	724
40. Access to water regulated and taxed (Hdt. III, 117)	724
41. A royal concession for providing irrigation (Polyb. X, 28.1–4)	724
42. Ring-fenced revenues	725
(i) The queen's shoes (Hdt. II, 98)	725
(ii) Darius I's camel (Strabo XVI, 1.3)	725
43. A royal land grant rented out to a Babylonian temple (OECT 12, AB 243)	725
44. The satrap authorises repair of a boat in Egypt (AP 26)	727
15 Routes and communication networks	730
Introduction	730
15.A. The road system	733
(a) Royal roads	733
1. The imperial roads	733
(i) From India to Susa (PF 1318)	733
(ii) From Arachosia to Susa (PF 1351)	733
(iii) From Susa to Kandahar (PF 1550)	734
(iv) To Areia (PF 1361)	734
(v) To Sagartia (PF 1501)	734
(vi) To Egypt (PF 1544)	734
(vii) Arab visitors to the court (PF 1477)	734
(viii) From Bactria to Susa (PF 1555)	735
2. From west to east (FGrH 688 F33)	737
3. The stations on the road from Sardis to Susa (Hdt. V, 52–4)	737
4. Authorisation to draw supplies for a journey (AD 6)	739

CONTENTS

(b) Alternative routes	741
5. Through the desert (Arr. Ind. 43.1–5)	741
6. Problems encountered off the beaten track (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 5.4–8)	742
7. The advantages of going by sea (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> V, 6.10)	743
(c) Rivers and mountains	743
8. Pontoons, bridges, fords	743
(i) The Maeander crossing (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 2.5)	743
(ii) Cyrus' army fords the Euphrates at Thapsacus (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 4.11, 18)	744
(iii) Canal crossings in Babylonia (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 4.13)	744
(iv) A pontoon on the Tigris (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 4.24)	744
9. Water diverted to obstruct enemy progress (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 3.10, 13)	745
10. Guarded mountain passes	745
(i) The Cilician Gates (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 2.21)	745
(ii) The Syrian Gates (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 4.4–5)	745
11. The way to Babylon (D.S. XIV, 81.4)	746
(d) Constructing and provisioning roads	746
12. Surveyors and road-building ((i) PFa 19; (ii) PFa 30 (8–10); (iii) Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VI, 2.36; (iv) Hdt. VII, 131)	746
13. Depots on the royal road (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> III, 4.31)	748
14. How the Persians provided water in the Sinai desert (Hdt. III, 5.3–7.1)	748
15. Storage centres	748
(i) Supplies for soldiers in the Negev (Naveh 1981, no.12)	748
(ii) Deposit of grain (Eph'al and Naveh 1996, no.13)	749
15.B. Communication and control	751
(a) Guarding the network	751
16. Official support for travel (D.S. XIV, 11.3–4)	751
17. The king of Sidon facilitates the passage of an Athenian embassy to Persia (IG II ² 141)	751
18. Watchers on the roads (Plut. <i>Them.</i> 30.1)	752
19. Protection for travellers (Neh. 2.7–9)	753
20. How to send a secret message (Hdt. VII, 239.2–3)	753
(b) Modes of communication	754
21. The postal system ((i) Hdt. VIII, 98; (ii) Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> VIII, 6.17–18)	754
22. The express service	754
(i) Fast messengers for the king (PF 1315)	754
(ii) A royal messenger (PF 1335)	755
(iii) Feeding horses in the express service (PF 1672)	755
23. Voice signals (D.S. XIX, 17.6–7)	755
24. Beacons (Hdt. IX, 3.1)	756

CONTENTS

(c) Interconnections	756
25. Hire of boat with crew (AO 8165, TBER)	756
26. Transport of royal offerings (Frame 1986, no.6)	757
27. Grain delivery for a garrison by a Nile boatman (AP 2)	757
28. A father in the Eastern Delta writes to his son away on service (Padua 1)	758
29. A husband writes from Memphis to his wife in Aswan (Bresciani and Kamil 1966, no.2)	759
30. A brother writes from Memphis to his sisters in Luxor (Bresciani and Kamil 1966, no.5)	760
31. Messages exchanged between Aswan and Elephantine (Lindemberger 1994, nos.28–9)	760
32. Record of disputed sale from Idumaea drawn up in Harran (Dalley 1984)	761
33. Babylonian businessmen in Iran	761
(i) A debt contracted in Ecbatana (Stigers, no.28)	761
(ii) A slave sale in Persepolis (Fort.1 1786)	762
 16 Bureaucracy, production, settlement	 763
Introduction	763
A. Administration and organisation of production in the Persepolis region	770
(a) Sectors of agricultural production	770
1. Wine account for 503/2 (PF 2003)	770
2. Beer account for 505/4 (PF 1996)	772
3. Account of goats received as tax: 507/6 and 506/5 (PF 2008)	772
4. A grain account for 497/6–496/5 (PF 1966)	774
5. Fruit account for 507/6 and 505/4 (PF 1982)	774
6. A sesame oil account for 495/4 (PF 1993)	775
7. Cattle account, 508 to 502 (PF 2013)	776
8. Part of a poultry yard account (PF 2014)	777
(b) Annual calculations of expenditure	778
9. Disbursements of wine in 504/3 (PF 1953)	778
10. Disbursements of grain in 503/2 (PF 1943)	780
(c) Aspects of bureaucracy	782
11. Parnaka, head of the Persepolis administration	782
(i) The daily meat ration (PF 654)	782
(ii) The daily wine ration (PF 665)	783
(iii) The daily flour ration (PF 669)	783
12. Zishshawish, Parnaka's deputy	783
(i) The daily flour ration (PF 670)	783

CONTENTS

(ii) The daily wine ration (PF 673)	784
(iii) The daily meat ration (PF 678)	784
13. Parnaka's secretaries (PF 1810)	784
14. Aramaic on an Elamite tablet (PF 1809)	785
15. Parnaka replaces his seal (PF 2067)	785
16. Administrative failings	786
(i) A complaint (PF 1957 (37–8))	786
(ii) Failure to issue rations (PF 1960 (29–30))	786
17. Directive to apprehend a fugitive and improve bureaucratic practice (PFa 28)	786
(d) Treasuries	787
18. The Persepolis treasurer writes to his subordinate (PT 1)	787
19. The Persepolis treasury releases silver for paying craftsmen (PT 27)	788
20. Silver payment instead of rations for vine-dressers(?) at Niriz (PT 52)	788
21. Memorandum of pay to a specialist from Susa (PT 78)	789
22. A royal order to pay workers in silver (PT 7)	789
23. High-level staff in the Rakkan 'treasury' ((i) PF 1947 (15–22); (ii) PF 866 (7–10))	789
24. Staff at the Shiraz 'treasury' (PF 865)	790
25. The personnel at the Urandush 'treasury' (PF 864)	791
26. Deliveries of hides to local 'treasuries'	791
(i) Sheep- and goathides to Hiran (PF 58)	791
(ii) Sheep- and goathides to Pasargadae (PF 62)	792
(iii) Sheephides to Matezzish (PF 70)	792
(iv) Sheep/goathides(?) (PF 74)	792
(v) Cowhides (PF 75)	792
(vi) Camelhides (PF 77)	792
(e) Craftsmen	793
27. Craftsmen from many places on the Persepolis terrace (PT 79)	793
28. Lycian craftsmen (PF 1049)	794
29. Goldsmiths (PF 872)	794
30. An Assyrian woodcarver? (PF 1799)	794
31. Quarryworkers (PF 1587)	795
32. Lydian blacksmiths (PF 873)	795
33. Silversmiths in Hidali (PF 874)	796
34. A weavers' workshop? (PF 999)	796
35. Fine table-ware for the palace (Bowman 1970, nos.18; 29)	797
(f) The labour force	797
36. Size and movement of work groups ((i) PF 1557; (ii) PF 1577; (iii) PF 1542; (iv) PFa 18; (v) PFa 30 (11–16))	797

CONTENTS

37. Structure of work groups	799
(i) Centuries (PF 141)	799
(ii) Decuries (PF 138)	799
38. Meat issued to female supervisors (PF 1790)	799
39. Groups of workers defined by a single place of origin	800
(i) Persians (PF 1137)	800
(ii) Carians (PF 1123)	800
(iii) Bactrians (PF 1947)	800
(iv) Sogdians (PF 1118)	800
40. Mixed work groups (PT 15)	801
16.B. Settlement and land-use in Fars	803
(a) The land of Fars	803
41. A populous and fertile region ((i) Arr. Ind. 40.2–4; (ii) Q.C. V, 4.5–9)	803
42. Glimpses of government in Fars	804
(i) Guard detachments (PF 1591)	804
(ii) Guards at Persepolis (PF 1812)	804
(iii) Law officers? (PF 1374)	805
(iv) Police officers (PF 1250)	805
(b) <i>Paradeisoi</i> (<i>partetaš</i>), domains (<i>irmatam</i>), estates (<i>uhli</i>) within Fars	806
43. <i>Paradeisos</i> workers at <i>Mishbashiyatish</i> (PT 59)	806
44. The <i>paradeisos</i> of <i>Ammashish</i> (PT 1963, no.9)	806
45. Wood-handlers(?) in a <i>paradeisos</i> near Persepolis (PF 1815)	807
46. Deposits at <i>paradeisoi</i> for distribution ((i) PF 145; (ii) PF 158)	807
47. Interrelationship of <i>paradeisoi</i> and the domains of administrators	808
(i) At <i>Mutrizash</i> (PF 152; PF 640)	808
(ii) At <i>Kutkush</i> (PF 153; PF 638)	808
48. Location of domains (PF 1857)	808
49. Small cattle levied on a domain? (PF 2070)	809
50. Darius I's estates	810
(i) The king orders sheep from his estate to be given to his wife (Fort.6764)	810
(ii) Goats acquired for a royal estate (PF 1987 (30–3))	810
51. <i>Artystone</i> 's estates	811
(i) At <i>Mirandu</i> (PF 1835)	811
(ii) At <i>Kuknaka</i> (PF 1836)	811
52. The dissolution of <i>Hystaspes</i> ' household ((i) PF 1596; (ii) PFa 20)	811
(c) The relationship between royal property and the administration	812
53. The king's cattle	812
(i) A cattle account (PFa 32)	812
(ii) Grain for royal cattle (PF 1792)	812
54. Transfer of an ox to the king (PF 692)	813

CONTENTS

55. Products set aside for the king	813
(i) Sesame (PF 543)	813
(ii) Grain (PF 1846)	813
56. Administration drovers conduct royal flocks (PF 1442)	813
16.C. Beyond Persepolis	814
(a) Bureaucracy and archives in the empire	814
57. An Achaemenid Elamite document from Susa (MDP 11, no.308)	814
58. Elamite fragments from Kandahar (SF 1399, Helms 1997)	814
59. An unprovenanced Elamite document (YBC 16813)	815
60. Imperial administrators	815
(i) In Babylonia (BM 74554)	815
(ii) In Palestine (Ezra 4.7–8)	816
(iii) In Egypt (AD 4)	816
(b) Accounts, rosters and food stocks	817
61. Accounting for requisitioned horses in the Troad (Plut. Eum. 8.5)	817
62. Arrangements for digging the Athos canal (Hdt. VII, 23. 1, 4)	818
63. Government supplies for soldiers (D.S. XV, 3.1–3)	818
(c) Artisans and workers	819
64. A sculptor on the estate of Egypt's satrap (AD 9)	819
65. Workers in Egypt to be marked (AD 7)	819
(d) Persian estates in the imperial territories	820
66. The estates of Parysatis	820
(i) North-eastern Babylonia (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> II, 4.27)	820
(ii) In the environs of Nippur (TuM II/III 185)	820
(iii) Syria (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 4.9)	821
(iv) A Greek description of Parysatis' estates (Plato <i>Alc.</i> 122–3a–b)	821
67. The crown-prince's estate in Babylonia (Joannès and Lemaire 1996, no.2)	821
68. The Babylonian estate of Mardonius (BM 64535)	822
69. An agreement to herd the flocks of Arshama's estate in Babylonia (PBS II/1, 145)	823
70. Complaints about the behaviour of an estate steward in Egypt (AD 12)	823
71. A Persian estate in north-west Asia Minor (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> VII, 8.8–9, 12–15)	824
17 Unity and diversity	826
Introduction	826
17.A. The limits of direct control	831
(a) Peoples of the mountains in west Iran	831
1. The Zagros communities (Strabo XI, 13.6)	831

CONTENTS

2. The Uxians	832
(i) Uxian populations in the high mountains (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 17)	832
(ii) The Uxians of the plain (Q.C. V, 3.1–15)	834
3. The Cossaeans	836
(i) Alexander's war against the Cossaeans (D.S. XVII, 111.4–6)	836
(ii) Antigonus' campaign against the Cossaeans (D.S. XIX, 19.2–8)	836
 (b) Highland peoples of Antaolia	837
4. Mysians, Lycaonians and Pisidians (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> III, 2.23)	837
5. Pisidian raids (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> I, 24.6)	838
6. The Carduchians c.400 ((i) Xen. <i>Anab.</i> III, 5.15–16; (ii) D.S. XIV, 27.4)	838
 17.B. Iran, Iranian, Persian and the languages of the empire	840
(a) Iran and Iranian	840
7. A definition of Iran (Strabo XV, 2.8)	840
8. Drangiana (Strabo XV, 2.10)	841
9. Sagartia (Hdt. VII, 85)	841
10. Carmania (Strabo XV, 2.14)	841
11. An expert in Bactrian–Sogdian customs and dialect (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> IV, 3.6–7)	842
12. Persian in Armenia	843
(i) A village headman (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> IV, 5.34)	843
(ii) Women at a spring (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> IV, 5.10)	843
 (b) Learning Persian	844
13. Themistocles at the Persian court (Thuc. I, 137.2; 138.1)	844
14. A Macedonian learns Persian (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> VI, 30.2–3)	844
 (c) Diversity of languages	845
15. A bilingual Lycian ((i) Q.C. V, 4.4, 10; (ii) Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 37.1)	845
16. Acculturation in Central Asia (Q.C. VII, 5.28–9)	845
17. A bilingual community in Babylonia (D.S. XVII, 109.3–5)	846
18. A Persian Greek speaker (Hdt. XIX, 16.2)	846
19. A slave marked in Egyptian is sold in Babylonia (Beaulieu 1994, no.55)	846
 (d) Interpreters	847
20. Tissaphernes' Carian interpreter (Thuc. VIII, 85.1–2)	847
21. Military orders relayed through an interpreter (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> I, 2.17)	847
22. An interpreter in provincial service (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> IV, 4.5)	848
23. A government interpreter (Plut. <i>Them.</i> 6.3)	848
24. The king's interpreter (Q.C. V, 13.6–7)	848

CONTENTS

17.C. Central authority and local institutions	849
(a) Persian regulations and local laws	849
25. Darius the Egyptian law-giver (D.S. I, 94–5)	849
26. Parnaka's judge (PF 1272)	850
27. Accounts prepared in accordance with regulations (PF 1980)	850
28. Two court records from Egypt ((i) Segal, no.13; (ii) Segal, no.14)	851
29. Royal judges in southern Egypt (AP 1)	852
(b) The Persian authorities and local cults	852
30. The satrap of Egypt and the priests of Khnum	852
(i) The priests of Elephantine inform the Persian satrap that they have designated a new <i>lesonis</i> (PBerlin 13539, Spiegelberg 1928)	
(ii) The satrap replies to the priests' report (PBerlin 13540, Spiegelberg 1928)	
(iii) The new <i>lesonis</i> receives acknowledgement for money paid (PBerlin 13572, Zauzich 1978)	
31. Persian authorisation of a Jewish cult observance? (AP 21)	854
32. A quarrel between the Jewish and Egyptian communities on Elephantine (AP 27, 30–3; TADAE I, A4.5–10)	855
(i) The Jews accuse their Egyptian neighbours (c.410)	
(ii) Fragmentary letter about arrested Egyptians (c.410?)	
(iii/a & b) A plea to the governor of Judah for support (25 November 407)	
(iv) Memorandum for reconstructing the Yahu temple (after 407)	
(v) The Elephantine Jews agree to pay an indemnity (after 407)	
33. The citizens of Xanthus found a new cult (FdX VI)	859
(i) Lycian text	859
(ii) Greek text	861
(iii) Aramaic text	861
(c) Interactions	863
34. Two Iranians invest in grain purchase and transport (PBerlin 23000, Naveh and Shaked 1971)	863
35. Cooperation between local dynast and Persian satrap (Xen. Hell. III, 1.10–15)	864
36. Persian dedications to local cults	865
(i) A Persian official dedicates a statue in Sardis (Robert 1975)	865
(ii) The statue of a Persian governor at Athena's sanctuary, Ilium (D.S. XVII, 17.6)	867
(iii) Persian devotees of Artemis in Amyzon, Caria (Amyzon 2)	867
37. A marriage is negotiated between a Persian noble and a Paphlagonian chieftain (Xen. Hell. IV, 1.3–15)	869

CONTENTS

38. An Egyptian funerary stela with a Persian figure (Mathieson et al. 1995)	870
(i) Hieroglyphic text	870
(ii) Demotic text	872
17.D. The southern edge of the empire	873
(a) Achaemenid India	873
39. The peoples west of the Indus (Strabo XV, 2.9)	873
40. Indian troops in Darius III's army at Gaugamela (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 8.6)	873
41. Indian elephants at Susa (Q.C. V, 2.9–10)	873
(b) The coastal area and Gulf	875
42. Persian officials in Gedrosia	875
(i) The Makran coast (PF 679)	875
(ii) The main city of Gedrosia? (PF 681)	875
43. The Straits of Hormuz (Arr. <i>Ind.</i> 32.6–8; 33.1–2, 8)	875
44. Persian controlled islands in the Gulf (Strabo XVI, 3.5, 7)	876
45. A Persian story of how the Erythraean Sea got its name and was colonised (Strabo XVI, 4.20)	877
46. Gardens and a palace near Bushire (Arr. <i>Ind.</i> 39.2–3)	877
Tables	879
Table 1. Kings of Persia	879
Table 2. Chronology of main political events	880
Table 3. Some attested Persian period governors	881
(a) Persian period governors of Babylonia and Across-the-River, Babylon, and the separate province Across-the-River	881
(b) Governors of Bactria	881
(c) Governors of Egypt	882
(d) Governors of Hellespontine Phrygia	882
(e) Governors of Lydia	882
(f) Attested district governors of Judah (YHWD)	882
Table 4. Weights, measures, calendars	884
1. Weights and measures	884
2. Calendars	885
Table 5. The Achaemenid royal family	887
(a) The Family of Xerxes	887
(b) Artaxerxes I to Artaxerxes II	888
(c) Darius II to Darius III	889

CONTENTS

Index of texts	890
I Classical authors	890
II Inscriptions	902
A. Royal inscriptions	902
A(a) Achaemenid	902
A(b) Assyrian	903
A(c) Babylonian	903
A(d) Egyptian	903
B. Civic inscriptions	903
C. Private inscriptions	904
D. Seal inscriptions	904
III Miscellaneous	904
A. Assyrian court documents	904
B. Babylonian chronicles, astronomical texts and kinglists	904
C. Babylonian literary texts	904
D. Biblical passages	904
E. Demotic regulations and selections from the Demotic Chronicle	905
IV. Documents and letters	905
A. Elamite	905
B. Aramaic	907
C. Akkadian	908
D. Demotic	909
List of abbreviations	910
Bibliography	919
General index	953

ILLUSTRATIONS

2.1	Map of Zagros region in the Neo-Assyrian period (after Levine 1974)	23
2.2	Neo-Assyrian relief of a Median fortress, Khorsabad (drawing Tessa Rickards)	29
2.3	Plan of Tepe Nush-i Jan (drawing Tessa Rickards)	36
2.4	The Silver Treasure of Tepe Nush-i Jan (drawing Tessa Rickards)	37
2.5	Eugène Delacroix: <i>The death of Sardanapalus</i> (Musée du Louvre)	43
3.1	Map of Fars and Elam (after Potts 1999)	52
3.2	Seal of Cyrus I (after Garrison and Root 1996/8)	54
3.3	Attic Red Figure vase (photograph Musée du Louvre)	67
3.4	Cyrus Cylinder (photograph British Museum)	74
3.5	(a) Plan of Pasargadae (after Nylander 1970); (b) Plan of the palace area, Pasargadae (after Roaf 1990)	88–9
3.6	Relief from Palace S, Pasargadae (photograph M.S. Drower)	90
3.7	Winged figure from Gatehouse R, Pasargadae (after Stronach 1978)	91
3.8	Tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae (photograph M.S. Drower)	92
4.1	Sketchmap of Egypt and Nubia (after T.G.H. James (ed.), <i>An Introduction to Ancient Egypt</i> , London, 1979)	111
4.2	The statue of Udjahorresne(t) (Vatican Museum, drawing Tessa Rickards)	121
4.3	Apis Stela of Cambyzes (Musée du Louvre, drawing Tessa Rickards)	123
5.1	Map of Iranian plateau and Central Asia (after Briant 1996a [2002b])	139
5.2	The inscriptions on the rock at Bisitun (drawing Tessa Rickards)	142
5.3	Detail of Bisitun relief (drawing Tessa Rickards)	150
5.4	Babylonian version of Bisitun relief (drawing Tessa Rickards)	158
6.1	Map of the Persian empire under Darius I (Brosius 2006)	190
6.2	Plan of Persepolis, c.500–490 (Roaf 1983)	204
6.3	Neo-Assyrian relief of sappers (British Museum, drawing Tessa Rickards)	221
6.4	Darius I's seal from Thebes (British Museum, drawing Tessa Rickards)	237
7.1	Seal of Xerxes (Brussels, drawing Tessa Rickards)	247
7.2	Map of western Asia Minor, the Aegean, Thrace and Greece (after Hornblower 2002)	255
7.3	Neo-Assyrian relief of soldiers, one with large wicker shield (British Museum, drawing Tessa Rickards)	283
7.4	Quadrilingual vase from Halicarnassus (photograph British Museum)	295
7.5	Seal impressions from Dascylium (a) DS 2*; (b) DS 3* (after Kaptan 2002)	299
7.6	(a) Persepolis Terrace, 490–480; (b) Persepolis Terrace, 480–470 (Roaf 1983)	302–3

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

7.7	Fragment of bell crater (photograph British Museum)	308
8.1	Silver phiale (photograph Freer Gallery of Art)	317
8.2	Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes I, Persepolis (Shahbazi 1985)	318
8.3	Plan of palace terrace at Persepolis, c.470–450 (after Roaf 1983)	320
8.4	Inscribed Pillar, Xanthus, Lycia (drawing Tessa Rickards)	340
9.1	(a) Reverse of Attic tetradrachm (Karlsruhe); (b) obverse of Attic tetradrachm (Cologne) (drawing Tessa Rickards)	355
9.2	Lead sling bullet with name of Tissaphernes (drawing Tessa Rickards)	368
9.3	Coin of Demetrius Poliorketes (drawing Tessa Rickards)	385
9.4	Chronology of the Egyptian rulers of dynasties XXVIII–XXX	390
9.5	Plan of Artaxerxes II's palace at Susa (after Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979)	404
9.6	Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes III, Palace H (Shahbazi 1985)	406
9.7	Plan of Persepolis palace terrace, c.450–330 (Roaf 1983)	408
9.8	Tetradrachm of Artaxerxes III from Egypt (drawing Tessa Rickards)	413
10.1	The Alexander Mosaic (Naples Archaeological Museum, drawing Tessa Rickards)	437
10.2	Coin of Sabaces, satrap of Egypt (drawing Tessa Rickards)	438
10.3	Neo-Assyrian bronze relief showing the city of Tyre (Balawat Gate, British Museum, drawing Tessa Rickards)	441
10.4	The unfinished tomb at Persepolis (after Kleiss and Calmeyer 1975)	455
10.5	Iranian story-teller retelling the tale of Darius III's death (M. Wood 1997, copyright reserved)	456
10.6	Thorvaldsen's Alexander relief: the entry of Alexander into Babylon (Quirinal Palace, Rome, 1913; after Calmeyer 1990)	462
10.7	Chronology of Alexander's campaigns	463–5
11.1	Foundation tablets, Persepolis (National Museum of Iran, Tehran; photograph Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)	477
11.2	Front and back of Darius I statue, Susa (National Museum of Iran, Tehran; after Gonnet 1974)	480
11.3	Reconstruction and section of Susa Gate (after Perrot and Ladiray 1974)	481
11.4	Sides views of Darius I statue, Susa (after Gonnet 1974)	482
11.5	Figures on Artaxerxes II(III)'s tomb façade, Persepolis (after Walser 1966)	484
11.6	Kabret stela (Ismailia; after Ménant)	485
11.7	Retaining wall of palace terrace, Persepolis (photograph M.S. Drower)	488
11.8	Plan of Persepolis and environs (after Kleiss)	490
11.9	Plan of Achaemenid Susa (after Perrot and Ladiray 1974)	493
11.10	Plan of Darius I's palace, Susa (after Ladiray 1997)	494
11.11	Glazed brick panel, Susa (photograph, Musée du Louvre, Paris)	496
11.12	Stone column, Susa (after Ladiray 1997)	498
11.13	Base of column, Hamadan (photograph British Museum, London)	499
11.14	Façade of Darius I's tomb, Naqsh-e Rostam (after Seidl 2003)	500
11.15	View of royal tombs, Naqsh-e Rostam (after Trümpelmann 1992)	502
11.16	Relief from entrance to Hundred Column Hall, Persepolis (photograph N. Mizbani)	504
11.17	Lion hunt relief, Nineveh (photograph British Museum, London)	512
11.18	Garden relief, Nineveh (photograph British Museum, London)	513
11.19	Reconstruction of 'sacred precinct', Pasargadae (after Stronach 1978)	516

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

11.20	Glazed brick relief of guards, Susa (photograph Musée du Louvre, Paris)	518
11.21	Chariot on eastern Apadana staircase, Persepolis (photograph M.S. Drower)	520
11.22	Reconstruction of Apadana façade and staircase, Persepolis (drawing Tessa Rickards)	522
11.23	Reliefs of 'tribute bearers', Persepolis (photograph M.S. Drower)	523–6
11.24	Battle between Arabs and Assyrians, Nineveh (photograph British Museum, London)	530
11.25	Reconstruction of Persian royal robe (after G. Tilia)	532
11.26	Detail of <i>akinakes</i> , audience relief, Persepolis (drawing Tessa Rickards)	533
11.27	Gold <i>akinakes</i> sheath, Oxus Treasure (photograph British Museum, London)	534
11.28	Ivory <i>akinakes</i> sheath, Takht-i Sangin (drawing Tessa Rickards)	535
11.29	Audience relief, Persepolis (drawing Tessa Rickards)	536
11.30	Seal impression (DS 4), Dascylium (after Kaptan 2002)	537
11.31	Detail, Alexander Sarcophagus (Istanbul Museum; drawing Tessa Rickards)	538
11.32	Royal seat-bearer, eastern Apadana staircase, Persepolis (drawing Tessa Rickards)	541
11.33	Seal and impression, Oxus Treasure (photograph British Museum, London)	542
11.34	Painted wooden beams, Asia Minor (drawing M.-F. Clergeau)	543
11.35	The royal image on Achaemenid coins (after Stronach 1989)	545
11.36	Persian hero and lion, 'Harem', Persepolis (photograph M.C. Root)	546
11.37	Seal impression (PFS 7*), Persepolis Fortification archive (after Garrison and Root I)	547
11.38	Restored elevation and section of altar, Pasargadae (after Stronach 1978)	548
11.39	Seal impressions (PFS 68; 706*), Persepolis Fortification archive (after Garrison 2000)	549
11.40	Plan of Building 3, Dahan-i Gulaman (after Scerrato 1966)	550
11.41	Impression of seal (after CAH IV (plates))	552
11.42	Relief from Dascylium (Istanbul Museum; drawing David Saxon)	553
11.43	Gold plaque from Oxus Treasure (after Dalton 1964)	554
11.44	Seal impression (PFS 11*), Persepolis Fortification archive (after Garrison 1998)	555
11.45	Reconstruction of winged disc, Hundred Column Hall, Persepolis (after Tilia in Shahbazi 1976)	556
11.46	Seal impression (after Houtkamp 1991)	561
11.47	Seal impression (PFS 75), Persepolis Fortification archive (after Garrison 2000)	562
11.48	Kabah-i Zardusht, Naqsh-i Rostam (photograph M.S. Drower)	563
11.49	Seal, Anapa (Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)	567
11.50	Reconstruction of Zendan, Pasargadae (after Stronach 1978)	570
11.51	Neo-Assyrian hunting relief, Nineveh (photograph British Museum, London)	573
12.1	(a) Plan of the Gateway of All Lands, Persepolis (after Shahbazi 1976); (b) winged bulls, eastern door of the Gateway of All Lands (photograph M.S. Drower)	582–3
12.2	Scene from Scythian electrum vessel, Crimea (drawing Tessa Rickards)	587
12.3	Relief from Palace of Darius, Persepolis (drawing Tessa Rickards)	592
12.4	Seal impression (PFS 38), Persepolis Fortification archive (after Garrison and Root I)	596

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

12.5	Seal impression (PFS 51), Persepolis Fortification archive (after Garrison 1992)	597
12.6	Relief from Palace of Darius, Persepolis (photograph M.S. Drower)	612
12.7	Silver ram-headed rhyton, Ust Kamenogorsk (after Pope 1938)	613
12.8	(a) Cylinder seal impression of landscape, DS 110; (b) Stamp seal impression of wild goat herds, DS 111 (after Kaptan 2002)	615
12.9	Reconstruction of a throne from Samaria (after M. Tadmor 1974)	617
12.10	Plan of the Persian-style palace in Babylon (after Koldewey 1931)	618
13.1	Detail of Assyrian hunting relief showing two men catching an onager with a lasso (photograph British Museum)	630
13.2	Detail of Assyrian hunting relief showing deer being trapped in a net (photograph British Museum)	631
13.3	Gold bracelet from the Oxus Treasure (photograph British Museum)	638
13.4	Seal impression, PTS 33*/PFS 71* (after CAH IV)	642
13.5	Detail of the statue of Ptah-hotep (drawing Tessa Rickards)	660
13.6	Inscribed coffin of Eshmunazar of Sidon (after Briant 1996a [2002b])	663
14.1	Bronze lion weight from Abydos (photograph British Museum)	676
14.2	Diagram of a <i>qanat</i> (after Wuttman in Briant 2001b)	726
15.1	Map of the principal routes (after Briant 1996a [2002b])	736
15.2	(a) Location of Deh-Bozan way-station; (b) Bell-shaped column base, Deh-Bozan (after Mousavi 1989)	738
15.3	Map of Upper Mesopotamia (after Fales 1996 and Joannès 1995)	740
15.4	Main route from Gaza to the Egyptian Delta (after Graf 1994)	749
15.5	Main routes in Syria-Palestine (after Graf 1994)	750
16.1	Elamite tablet PF 915, Persepolis Fortification archive (photograph Oriental Institute, Chicago)	771
16.2	Drawing of PFS 120 (after Garrison and Root I)	776
16.3	(a) Drawing of PFS 9*; (b) drawing of PFS 16* (after Garrison and Root I)	782
16.4	Drawing of PFS 113*/PTS 4* (after Garrison and Root I)	787
16.5	Location of centres in the Persepolis archives (after Sumner 1986)	802
16.6	The main road from Persepolis to Susa (after Koch 1988)	804
16.7	Sealed Aramaic papyrus (after Kraeling 1953 (= BP))	816
17.1	Map of the Zagros mountains (after Briant 1996a [2002b])	833
17.2	Persepolitan-style relief, Meydancikkale (after Casabonne 2004)	837
17.3	(a) Double-headed bull capital, Tsikhiagora, Georgia (after Tsetskhladze 2003); (b) Bell-shaped column-base, Gumbati, Georgia (after Knauss 2001)	839
17.4	Map of the Iranian plateau (after Briant 1996a [2002b])	840
17.5	Rider and horse, carpet detail, Pazyryk, Siberia (after Casabonne 2004)	842
17.6	Limestone stela, Fayum(?), Egypt (after CAH IV)	849
17.7	Drawing of Xanthus trilingual stela (after FdX VI)	860
17.8	Funerary stela from Mit Rahina, Egypt (after CAH IV)	864
17.9	Sarcophagus from Can, Turkey (after Sevinc et al. 2001)	866
17.10	Altar from Kayseri region, Turkey (Ankara Museum; drawing David Saxon)	868
17.11	Funerary stela, Saqqara, Egypt (after E. Bettles in Mathieson et al. 1995)	871
17.12	Cylinder seal impression, Murashu archive tablet (after Briant 1996c)	872
17.13	Map of the Persian Gulf (after Salles 1990)	874
17.14	Persian army contingents at Gaugamela (Arr. <i>Anab.</i> III, 8.3–6)	877

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The aim of this book is to provide a guide to the problems involved in trying to reconstruct the history and workings of the Achaemenid Persian empire. Given that much of the material is scattered across academic disciplines, I hope that it may serve as a guide by bringing the most important pieces of evidence together. There are some apparent omissions. I have no chapters devoted to the Persian armies and warfare nor on imperial or provincial administration. The evidence for this is bitty, often embedded in texts on which (our very partial) reconstruction of the political history depends. I hope that the accompanying notes, together with cross-referencing, will help to compensate for this lack.

The introduction to each chapter serves to set out the difficulties involved in using the very disparate sources and so orientate students. In order to reduce the length of the bibliography, I refer the reader for complete references to Pierre Briant's book on the Achaemenid empire of 1996, now available in an English translation (2002), which contains detailed research notes. That, together with his annotated bibliographical supplements of 1997 and 2001 (a third is in progress), provides the fullest possible references. In general, I recommend that readers use this book together with Briant's work, which is the most authoritative study of all aspects of the Achaemenid empire available. More material – pictorial, work in progress, texts, newsletters, recent archaeological work, links to relevant sites such as *Encyclopedia Iranica* and the Oriental Institute in Chicago, publications online – can be found at www.achemenet.com. Another helpful reference tool is the detailed bibliography prepared by Ursula Weber and Josef Wiesehöfer, *Das Reich der Achaimeniden: eine Bibliographie* (AMI Erg. 15), Berlin, 1996. Important studies, relevant to the subject, appear continually, which I have not been able to take into account. For example, a new publication has just come to my notice on the debated term 'Arya', G. Fussman et al., *Aryas, Aryens et Iraniens en Asie centrale* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation Indienne, fasc. 72, 2005), which will need to be taken into account in future discussions (see **11, no.12**, n.3; **17, Section B(a)**). Another book is the beautifully illustrated introduction to the Achaemenids by Lindsay Allen, *The Persian Empire: a history* (London: British Museum Press, 2005). Readers should also look out for M. Brosius, *The Persians*, publication of which is scheduled for 2006 (London: Routledge).

Some technical points. All dates are BC, unless stated otherwise. The abbreviations of Achaemenid royal inscriptions are conventional, established by Kent, and followed by all subsequent scholars. Each inscription presented here is more fully described in the appropriate place, so I have not added these to the list of abbreviations. Where an ancient writer is primarily known for just one work, I have not given the title; thus, I refer simply to 'Herodotus', not to 'Herodotus, *The Histories*'. Apart from instances where they are credited, I

have (re)translated everything, although inevitably my translations rely heavily on existing ones to which reference is made. Given the many different languages in which the written sources exist, I have not attempted to provide consistent spellings, tending to use the most familiar ones where applicable.

Conventions used: /š/ = 'sh'; /ṣ/ = emphatic 's'; /ṭ/ = emphatic 't'; Akkadian /h/ is always hard, like 'ch' in 'loch'; the same sound is rendered by Egyptian /ḥ/ and OP /x/; /ḥ/ = is like 'ch' in German 'ich'; /ḥ/ = emphatic 'h'; /ḏ/ = dj; /ṭ/ = tj; [...] lacuna in text of undefined length; <...> error in text restored; (...) indicates an omitted passage; ... signals uncertain readings in text. Some Old Persian words have been reconstructed from loanwords in other languages (Aramaic, Elamite and Greek); since they are not attested in OP texts, such reconstructions are usually indicated by an asterisk, e.g. *ganzabara-.

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people and institutions in preparing this book. In particular I should like to thank Lindsay Allen, Pierre Briant, Maria Brosius, Wouter Henkelman and John Tait, for reading, advice and correcting sections of the manuscript; the Leverhulme Trust for granting me a fellowship that freed me from undergraduate teaching, so that I could pursue essential research; and Tessa Rickards for the drawings. I should also like to acknowledge the following for assistance with material: Beatrice André-Salvini, Elizabeth Bettles, David Brown, Marie-Françoise Clergeau, Dominique Collon, John Curtis, Susan Davies, Margaret Drower, Geoffrey Emberling, Mark Garrison, Ann Gunter, Tom and Sadie Holland, Charles Jones, Deniz Kaptan, Louis Levine, Carey Martin, Dan Potts, Michael Roaf, Margaret Root, Ursula Seidl, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Harry Smith, Matthew Stolper, Christopher Walker, Susan Walker, Josef Wiesehöfer.

Much of what I have learned about the Persian empire is the result of many years of fruitful cooperation with Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, who died in 2000. We had planned at one time to write a source book on Achaemenid history together. I therefore dedicate this work to her memory.

Amélie Kuhrt
History/UCL
November 2005

PS. There have been unavoidable delays since I handed in the completed manuscript in December 2005. Given the pressure of other commitments, it has not been possible for me to update material consistently, although I have done so in some instances, and the book by Maria Brosius has been available since spring 2006. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank Richard Stoneman for his persistent encouragement to write this book and his unflinching support for ancient historians working outside the conventional sphere of Greek and Roman history. Many thanks to the staff of Routledge and to my copy-editor, Frances Brown.

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INTRODUCTION

(Alexander the Great's) empire did not survive its founder and it is doubtful that anyone could have held such a vast territory together.

(F. Wood, *The Silk Road: two thousand years in the heart of Central Asia*, London 2002: 39)

The Achaemenid empire is the earliest and largest of the known 'world empires'. It developed around a tiny core in the modern province of Fars in south Iran – the modern form of the Old Persian name for the region, Parsa, called by classical Greeks 'Persis' – our 'Persia' (cf. RLA X, s.v. Persien, Perser. B). 'Achaemenid' derives from the eponymous founder of the ruling dynasty, 'Achaemenes'; it was the name of the Persian royal clan (**3, no.5**), members of which ruled the empire for more than 200 years. Its expansion began c.550, with the astonishing conquests of Cyrus (II) the Great (559–530) and Cambyses (II, 530–522); it was brought to an end by the conquests of Alexander of Macedon between 334 and 323 – the turning point in his campaign came with the death of the last Achaemenid emperor, Darius III, in 330 (see **Chapter 10**). On Alexander's death, his empire was shaken by struggles among his generals and its territorial integrity was shattered (see the quote above). In contrast, the Achaemenid rulers controlled a territory stretching from the Hellespont to north-west India, including Egypt (most of the time) and extending into Central Asia up to the frontiers of modern Kazakhstan for over two hundred years. At the time, there was no other state of even remotely comparable size or power, in contrast to later kingdoms occupying the same territory (the Ptolemaic and Seleucid realms; the Parthian and Sassanian empires). It is possible that we should understand the emergence of new, expansionist states along the Persian empire's frontiers in the last decades of Achaemenid rule (such as Macedon to the north-west and Mauryan India to the south-east) as occurring, at least partly, in response to Persian imperial pressures, although this is an aspect that remains to be analysed in full.

Because of the empire's immense size, problems inherent in the evidence for studying it, its fairly rapid destruction by Alexander and dismemberment by his successors, scholars have long regarded the Persians as weak, ineffective rulers. A pervasive image of Achaemenid history presents the first decades of the great conquerors (Cyrus the Great to Darius I, 559–486) as a period of creative innovation and vigorous activity, while the subsequent 150+ years are characterised as a period of stagnation and decline: there were revolts by members of the royal family and governors; Egypt was lost to Achaemenid control; military strength was not maintained as the Achaemenid emperors came to rely, fatally, on mercenary forces; cultic freedom was replaced with religious intolerance; the bureaucracy became corrupt, court life was degenerate, taxation oppressive – in short, by the fourth century the empire was dying on its feet and hated by its subjects (see, e.g., Frye 1984). Another problem with Persian rule has been seen in the fact that it is not easy to trace the Persian

presence in the empire, away from the heartland. Does this not mean that, in the absence of effective rivals, the rulers made no effort to root their power in the imperial provinces and create an effective infrastructure to sustain the realm (which, in turn, would help to explain Alexander's success)?

In reaction to this negative stereotype, a new approach has developed since the 1970s, and is now beginning to dominate perceptions of the Achaemenid empire (see, in particular, *Achaemenid History I–VIII* (1987–94); Wiesehöfer 1993 [1994], Section B; Kuhrt 1995a, ch.13; Briant 1996a [2002b]). Scholars engaged in rethinking the history of this period have stressed some of the following factors. Despite internal revolts, recurring problems along frontiers, attempts at secession (including the loss of Egypt for nearly sixty years), succession crises and regicides, the Achaemenid empire held its enormous territories and diverse subject populations together for over 200 years. The question, therefore, is not so much why it came to an end, but rather how it was able to be so successful. Two fundamental points should be noted: first, after a serious crisis in the formative decades of the empire, when Darius I violently usurped the throne (522/1, see **Chapter 5**), the Achaemenid family never lost its exclusive hold on the kingship. Secondly, in view of this remarkable achievement, it is more helpful to see the empire in the reigns of Darius I and his son, Xerxes (522–465), as moving into a new phase of maturity and stability. In other words, the 'vitality' of the foundation decades gives way, not to 'stagnation' and a process of terminal decline, but to consolidation. After this transition, 'nationalist revolts' are scarcely attested – Egypt is the exception, although their number and nature has been greatly exaggerated (Briant 1988a). From then on, the aims of rebels centred on who should sit on the imperial throne, not on setting up separatist states. Also, from Xerxes (486–465) on there was no further territorial expansion; efforts were directed towards tightening and adjusting the administration: rationalising the provincial system (Hornblower 1982; Stolper 1989a; Petit 1990) and greater uniformity in taxation and accounting are evidence of this (Descat 1985; 1989).

(a) The physical environment

The area embraced by the Achaemenid empire extended from the shores of Turkey (Anatolia) and Egypt in the west through the Levant (a term that includes the territory of the modern states of Israel, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria west of the Euphrates) to Mesopotamia (the territories of Assyria and Babylonia, equivalent to Syria east of the Euphrates and Iraq) into Iran, Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan) and part of north-west India (Pakistan).

Iran is separated from the low-lying Mesopotamian plain by the Zagros mountains, where the land rises in a series of high ridges then shelves gently down to the Iranian plateau. The most important route linking the two regions runs from around Baghdad, along the Diyala valley to modern Kermanshah (past Bisitun), and from there to Hamadan (ancient Ecbatana). From here, one route runs south-east towards Fars (Parsa), thence east through Kirman (Carmania) and Baluchistan (Gedrosia) into Pakistan. Another very important one runs almost directly east from Hamadan, through Tehran, then divides, with one crossing the mountains into Hyrcania and on through the great oases of Merv and Samarkand to the Jaxartes river (modern Syr Darya). Much of this desert region was inhabited by nomadic groups, known collectively as 'Saca' or 'Scythians'. The other route moves south of the Kopet Dağ range to Mashad and Herat in Afghanistan, whence routes diverge to the low-

lying region of Seistan (Drangiana), Kabul (in Gandara) and Kandahar (in Arachosia). Both the main routes skirt extremely hostile salt deserts, which cover much of central Iran, and were at all times very scantily inhabited. The climate on the Iranian plateau is very hot in summer, but icy in winter.

Crucially important in all the imperial territories are levels of rainfall: in the north and west (Turkey, the Levant, Upper Mesopotamia, the Caspian coastal belt) enough rain falls to grow crops without the need for regular irrigation, but in south Mesopotamia and Egypt the annual rainfall is very low, so that agriculture is totally dependent on irrigation using the great rivers. But there the similarity between the two countries ends: before the construction of the great Aswan dam the Nile flooded the valley of Egypt from late July to September, i.e. after the harvest, and receded again just at sowing time; while in south Mesopotamia, the Tigris and Euphrates flood in the springtime at the very moment when the crops are ready to be harvested. Much energy, therefore, has to be expended here on clearing and constructing canals to control the floodwaters. On the Iranian plateau, away from the salt deserts, a unique method for distributing water was developed – the *qanats* are underground channels, constructed to conduct water from slopes to settlements. At regular intervals, shafts are sunk for maintenance and inspection of the conduits, and access to water can be regulated by shutting off the main one from its outlets. The system is still used in parts of modern Iran (A. Smith 1953; Beaumont, Blake and Wagstaff 1976: 88–92), and was certainly in existence at the time of the Persian empire (**14, no.41**). It seems to have been introduced by the Persians to help irrigate some of the great oases to the west of Egypt, as remnants of an old *qanat*-system at Kharga indicate (Wuttman in Briant 2001b; Chauveau 1998: 24–5; **fig.14.2**).

The most important crops for human consumption throughout the region are wheat and barley, with vetch and clover grown as feed for large cattle and for the draught animals essential for agriculture, armies and transport (oxen, donkeys and horses). The maturing season for these crops, however, varies from April to July in the highland areas of Iran and Turkey to February to May in the Fertile Crescent, i.e. Mesopotamia, the Levant, Egypt. The important thing to note in the latter case is that the harvest is over by summertime. Apart from animals kept for special purposes, sheep and goats were the main livestock. Because areas of suitable arable land are limited, herding tends to be restricted to the margins of the farming zones, and the availability of grazing lands varies according to the seasonal rainfall. As a result, most herding, throughout the empire's territories, is traditionally transhumant, i.e. herders are forced to move their flocks to where there is water and suitable grazing from season to season. Patterns of herding, however, again differ according to region: in central Turkey and the Zagros, people bring their animals into the lower-lying and warmer villages in the winter, fanning out with their flocks on upland pastures in summer. In the Fertile Crescent, rainfall creates pasture in the deserts in winter, attracting pastoralists. The burning summers are the great enemy, forcing herders to compete for scant water resources with farmers. One other animal which played an important role in this period was the camel (dromedary and, in Central Asia and Iran, Bactrian), used by merchants to cross the vast tracts of inhospitable desert, as well as providing the main pack-animal for the army; its deployment as a warrior-mount is less clear (see Briant 1982a, ch.3; Bulliet 1990). War elephants, such an important weapon in the armies of the immediately succeeding period, only appear at the very end of the Achaemenid empire, when they may have been part of a new development (Briant 1997b).

(b) The political situation preceding the Persian empire

The most influential political entity before the Persian conquest was the Neo-Assyrian empire, which dominated the whole of the Fertile Crescent from the second half of the eighth century to the 610s. In terms of political ideology (rhetorical and iconographic), bureaucracy, taxation, agricultural production, provincial structure, military techniques, court hierarchy and etiquette, and communications, it was highly developed, as is clear from the very rich surviving documentation (see, in particular, the series *State Archives of Assyria* 1–1987–). Assyria's contemporary neighbours are much less clearly delineated in the sources. The Egyptian principalities were conquered by Nubian rulers in the late eighth century, who came into conflict with Assyria in the early seventh century and were driven out of Egypt following a series of Assyrian invasions. Assyria supported the prince of one of the tiny Delta kingdoms (Sais), and his descendants ('Saites') were able to impose political control on the various parts of Egypt as far as Aswan and the great oases of the Libyan desert (Grimal 1992, ch.14). Their efforts to take advantage of the fall of the Assyrian régime in order to extend Egyptian control into the Levant remained unsuccessful in the face of the Neo-Babylonian rulers, heirs to the Assyrian empire, taking over and building on many of its imperial structures and controlling roughly the same territory (Kuhrt 1995a: 589–610; Joannès 2000 [2004], chs.5–7).

To the north, in Anatolia and Armenia, three kingdoms bordered the Assyrian realm: Urartu, centred on Lake Van, extended east into Azerbaijan, north into the Araxes basin and west to the upper reaches of the Euphrates. Its political organisation is far from clear, but the archaeological remains suggest a powerful kingdom capable of mobilising sufficient manpower to build massive citadels, which served as storage, control and refuge points along the main strategic routes (Zimansky 1985). At around the time of the fall of Assyria, there are indications that Urartu was politically fragmented. In the early Achaemenid period, references to the region in a royal inscription (**5, no.1**) mention no political leaders (Zimansky 1995). Further west, the Phrygian kingdom of central Anatolia is even less well known, although excavations at ancient Gordion have revealed remains of a substantial city and associated royal tumuli furnished with fine, but not lavish, objects. According to tradition, Phrygia was devastated by a nomadic attack at some point in the seventh century, although the notion that this led to a total disappearance of Phrygian culture is probably wrong (OEANE II, 426–31). In terms of political power, Phrygian hegemony was eclipsed by Lydia, centred on Sardis in western Turkey, which emerged as a powerful state in the middle of the seventh century (Kuhrt 1995a: 567–72).

To the east, the Zagros range was inhabited by diverse groups of people, dominated in some cases by prosperous cities with elaborate and distinctive public buildings, clearly maintaining close links with Assyria (some, indeed, were Assyrian subjects) and playing a role in long-distance trade (Dyson 1965; CAH IV, 6–23). Further south, at the eastern end of the Mesopotamian plain and extending into the more high-lying area of Fars, was Elam, whose westernmost and, at this time, most important city was Susa. Elam's structure at this period is extremely obscure. The conventional view, that it consisted of several virtually independent units in rivalry with each other, probably needs modification (Waters 1997/2000; Henkelman 2003b and c). Although Susa and its environment suffered a devastating attack from the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal, in 646, archaeological evidence and a palace archive indicate that a small kingdom certainly existed here in the early sixth century and that the destructive impact of the Assyrian campaign has been exaggerated (Carter and Stolper 1984; Miroschedji 1985; Potts 1999: 285–307).

Among the peoples of the Zagros encountered by Assyrian kings were groups called ‘Medes’, linguistically related to the Persians. They lived, according to Assyrian texts, like others of the region, in small towns under local rulers. Yet by the late seventh century they seem to have formed a substantial political entity under a ‘king’, powerful enough to join the Babylonian armies in mounting a series of devastating attacks on Assyria. Later traditions credit them with wielding some kind of control over eastern and central Anatolia (**2, no.15**), and extending their political influence to eastern Iran and Central Asia (**2, no.17**), where the archaeological evidence indicates the presence of several urban settlements in the Iron Age (Litvinsky 1995); they are also alleged to have dominated the tiny kingdom of Parsa in Fars (**3, nos.7–8**). Nothing is known about Median culture and socio-political structure, and scholars differ sharply in what they infer from some rather ambiguous evidence. Some have argued for a highly developed empire, strongly influenced by Assyrian imperial practices and capable of founding large cities with sophisticated public buildings (e.g. Dandamaev 1997; Summers 1997). Others, emphasising the absence of concrete evidence, prefer to see the Medes as certainly a potent force, but never developing any state institutions (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988a; 1994a; the majority of contributors to Lanfranchi et al. 2003; Rollinger 2005). The latter is now becoming the majority view, although the former continues to have its adherents. What view is taken has implications for how one understands the formation of the Achaemenid empire, because it has traditionally been assumed that the Persians inherited many of their most important and distinctive imperial institutions from the Medes (Dandamaev 1997). Recently, several scholars have emphasised instead the crucial formative role played by the developed empires of the Near East, particularly Assyro-Babylonia, in the articulation of the Achaemenid empire. But ultimately the most influential part was played by the Elamite realm. This is becoming ever clearer (see, for example, the recent work of Potts 1999; Waters 1997/2000; Henkelman 2003b and c; Alvarez-Mon 2004). This is where the Persians had long been based and where their most impressive centres were founded. Elamite was one of the important vehicles used for royal inscriptions and Elamite administrative practices shaped those employed by the Achaemenids (**3, Introduction & no.4**; cf. **11, nos.12–13**; **16, Introduction**).

THE SOURCES

The material for studying the Achaemenid empire presents particular difficulties, not so much because it is sparse but because it is very disparate. The many different peoples embraced by the empire had their own, often very long-established, distinctive traditions for commemorating the past and of writing, artistic forms, religion, social and political institutions, eating habits and, of course, languages. These were modified in different ways and over time as they interacted with the Persian régime. But the many local traditions and forms did not die out, and this helps to explain some of the great diversity in the evidence available to the historian. A further problem with the material we have is its very uneven temporal and spatial distribution: the bulk of the documentation clusters around the late sixth and early fifth centuries and is throughout, almost exclusively, concentrated on the western, above all the north-western, section of the empire. In this chapter, I delineate the main sources only. Many more will be found in the succeeding chapters, where they are discussed as the need arises. The introduction to each chapter serves to provide a critical assessment of the relevant evidence.

Before excavation and the subsequent decipherment of ancient Near Eastern scripts in the nineteenth century, the Achaemenid empire was primarily known through the works of classical Greek and Roman writers, and some books of the Old Testament. These have combined to create a kind of template of Persia and its rulers, into which other material, as it eventually became available, was fitted or forced to fit (see, particularly, Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989/2002). It is important to be aware of this, because that is not how we can, or should, proceed in trying to understand Achaemenid history and the régime's undoubted success in holding such a vast and varied territory together over two centuries. The evidence at our disposal does not allow us to fit the various pieces together to produce a complete whole, as in a jigsaw. Rather, we gain a series of overlapping and differing perspectives, which sometimes illuminate or amplify the import of a passage in the Bible or a classical historian, but can also directly contradict such writings. What is crucial, in *all* instances, is to be aware of the nature of each piece of documentation and to recognise its limitations, which in every instance is directly linked to its context.

(a) Classical writers

In order to arrive at an outline of Persian political history, we are forced to rely heavily on Graeco-Roman historians, as the Persians themselves did not, in this period, with one exception (**5, no.1**), write narrative histories. There was an important tradition of historical writing in Babylonia, but only a little covering the Achaemenid period has survived

(**2, no.10; 3, no.1; 9, nos.55; 67–8; 76; 10, nos.2; 27**). This gives us a rather lopsided and one-dimensional view of the empire, of which we need constantly to be aware. At the same time, it is worth remembering that the lives of Greeks in the fifth and fourth centuries were intimately bound up with the Achaemenid empire on whose margins they lived. One important writer, Herodotus, was born inside its frontiers; others served at the Persian court as doctors (e.g. **12, no.12, n.2**), were called to it as entertainers (**12, no.45**) or produced fine objects for the king (**11, no.30**). Uncountable numbers hired themselves out for mercenary service, while embassies made the long journeys to satrapal and royal palaces to try to obtain financial backing for their political ambitions and internecine wars. Thucydides, for example, whose interest lay in analysing the murderous conflict between Athens and Sparta in the last decades of the fifth century, was clearly aware of Greek dependence on Persian support and the interrelations of the two (cf. **6, no.29; 7, nos.67; 75; 81; 8, nos.7, 11, 14; 16–17; 26–8; 30**). Thus the various contemporary writers, on whom later authors depended, had a considerable familiarity with some events and aspects of life in the empire. However distorted some of their accounts appear, however much they have suffered from exaggeration, or their accounts been tweaked for dramatic effect, they contain a wealth of potential information. As one scholar has pointed out, what we have to reckon with in these accounts is not invention, but the ‘spin’ that has been put on events (Bosworth 2003). So context, aims of the writer, the setting of events into narrative frameworks must always be remembered, as must their inevitable spatial and temporal limitations. But we can certainly not ignore them.

The earliest surviving and most important of the classical historians is Herodotus writing in the later fifth century (Bichler and Rollinger 2000). His aim was to commemorate the victories won by the mainland Greeks over the Persians in 490 and 480–479, so his valuable information is limited chronologically to the earlier phases of the empire. Although he is unrivalled in his coverage of many areas and aspects, his greatest interest, and the focus for his most detailed discussion, was its north-western frontier (Drews 1974a: 45–96; cf. Briant 1990a). Beyond that, his work is marked by a series of didactic motifs, which shape the way he structured his account: freedom versus servitude; there are dangers inherent in imperial expansion, which inevitably leads to decline; monarchy turns into despotism, which is a corrupt form of power and, hence, brings disaster in its wake; the struggle to liberate one’s homeland results in the conquest of others. Several of these lessons are worked out using the example of the growth of the Persian empire, climaxing in the figure of Xerxes, whose image as a doom-laden ruler had already been fixed by the time Herodotus was writing through Aeschylus’ tragedy *The Persians*. A further important point to remember when reading Herodotus is that he engaged actively with the intellectual debates of his time (Thomas 2000). He was addressing an informed audience, given that others had already written on Persia or were preparing to do so, i.e. Charon of Lampsacus, Dionysius of Miletus and Hellanicus of Lesbos (FGrH 687b, 687 & 687a, respectively). It would be wrong to see him as a sort of Christopher Columbus, revealing the strangeness of new worlds; his work fits into contemporary discussions on how to make sense of the world (see further Bakker, de Jong and van Wees 2002).

Among the fourth-century classical writers, the doctor Ctesias of Cnidus is potentially the most valuable (Lenfant). It is usually assumed that he arrived at the Persian court as a prisoner-of-war in the late fifth century, although it is just as possible that he entered the king’s service of his own volition. What is certain is that he was among the medical team attending on Artaxerxes II at the Battle of Cunaxa in 401 (**9, Section A**), and may have

become a particular confidant of the queen-mother Parysatis. A hint that he really was trusted by the king is the fact that, on one occasion, he acted as his messenger (**9, no.49**). After his return home, he wrote a history of Persia in twenty-three books, including a prelude on Assyria and the Medes (*Persica*). Further, he composed other works, including one 'On the products of Asia' and an 'ethnography' on the wonders of India (*Indica*) – the earliest-known Greek work devoted to the subcontinent. Unfortunately, his work has not survived. We have summaries of the *Persica* and *Indica* made in the ninth century AD by Photius, the learned patriarch of Constantinople, and there are numerous citations (some very long) from his works in other writers.¹ For long Ctesias' work has had a very poor reputation. Felix Jacoby, the eminent scholar who collected all the fragments of Greek historians (FGrH), characterised him as a plagiarist, who drew all his information from earlier historians, such as Herodotus, introducing variants to obscure this and then claiming greater authority for his versions as an eye-witness. While this may well be the case in some instances, it cannot be true of the whole of Ctesias' work, which covered a much longer period than Herodotus' *Histories* (down to 398), and was clearly much fuller given its length – of the twenty-three books, seventeen are devoted to Persian history from Cyrus II to the first years of Artaxerxes II. A scholarly tendency now is to see Ctesias' work as incorporating a great many Persian oral traditions, offering us glimpses of how various Persians, c.400, viewed their own past (see already Momigliano 1931), of stories circulating about prominent nobles (see, e.g., **13, no.30**) and of alternative traditions about their kings (e.g. **5, no.5**). Moreover, for events closer to his own time in Persia, his account appears to be reliable (**8, nos.20–2**). So, while his information may not always be historically 'correct', it provides us with a different perspective on the Persian past (see the important reassessment by Lenfant).

The Athenian gentleman-soldier Xenophon (early fourth century) was a prolific writer. He joined the band of men recruited by Artaxerxes II's brother, Cyrus, in his unsuccessful bid for the throne in 401 (**9, Section A**). His account of this doomed venture takes the reader through a good part of the western section of the Persian empire, which provides us with some very valuable information, particularly on the Upper Mesopotamian and Armenian regions (see Joannès 1995; Kuhrt 1995b; Zimansky 1995). Quite different is Xenophon's curious, semi-philosophical work, called *The Education of Cyrus* (*Cyropaedia*), a heroic celebration of Cyrus the Great. But its moralising tone, its novelistic style and its aim – to present the founder of the Persian empire as the ideal ruler whose legacy was corrupted by later descendants – mean that historical realities have been subordinated to this larger purpose, so that it is difficult to know how the historian might use it (*EncIr* VI, 512–14). Nevertheless, some of the institutions Xenophon describes were based on contemporary Persian practices, so that, in a schematic fashion, the treatise can shed light on aspects of Persian social and political life. Xenophon's Greek history (*Hellenica*), picking up the story where Thucydides' work left off, is limited to affairs in the Aegean from c.410 to 360. Because of Greek dependence on Persian money, it allows us to see something of the functioning of Persian government in the north-west and the problems the Achaemenid authorities faced trying to set up a working relationship with the chronically factious Greek states – problems surely encountered by them in other frontier regions.

Two other fourth-century writers wrote on Persian history and customs. Deinon (of Colophon?), fl.330s, FGrH 690) composed *Persica* in three 'series' (Gr. *suntaxeis*). The first comprised five books; how long the others were is unclear – but it was obviously a fairly substantial work. The Greek historian Ephorus, writing at the end of the fourth century and

the main source for Diodorus Siculus (first century BC)² for his fifth- and fourth-century Greek history, made use of him. So, too, did the moralist Plutarch (c.50–120 AD), particularly for his invaluable *Life of Artaxerxes* (i.e. Artaxerxes II), as well as the erudite Athenaeus (fl.200 AD) in his ‘Learned Banquet’ (*Deipnosophistae*), at which the diners displayed their knowledge by citing titbits from past writers. The Latin writer Cornelius Nepos (first century BC), whose *Lives of the Great Generals* includes the story of the Persian noble Datames (**13, no.36**), certainly relied on Deinon for some passages. Much less known is Heracleides of Cumae, writing on Persia in the time of Alexander the Great (FGrH 689). His *Persica* were comparatively short – only five books – and he is cited much less frequently than Deinon or Ctesias (see, generally, Stevenson 1997). Writers who compiled curiosities, such as Aelian (c.170–230 AD) in his miscellany of improving anecdotes (*Varia Historia*) and extraordinary examples of animal behaviour (*De Natura Animalium*), and Polyaeus’ collection of military tactics (*Strategemata*, dedicated to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, 161–180 AD), mined these (and other) writers to illustrate their points (see Henkelman forthcoming). In all these cases, of course, we need to be aware of the process of selection exercised by the authors, who were choosing stories that fitted in with their larger purpose. This can give us a very lopsided impression of the nature of the original work of such cited historians (see Lenfant, as well as her study on Deinon and Heracleides, Lenfant forthcoming).

The sources for two further late writers are not always clear. Strabo, a native of Pontus, wrote his remarkable *Geography* in the Augustan period, gathering material over a considerable time. Books XI to XVII cover Asia, hence much of the territory of the Persian empire. Here it is plain that he is often describing circumstances pertaining to an earlier time, which must reflect his varied sources, primarily writers of the hellenistic period, many of them at home in the regions (*Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. Strabon). The uncertainly dated Justin (mid-second century to late fourth century AD) made a summary of the *Philippic History* by Pompeius Trogus. Trogus wrote his universal history in Latin in forty-four books around the same time as Strabo. Of this work, only the prologues and Justin’s epitome survive. What precisely his sources were is uncertain. He probably used Herodotus for the earlier history of Persia, but his source for the account of Darius III’s accession, which diverges interestingly from others (**10, no.5**), is unknown (Yardley and Develin 1994).

Alexander the Great was accompanied during his invasion of the Persian empire by writers charged with celebrating his exploits. None of their works has survived, but they were extensively used by later historians interested in Alexander at the time of the Roman empire. Some of their narratives have survived, such as the long books of Arrian of Nicomedia (second century AD) and Quintus Curtius Rufus (the first two books of his work are lost; possibly first century AD, Baynham 1998). Arrian also made intensive use of the account by Alexander’s admiral Nearchus, who described his maritime survey of the coastline from north-western India into the Persian Gulf to southern Babylonia for his *Indica* (see Bosworth 1995: 361–5). Nearchus was also used by Arrian for his account of Alexander’s conquest, along with other Alexander generals (Brunt 1976–83: xviii–xlv). Cleitarchus, the son of Deinon, writing around 310, was the source for Diodorus Siculus’ seventeenth book, which was devoted to Alexander’s achievements. Plutarch, too, made use of these accounts for his ‘biography’ of Alexander. Because Alexander moved through almost all Achaemenid territory, such histories of Alexander provide valuable glimpses of conditions in the eastern half of the Achaemenid realm, which were of little immediate interest to earlier Greek writers, who focussed on Greek–Persian frontier conflicts. The inbuilt bias of the Alexander historians is patent, yet the value of their testimony must not be underestimated.

All Greeks who were contemporaries of the Achaemenids were fascinated by the wealth and power of the Persian rulers, so they often recount stories of court-intrigue and the moral decadence that comes from indulging in unlimited luxury. In such anecdotes, the Persian king can appear as an essentially weak figure, a prey to the machinations of powerful women and sinister eunuchs. This is an inversion of Greek social and political norms, with which Europeans have usually identified: the image of the cowardly, effeminate Persian monarch has exercised a strong influence through the centuries, making the Persian empire into a powerful 'other' in European Orientalism, contrasted with western ideals of bravery and masculinity (Said 1978; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983a; 1987b; E. Hall 1989; 1993). It is important to remember this 'spin' in studying the Persian empire: in many respect, the popular and widespread impression of its political system based on these writers is inherently flawed (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987a). An additional problem, with all the classical material, is our own, often highly selective, reading. We must remember that we can be guilty of operating with an impression rather than what a writer has actually said. A good example is the widespread image of Cyrus the Great as 'good' and Xerxes as 'bad', whereas there is enough in the pages of Herodotus' *Histories* to make the picture considerably less black and white. But when our impression of the 'good' Cyrus is reinforced by Xenophon's hagiographical *Cyropaedia* and the biblical book of Ezra (see below) and Xerxes' reputation as hubristic aggressor enhanced through poems and plays, it becomes all too easy to gloss over evidence that runs counter to the stereotype (see Wiesehöfer 1993: 71–89).

(b) Old Testament books

The Old Testament has bequeathed two divergent pictures of the Persian kings. In Ezra and Nehemiah they appear as restorers of the Jerusalem temple and active supporters of the Yahweh cult, although the historical problems of these texts loom large, with some denying the historicity of the figure of Ezra entirely (cf. Grabbe 1992; 1994; 2004; Garbini 1988). The image is positive because the Persian kings ushered in the period of the 'Second Temple', ordering the return of people who had been deported from Judah to Babylonia in 587/6, when Nebuchadnezzar II had conquered this small Palestinian kingdom. As part of this, the Persians allowed the returning exiles to restore the temple and city of Jerusalem, and were certainly thought later to have supported that rebuilding with imperial funds. This positive image of Achaemenid rule is also reflected in the writings of the Roman Jewish writer, Josephus (first century AD). The book of Esther, which, in the form we have it, was almost certainly written in the hellenistic period (second century BC, cf. Bickerman 1967), diverges from this rosy image; here, Persian court-life is presented in a way similar to that found in Greek writers. Several hints in the work make it likely that elements of the Esther story existed much earlier, possibly already in the late fifth century, and circulated orally in Aramaic (Momigliano 1977; Stevenson 1997: 52–5; *ABD*, s.v.).

(c) Royal inscriptions

The Persians of the Achaemenid period spoke an early form of Persian called 'Old Persian', a member of the Indo-European language family (*RLA* X, s.v. *Persien*, *Perseer*. A). Texts in Old Persian were written using a wedge-shaped script, quite distinct from the much older Mesopotamian cuneiform system. Its decipherment began in the early nineteenth century, and advanced rapidly when squeezes were made of the longest Old Persian inscription

known, i.e. the text (with accompanying relief) of Darius I (522–486), carved high on the rockface dominating the main road leading from the Mesopotamian plain to Ecbatana (modern Hamadan) at Bisitun (Behistun). Darius' inscription gives a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding and following his accession to the throne (**5, no.1**). The contents circulated through the empire, as an Aramaic version on papyrus from Egypt and an Akkadian version inscribed on stone from Babylon prove. But the Bisitun text is an exception. Material written in Old Persian is largely limited to monumental inscriptions intended to reflect the unchanging majesty of Persian imperial power, and so they provide rather less insight into the Achaemenid empire than scholars originally hoped – political events, historical changes and administrative structures are not (with the exception of Bisitun) recorded in them (for the texts, see Kent; Lecoq 1997). This limitation of the royal texts is linked to the fact that the Old Persian script was probably an artificial royal creation (cf. Herrenschildt 1990). It was intended to make a visual impression, it provided a script unique to the Persians and stamped the empire as Persian, but it was not used outside the formal public sphere. Virtually all Old Persian inscriptions appear on buildings and rockfaces in Iran, or on smaller portable objects probably emanating from the court (stone vases, metal vessels, seals).³ One other striking aspect of the Old Persian inscriptions is that they are virtually always accompanied by versions in other languages – normally Elamite and Babylonian Akkadian (occasionally Egyptian hieroglyphs). The first inscription at Bisitun may, indeed, have been the Elamite version with the Old Persian the last addition (see **5, no.1**, n.1). An important point to realise is that all forms of the inscriptions represent the king's word equally – the Old Persian version does not have priority or carry greater authority than one of the others (Briant 1999b: 94; Henkelman 2006, 4.2.1.3). We need to remember that the Persians had been for long closely intertwined with Elamites (see **3, Introduction**); Elamites had a long history of interaction with Mesopotamia, using Akkadian, indeed, at various periods in Susa for recording transactions.

(d) Administrative documents

Documents in other languages, Babylonian, Egyptian (demotic), Aramaic and Elamite, illuminate socio-economic aspects of the empire. The Aramaic texts are especially important. Aramaic was widely used already in the Near East before the Persian conquest (for example, in the Assyrian empire), and it was perhaps for this reason that it was adopted by the new conquerors as the most generally familiar administrative imperial language. There is evidence for its use in Persepolis, Babylonia, Egypt, the Levant and Asia Minor (CHI II, 698–713). The fact that Aramaic was used in the former eastern provinces of the Achaemenid empire in the hellenistic period (Schlumberger et al. 1958), and that the later Parthians used an Aramaic script to write contemporary Middle Iranian languages, implies that the Achaemenid bureaucracy used Aramaic extensively in this region (Naveh 1982). This long-held assumption has now been dramatically confirmed by the find of late Achaemenid administrative documents from Bactria, using the standard Aramaic employed in the western imperial territories (Shaked 2004).

The most important texts, central to gaining an insight into the workings of the empire, are two groups of Elamite documents from Persepolis. One set, dating between 492 and 458, i.e. from late in the reign of Darius I (522–486) into the early years of Artaxerxes I (465–424), consists of records of silver payments made to workers instead of their regular rations; they number just over a hundred (PTT). They were found in a building on the palace

terrace identified as the treasury; hence they are known as the ‘Treasury Texts’. A much larger group is formed by the tablets stored in the north-west fortifications at Persepolis.⁴ They record authorisations for all kinds of food rations to workers (women, men and children), cultic functionaries (for sacrifices), high-ranking Persian nobles and members of the royal family – two of Darius’ queens, Artystone and Parmys, have been identified, as has (almost certainly) his father, Hystaspes. They date to the period 509–494. This material is extraordinarily rich in its potential for understanding the complex bureaucracy of the region, taxation, the storage network, labour system, agricultural production, landholding, demography, diet, settlement and the organisation, routes and provisioning of travel (Hallock 1972; Hinz 1972; Koch 1977; 1988; 1990; 1993; Lewis 1977; 1990; Aperghis 1996; 1998; 1999; 2004: 264–6; Briant 1996a [2002b], ch.XI; Brosius 1996, ch.5; cf. **16, Introduction**). So far, just over 2,200 texts of this valuable corpus have been published (PFT; Hallock 1978; Henkelman 2005a; 2006, ch.2, for the most recent conspectus); transcriptions of approximately another 2,000 exist, and a very large number of texts and fragments (possibly another 25,000–30,000, housed in the Oriental Institute in Chicago) have yet to be studied and published.⁵ The ‘Treasury’ and ‘Fortification’ texts reflect part (and only part) of the accounting and administrative system of the Fars region. Why they do not cover later periods of the empire is uncertain – possibly the chancellery switched to an exclusive use of Aramaic, written on perishable material, at some point and so the later records have not been preserved. But it is hard to see why, given that Aramaic was extensively used simultaneously with Elamite (see **16, Introduction**).

Another important archive of material (written in Akkadian) comes from Nippur in Babylonia and dates to the second half of the fifth century. It reflects the transactions of a Babylonian business firm, the Murashu family. They engaged in leasing and managing military land grants made to soldiers and landed estates, belonging to members of the royal family and high court personnel, and carrying out associated commercial transactions. This material affords insights into some of the most basic and crucial aspects of imperial functioning, which was replicated, in its essentials, elsewhere in the empire (Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985; Van Driel 1989). This is not the only relevant material from Babylonia, just the most obviously coherent, and best-known, group. More and more archives are being studied, analysed and published revealing the evolution of Babylonian society and economy from the Neo-Babylonian through the Achaemenid and Seleucid periods (see Joannès 2000 [2004]).

Almost contemporary with the Murashu documents are the Aramaic texts from Egypt (DAE; TADAE I–IV; for a general introduction, see OEANE V, App.1). They come from three distinct locations: one is an enormous and disparate collection of papyri and ostraca (now scattered across the museums of the world) generated by a small community of Jewish soldiers and their families, who served as part of the Achaemenid frontier garrison on the island of Elephantine (at Aswan; AP). Some individual family histories emerge with great clarity, as well as the religious life of the Jewish soldiers and their relations with the Persian authorities (Porten 1968; **17, nos.31–2**). Another, much smaller, group comes from Hermopolis; they are letters written by soldiers to their families further south (Bresciani and Kamil 1966). Fragments of an archive from the Persian bureaucracy have been found at Saqqara, near Memphis: about 202 are in Aramaic (Segal); many more are in demotic Egyptian and unpublished, so it is not clear whether any of these are attributable to the Achaemenid period or not. The texts are, unfortunately, badly damaged, but they do provide some glimpses of administration in Egypt. Most important is a pouch containing a collection of sealed letters written on leather; unfortunately, they were acquired on the antiquities

market and their exact find spot is not known. The preserved documents (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) contain the correspondence between the Persian satrap of Egypt, Arsames, and his estate-manager(s) and provide detailed insight into the structure of great landed estates (*AD*). These are merely the largest and most important concentrations of documents – smaller collections, such as the sealed Aramaic papyri from Samaria (Leith 1997; Gropp 2001) and the bullae with seal-impressions from Dascylium (Kaptan 2002) attest the existence of other archives in the imperial provinces. Material, which amplifies and adds to this, is appearing all the time: forty Egyptian demotic ostraca illustrating rural life in the Persian period were found recently at the small site of Manawir, near Douch in the Kharga oasis (Chauveau 1996; 1998; 2003; 2004); a large collection of Aramaic ostraca, probably from Idumaea, have been published recently (Eph'al and Naveh 1996; Lemaire 1996; Lozachmeur and Lemaire 1996), and there are other scattered finds. Moreover, documents that have been available for a long time can reveal surprises, as in the case of the long-known Elephantine papyrus containing the story of the Sage Ahiqar. A recent examination has shown that the story was written over a carefully itemised customs document, logging the arrival and departure of Phoenician and Ionian ships in the Nile Delta (in either the 470s or the 450s) and the duty levied on them. This evidence for the close monitoring and taxing of trade in the Achaemenid period is, so far, unique (**14, no.10**).

Inscriptions, recording personal biographies or civic decisions, must be counted among the documents. They are not strictly administrative, but reflect a range of important aspects, such as local responses to Persian domination and/or interaction between subjects and the central authority. This kind of material gives us a different angle on certain events, illuminating mechanisms of government and individual histories inside the empire, to set against the picture created by narrative sources (see, e.g., **4, no.11**; **9, no.50**; **13, no.45**; **15, no.17**; **17, no.33**). Their number is limited at present, but their value immense.

(e) Archaeological sites

Archaeological exploration of the imperial regions has been uneven (see Briant and Boucharlat 2005). The chief sites to have been excavated and studied, for their Achaemenid period remains, are the great royal centres in Iran: Pasargadae (Stronach 1978), Persepolis (Schmidt 1953–70; Tilia 1972–8), Susa (cf. Boucharlat 1990) and the associated rock-cut tombs (at Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis). More attention is now being paid to the Achaemenid levels of sites in the provinces such as Sardis in Lydia (OEANE, s.v.; Dusinger 1997a; 2003), Dascylium in Hellespontine Phrygia (in general, Bakir 1995) and Achaemenid settlements in the Levant (Moorey 1980; Stern 1982; *Transeuphratène* vols. 1ff; Tal 2005), Upper Mesopotamia (Lyonnet 2005), central and eastern Turkey (OEANE II, 430; Summers 1993; Blaylock 1998: 118) and Central Asia (CAH IV, ch.3c; Briant 1984b). One problem is that several places, known to have been very important cities in the period, are covered by extensive modern towns, which makes excavation difficult. This is true of, for example, Arbela (modern Erbil) in northern Iraq, Damascus and Ecbatana (modern Hamadan). What one might call ‘marginal’ sites have produced surprises. Most exciting are the excavations that have been carried out in eastern Georgia, revealing the close cultural links between this region on the empire’s periphery and the centre (Knauss 2005; cf. **fig.17.3**). The hill fortress of the tiny principality of Pirindu in Cilicia had a building decorated with a Persepolitan style frieze (**fig.17.2**), and the rural settlement at Manawir in the Egyptian Kharga oasis contains

the remains of an Iranian system of underground channels, introduced in the Achaemenid period in order to increase productivity (Wuttman in Briant 2001b; Wuttman and Marchand 2005; cf. **fig.14.2**).⁶

Monuments with Iranian motifs have been recovered in western Turkey, reflecting the presence of Persians or local dignitaries influenced by Persian court practices (see, in general, CAH IV, ch.3e; also Jacobs 1987; Calmeyer 1992, cf. **fig.11.34**; Nollé 1992; Sevinc et al. 2001, cf. **fig.17.9**). Analogous evidence has been found on Phoenician sites, particularly some magnificent relief-sculpted sarcophagi made for the kings of Sidon (von Graeve 1970; Stucky 1984). Most striking is the recent find of a funerary stela at Saqqara in Egypt (Mathieson et al. 1995, cf. **17, no.38, fig.17.11**). This material illustrates the enormously rich cultural interaction that took place within the empire – especially striking is the strong influence of what is usually labelled ‘Greek art’, which begins in the time of the Persian empire (Root 1991).

(f) Implications

In sum: there is a mass of material dating to the Persian empire period, but it is very uneven and not always easy to use. For reconstructing political history, scholars largely depend (after the first decades) on Greek historians, whose interests were normally limited to the north-west, and who, as often hostile outsiders, present a somewhat skewed picture. Administrative material is available in substantial quantities from Fars, Babylonia and Egypt, but it is largely restricted, chronologically, to the fifth century; the fourth century, the time preceding Alexander’s victories, is particularly poorly documented (for the possibility of more information from Babylonian sources, see Van der Spek 1998). The eastern imperial regions are also scantily known and the current political situation does not make for ideal conditions in which to conduct exploration on the ground. Until very recently, archaeological material was the prime source here and its interpretation much disputed, with archaeologists insisting on the virtual absence of any significant Achaemenid governmental presence (see Briant 1984b). This has been totally contradicted by the Aramaic parchments (see above, p. 11), which show a clearly structured satrapal organisation in place, centred on Balkh (ancient Bactra), with provincial sub-divisions and Persian-held estates in the region. In studying the Achaemenid empire, we must always be prepared to have cherished views totally overturned by such chance discoveries.

Notes

1. Particularly long extracts are found in Diodorus’ second book (on the prehistory of the Achaemenid empire); Plutarch, too, made substantial use of Ctesias for his *Life of Artaxerxes*. Note also the article by Marco Dorati (‘Ctesia falsario?’, *Quaderni di Storia* 41 (1995): 33–52) arguing that Ctesias never left Cnidus, and his ‘history’ has been pieced together from accounts in other writers, rumours and a vivid imagination.
2. For Diodorus’ historiographical method and sources, see Sacks 1994.
3. There are two exceptions: the stelae set up by Darius I to mark the construction of his canal in Egypt (**11, no.6**) and the short inscription on his statue(s) perhaps originally erected in Egypt (**11, no.2**). Xerxes’ inscription above Lake Van (**7, no.86**) is also not in Iran, but, with Armenia so closely linked geographically, it should perhaps not be counted as an exception. The use of Old Persian was not entirely restricted to formal royal statements: among the as yet unpublished Persepolis Fortification texts, one written in Old Persian and documenting an administrative transaction has now been identified (Table Ronde, Collège de France, Paris 3–4. November, 2006; to

IMPLICATIONS

be published by M.W. Stolper in *ARTA*). While it remains at present ‘anomalous’, it definitively undermines established assumptions.

4. Contrary to what is sometimes said (e.g. Kuhrt 1995a: 650), the tablets had been carefully stored there as part of a coherent archive (Root 1996: 49 & n.8). For the find of a clutch of anepigraphic sealed tablets in a jar at Persepolis by Tajvidi, see Garrison and Root I, 34; for discussion (with photographs and catalogue) of forty-two sealed clay tags, comparable to the Persepolis material now housed in collections in Leiden, Paris, New Haven, CT and Switzerland, see Henkelman, Jones and Stolper 2004.
5. See Razmjou 2004a, for the enormous number of Elamite (and Aramaic) tablet fragments held in the Tehran Museum. Many of the unpublished fragments preserve no text, although sometimes they have a sealing; many are tags. Henkelman (2005a) estimates the number of legible texts, among the remaining unpublished ones, to be 7,000–8,000.
6. For the Achaemenid imprint on Egyptian temples, built by the Saite kings in the Kharga oasis, see Cruz-Urbe (1988; 2005).

Part I

PREHISTORY AND FORMATION OF THE EMPIRE (c.750–520)

THE MEDES

Introduction

The early history of the western Iranians (Medes and Persians) is a thorny problem. According to the now most generally accepted hypothesis, Iranian-speaking groups had moved into western Iran from the east by the end of the second millennium BC (Young 1967); here they mingled with the local populations of the Zagros and Fars. The Iranians of the Zagros region emerged in the late seventh century as a powerful and prominent group, known as the Medes. They were involved in the fall of Assyria (**2, no.10**) in the years around 610, and were themselves defeated by the Persian king, Cyrus II, a few decades later (550; see **3, no.1**). The Medes have traditionally been perceived as the imperial ancestors of the Persians. Certainly, they were linked to them linguistically, as well as being closely associated with the Persians in Greek and biblical literature. They are also the earliest Iranian people to figure in contemporary Mesopotamian texts, as their territory abutted on the powerful Assyrian empire (for an introduction to the Neo-Assyrian empire, see Kuhrt 1995a, ch.9).

In this chapter the textual sources for the Medes have been arranged broadly chronologically, beginning with the more or less contemporary Assyrian and Babylonian sources (although note **2, no.11**). Herodotus' influential account (from the middle of the fifth century) of the development of Median power, which certainly preserves some, though limited, reliable information (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1994a), comes next (**2, nos.13–15**). This is followed by the divergent story of Ctesias, which is historically distorted but may reflect traditions about the Medes current among Persians in the late fifth and early fourth centuries (**2, nos.16–17**).¹ The short extracts from the work of the Babylonian scholar Berossus (**2, no.18**) provide a glimpse of how Babylonians, looking back at their past, viewed the Medo-Babylonian relationship in the early third century. At the very end are two passages (**2, no.19**) from Xenophon's romanticised life of Cyrus the Great (written in the early fourth century), which is patently unhistorical. But it is a text which was widely read in Europe for centuries, so its image of the Median predecessors of the Persian empire as fabulously wealthy, ruled by despotic kings, and inevitably destroyed by internal decadence, has played a part in forming modern ideas about what the Median state was like.

Archaeological and artistic evidence for the Medes is sparse and difficult to interpret. 'Median' architecture and art cannot really be defined at present (for the problems, see Dusinberre 2002). Certainly some sites (see **figs.2.3 & 2.4**), with buildings and objects dating to the seventh century, have been excavated in Median territory, but it is virtually impossible to distinguish these remains from material found in other regions of the Zagros

not connected with the Medes (Genito 1986; Muscarella 1987, cf. Henkelman 2003b: 196–7). The present excavations at the capital of the Medes, Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), have so far yielded no Median period material (Sarraf 2003). The two impressive citadel sites of Tepe Nush-i Jan and Godin Tepe present a problem to the historian, because they flourish during the seventh century and decline in the early sixth century, when the textual sources suggest that the Medes were at their most powerful.² The large site of Kerkenes Dağ (central Turkey) was originally interpreted as a Median royal centre (Summers 1997), established to consolidate control along the supposed Medo–Lydian frontier (cf. **2, no.15**). But recent work shows that it is an Anatolian dynastic centre (cf. **3, no.13**, n.3).

The contemporary, or primary, written evidence divides into three parts. First comes the material contained in the Assyrian royal, proclamatory inscriptions (**2, nos.1–5**), dating from about the mid-eighth century to the 640s (Tiglath-pileser III to Ashurbanipal). These provide the official Assyrian view of the Medes generated by the central authority of the empire. They show that the first penetration deep into the Zagros, leading to contact with Medes, occurred in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (**2, no.1**). This was followed up and consolidated by Sargon II in annual campaigns between 716 and 713 (**2, no.2**). From these campaigns, it is clear that Parsua, Harhar and Kisheshim (see **fig.2.1**) lay along the Median frontier, and that some of the Median principalities, west of Bisitun, were placed under Assyrian control, although they retained their local rulers,³ while those beyond the Assyrian zone were labelled ‘distant Medes’ (**2, no.3**). The same basic picture emerges from Esarhaddon’s account (**2, no.4**), who depicts a state of internal dissension among petty rulers in Media. Ashurbanipal’s cursory reference (**2, no.5**) may imply that Neo-Assyrian control of the Zagros shrank in his reign.

The second category of evidence consists of a selection of requests made on behalf of Esarhaddon (681–669) to the Mesopotamian sun god (Shamash), soliciting answers to questions concerning all kinds of political matters (**2, nos.6–9**) by examining the entrails of sheep (RLA X, 76–7), about which decisions had to be taken. They, therefore, provide some insight into the problems of control encountered by the Assyrians, which were, naturally, not reflected in official presentations. Unfortunately, these texts are not precisely dated, so it is impossible to arrange them in a chronological sequence with any kind of certainty. The impression is that Assyria’s relations with the Median localities fluctuated considerably – tribute collection, peace negotiations and armed conflict all figure in the texts. One person, who appears repeatedly, is Kashtaritu of Karkashshi, a Zagros chieftain, who tried to ally with other groups and rulers in the vicinity to threaten Assyria. Because his name is the same as that of the Median rebel against Darius I in 522/1 – Khshathrita aka Fravartish (Gr. Phraortes, see **5, no.1**, para.24) – it has been assumed that Kashtaritu should be identified with the Phraortes of Herodotus’ Median dynasty (**2, no.14**). The tenuous nature of the argument is obvious, and there is no compelling reason to equate the two (see PNAE II, s.v. Kaštaritu). Certainly, Kashtaritu’s political base was, broadly, in Median territory. But what emerges strikingly from **2, nos.1–9** is that the Median Zagros (like neighbouring regions) remained politically fragmented until the middle of the seventh century: the norm was petty principalities, under local rulers, who were often in conflict with each other. This matches neither Herodotus’ (**2, no.13**) nor Ctesias’ (**2, no.16**) tales of the emergence of a unified Median state by at least the late eighth century. An interesting attempt to resolve this problem in relation to Herodotus’ *Medikos Logos* has been made by Helm (1981). He argued that the story in Herodotus was based on a saga, circulating in Achaemenid Iran, which celebrated the heroic exploits of several Zagros warriors. They were, in origin, diverse

local figures, unrelated to each other and not all necessarily Medes. But as a result of the formulation of an oral epic, they came to be linked together as a line of Median kings. The same could also be true of Ctesias' Median rulers. This would mean that trying to fix Herodotus' 'Median dynasty' chronologically becomes a meaningless exercise. Unfortunately, there are some problems in accepting this stimulating suggestion (cf. Brown 1988), not the least of which is that Herodotus' account does not bear the hallmarks of being based on an oral tradition (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1994a). That, of course, need not mean that such a tradition did not exist – the story of the Lydo–Median conflict may well have been part of such a saga cycle (**2, no.15**). Helm's thesis remains an attractive possibility.

The third piece of primary evidence is a relatively well-preserved section of the Babylonian Chronicle, describing the war leading to the end of Assyrian rule ('Fall of Nineveh Chronicle' = **2, no.10**). This is part of a series of chronicles, remarkable for their dispassionate, objective reporting of events. Their sources are uncertain, but must have been some kind of running records, very probably the regular astronomical observations logged in monthly 'diaries', which often also noted current prices and contemporary political events (see Van der Spek 1993; 2003b). The 'Fall of Nineveh Chronicle' covers the years 616–609, and portrays the progress of Nabopolassar of Babylon's struggle against Assyria, which had begun ten years earlier (see Kuhrt 1995a: 589–90). The Medes, under their king Umakishhtar (Gr. Cyaxares, cf. **2, nos.14–15**), appear for the first time on Assyrian territory in 615. The Babylonian and Median rulers made a treaty (cf. **2, no.18**), and their forces then captured, singly and in combination, some of the chief Assyrian cities (Tarbiṣu, Ashur, Nineveh, Harran, see **fig.15.3**) between 614 and 610.⁴

Despite the important information of the chronicle, several fundamental questions about the Medes remain unresolved: how and when did this powerful new Median kingship emerge? What kind of political structure did the Medes have? (For some recent approaches, see Brown 1986; 1988; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988a; 1994a; Lanfranchi et al. 2003.) What was the outcome of the fall of Assyria for the Medes in terms of their territorial expansion? The chronicle and other evidence imply that most of the former Assyrian territory came under Babylonian control (cf. Kuhrt 1995b). Herodotus (**2, no.15**) depicts the Medes under Cyaxares establishing their areas of control as far west as the Halys river in central Turkey.⁵ According to Ctesias, their control stretched over all 'Asia' up to Central Asia (**2, no.17**), with Babylonia subject to the Median king and ruled by a local potentate only with his permission (**2, no.16**).

Notes

1. See Auberger (1991: 19), who observes that the names of some Median chieftains in Ctesias' account echo those in the Annals of Sargon II; note also Bichler 2004 on Ctesias' Assyrian history.
2. See Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988a for suggestions on how to relate this to the development of the Medes (cf. Kuhrt 1995a: 654–6 for a summary). Liverani (2003) and Lanfranchi (2003) have taken her arguments further; a recent conspectus of the problems is presented by Tuplin (2004) and Rollinger (2005).
3. The geography of western Iran is problematical, see Briant 1984a: 84–8; 1984b: 13–17; RLA VII, 622–3. Several leading scholars have presented different reconstructions. The map used here reflects the approach of Levine (1974) (but see Medvedskaya 2000, for disagreement about the location of Zamua). In his view, the Assyrians reached no further eastwards than, approximately, the region of Kermanshah. Reade has always argued consistently in favour of an Assyrian movement right on to the Iranian plateau. His interpretation has been adopted by the State Archives of Assyria Project, and can be seen on the map contained in SAA 1 and Parpola and

- Porter 2001, maps 10–11. Vallat (1980; 1993) has proposed a much larger spread for the Elamite dominions, which has implications for several locations. For a detailed ‘gazetteer’ of places, see now Zadok 2002b. The only truly fixed point is Karalla in the Tang-i Var region, see Frame 1999. For detailed discussion of Assyrian–Median relations, reflecting the same view as here, see Lanfranchi 2003; Liverani 2003; Radner 2003a.
4. Herodotus (cf. **2, no.14**) has a lengthy discussion of an invasion by Scythians during the reign of Cyaxares, who defeated the Medes, and then dominated ‘Asia’ for twenty-eight years. It has been thought that there is evidence in Mesopotamian sources for a Scythian involvement in the fall of Assyria (see Zawadski 1988: esp. 68–72 for references). This view is based on a misinterpretation of the term ‘Umman-manda’ (see **2, no.10**, n.14). Scythians certainly figure in Assyrian texts, as do the related Cimmerians, but there is no hint of them fighting on the Medo-Babylonian side in the 610s. In fact, the most revealing piece of evidence (**2, no.12**) points to a rapprochement between the Scythians and the Assyrians.
 5. For a full discussion of this, see Rollinger 2003b.

A. The official Assyrian presentation of the Medes

1. Tiglath-pileser III (745–727)

(i) Year 2 (744)

Fragmentary Akkadian stela: H. Tadmor 1994, Iran Stele, IB, 5’–14’.¹

[In my second regnal year (744), against the lands of Namri and Bit-S]ingibuti I marched. [. . .] Bit Barrua [. . .] . . . my . . . [. . .] granted me, I smote with my weapon. I ravaged them. I placed my (lú)šut reši² (as governor) over the land of Parsua and my (lú)šut reši (as governor) over the land of Bit Hamban. These lands I annexed to Assyria. The tribute of Dalta of Ellipi, of the city rulers³ of the land(s) of Namri, Singibuti (and) of the Medes, of all the mountains of the east – horses, mules broken to the yoke, Bactrian camels, cattle and sheep, without number – I received.

(ii) Year 9 (737)

Fragmentary Akkadian stela: H. Tadmor 1994, Iran Stele IIB, 25’–44’.

In my ninth regnal year (737), I ordered (my armies) to march against the Medes. As for (those) city rulers who were not submissive, I conquered their cities, defeated them and took their spoil. In [. . .] of Bit Ishtar and Šibar, Mounts Ariarma (and) Silhazu – mighty mountains – I placed my commemorative stelae. As for (those) who did submit, I received their tribute: 130+x horses from Bit Ishtar and its districts I received; 120 (horses) from the cities of Ginizinanu, Sadbat, Sisdad[. . .]; 100 (horses) from Upash of Bit Kapsi, 100 (horses) from Ushru of Nikisi, 100 (horses) from Ugsatar of Qarkinshera, 100 (horses) from Yaubitir of A[mat], 300 (horses) from Bardada of Šibar, 33 (horses) from Amaku of Kitku [. . .], 32 (horses) from Shataqupi of Uparia, 100 (horses) from Ramateya of Kazuqinzani, 100 (horses) from Metraku of Uparia, 200 (horses) from Shatashpa of Shaparda, 100 (horses) from Uitana of Mishita, 100 (horses) from Ametana of Uizak [. . . Shata]parnu of Urba [. . .] ba of Sikra [. . .]ia of Zakrute [. . .]⁴

Notes

1. The original location of the stela, from which these two extracts come (three fragments are now known in all), is uncertain, as all were acquired on the antiquities market. All fragments are said to have come from the region of Kermanshah (west Iran), which lies along the main route leading from Mesopotamia to Ecbatana; cf. Levine 1972: 11–13; Börker-Klähn 1984, Nr.171. See H. Tadmor 1994: 91 (cf. also fig.6), for updated information on history of acquisition, publication, arrangement of the fragments and identification. The geography of the places mentioned is discussed by Levine 1974 (fig.2.1); for a divergent reconstruction of the topography, see Reade 1995 & figs.3 & 5; Parpola and Porter 2001, maps 10–11.

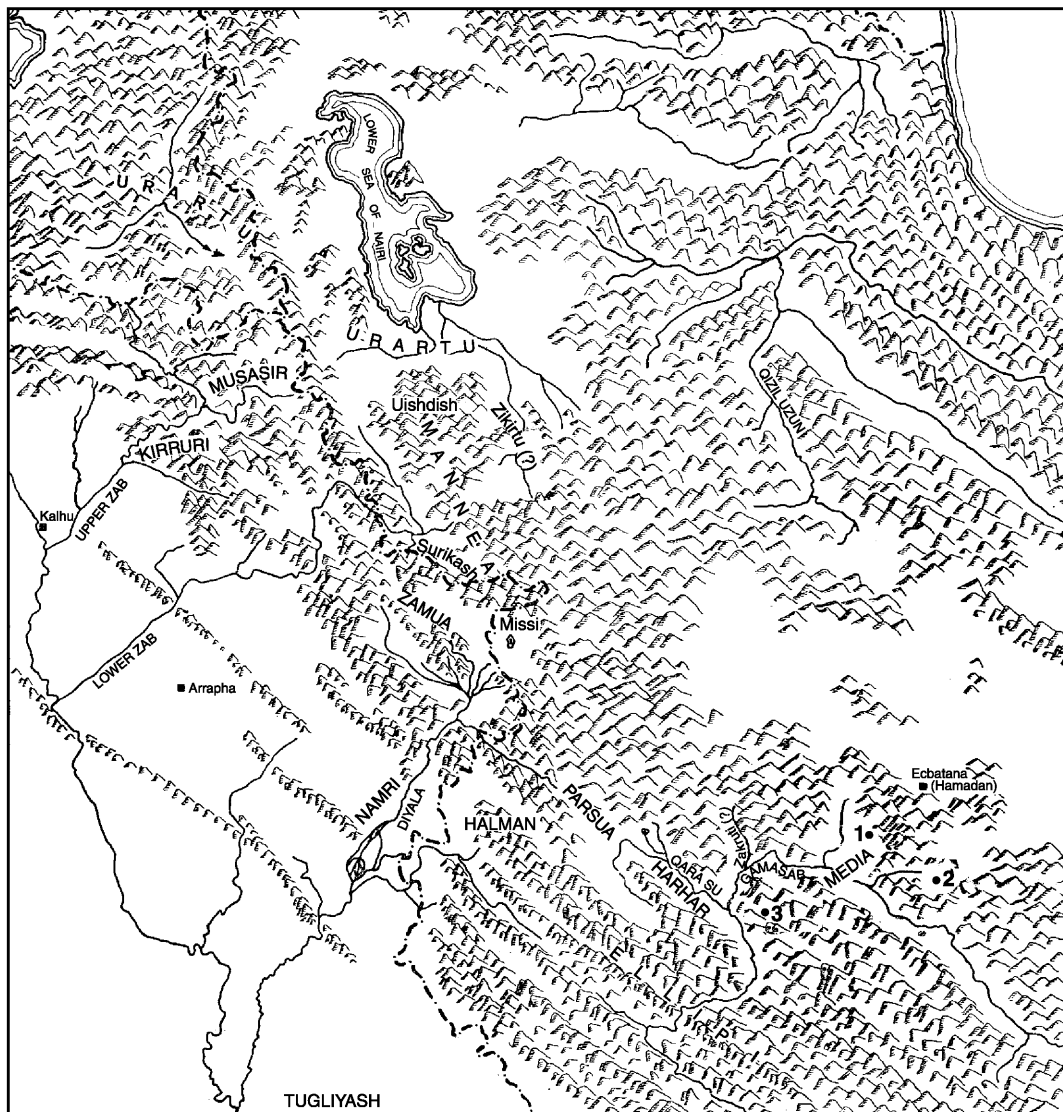


Figure 2.1 The central and northern Zagros in the Neo-Assyrian period. (Key: 1 = Godin Tepe; 2 = Tepe Nush-i Jan; 3 = Baba Jan.) (After Levine 1974.)

2. This is often translated as ‘eunuch’; but several scholars argue that it represents a court-rank, which included eunuchs (cf. Bongenaar 1997: 109–10 for discussion of problem and literature; further, Pirngruber forthcoming).
3. Akk. *bel alani*. All Assyrian references (after the few, vague ones in the reigns of Shalmaneser III (859–824) and Shamshi-Adad V (824–811)) to Median principalities describe the rulers in this way. It is possible that the term reflects a Median title, see RLA VII, 622.
4. These are among the earliest attested Iranian names in the Neo-Assyrian texts: Mithraka and Shataspa both appear later, see Mayrhofer 8.1141; 8.1472; Shataparnu is perhaps Satipartana, see Hinz 1975: 230. Mount Ariaramnes in the Persepolis Fortification archive (PF 1955) may be identical to the Mount Ariarma mentioned here (W. Henkelman, personal communication).

2. Sargon II (722–705)

(i) Year 6 (716)

The Najafehebad Stela of Sargon II (Akkadian): Levine 1972, II: 46–71.¹

(After dealing with problems in Mannaea, capturing Shurgadia and adding it to the district of Parsuash, reorganising Kishesim (renamed Kar-Ninurta) and Harhar (renamed Kar-Sharruken) and placing both under direct Assyrian control, Sargon moves into Media.)

From Harhar I departed. The river . . . I crossed. I [entered] Zakruti . . . I departed Zakruti and entered Kurabli. The tribute of Daiku of Shaparda, of Ush [. . . x]kullu, Bigali, Sikris, Bit Uargi, far-off districts, which the kings who preceded [me had not seen, I received (tribute) . . .]. He became hostile to them. They deserted their cities. Their people and possessions they gathered. Mount Abrau [. . .] I struck down with the sword. Their remainder, people, horses, mules, cattle, sheep, donkeys, I carried off as spoil [. . .] destroyed, I tore down, I burned. From Sikris I departed and entered Arussa. This district, together [with . . .]. The Pattus river I crossed and I entered Ukuta. The people of that district [. . .] like a torch [. . .] I fed my troops to sufficiency with their harvest. My warriors to [. . .] which they carried off for me as tribute. From Ukuta I departed. Arusaka, a mighty mountain, I crossed . . . [I entered] Anzak[nie . . .] he uttered cries of mourning. Karakka of Uriyaka, the enemy of [. . .] the cities of Anza[knie . . .]. From Anzaknie I departed, I [entered] the passes of Upurya, between Mount Pattashshun and Mount Darue, lofty [mountains . . .] archers to raid the plain, against the cities of Bustus I sent . . . Troops . . . [Satarbanu] of Upurya; of Mashtakka of Aratishta I received. Razishtu of Bustus, Ushra of Kan[zabakani . . .] Upur[ya . . .] Razidatu, the city ruler of Bustus, spoke lies. He left his country and afar . . . [. . .]. I entered Datumbu. The tribute of Ushra of Kazabakani, horses, I received. I depar[ted] Datumbu [and en]tered Karzinu. [The tribute of . . .] horses I received. I departed Karzinu and entered Birnakan. Of Satarbanu of Barikanu, of Uppa . . . [. . .] I departed. I entered Saka. The tribute of Zarduka of Harziani, of Ishtesuk[ka of] Kaya[. . .] I received. From Saka I departed. I crossed the Darue river and entered Ramanda. Shita[. . .], the city ruler of [. . .] I departed Ramanda and entered Irnisa. The tribute of Shidirpashura of Irnisa, of Bat[x]tigur of Kapsi [. . .] Uardatti of Ad-x-x, who did not stretch out his hand to previous kings, their lives [. . .] a dis[trict] of Alaya [. . .] the camp for one double-hour . . . the river . . . the one who grants victory [. . .] the untiring, befitting battle, the mountains [. . .] to save [. . .] he seized [my . . .] to Ashur, my lord, he bowed to the yoke. I departed Irnisa and entered Uratas. The tribute of Azash-x-da of [. . . x]hagabta, of Burbuasu of Urattus, of Shumushda of Qarkasia, [. . .]zu of Ginkir, of [. . .] of Rurqu [. . .] t[eam]ed to the yoke I received. At that time, I made a stela. The figure of the great gods, my lords, in the land of Hu[. . .] my

victory, which . . . [. . .] the deed of Ashur, my victories, which I established over the four quarters. All in the city . . . [. . .]

(In the last four lines Sargon exhorts future kings to guard the stela, and curses any who damage it.)

(ii) Year 7 (715)

Sargon Annals (Akkadian), Khorsabad: Lie 1929: 28–9, ll.114–16. Fuchs 1994: 108; 319.²
Translation: ARAB II, para.15.

For the subjugation of the land of the Medes, I strengthened Dur Sharruken³ . . . of 22 city rulers of the mighty Medes [I received] tribute . . . the city Kimirra of the land Bit Hamban. 2,530(?) people together with their possessions, I carried off. . .

(iii) Year 8 (714)

Sargon's 8th Campaign (Akkadian): TCL 3, ll.38–51.
Translations: ARAB II, paras.146–7; Mayer 1983.⁴

To Parsuash I descended. The city rulers of Namri, Sangibuti, Bit Abdadani and the land of the mighty Medes, heard the coming of my expedition, the desolating of their lands in my previous year (had) remained in their minds, and terror fell upon them. Their heavy tribute they brought out from the midst of their country and made Parsuash my possession

(ll.43–9 name the rulers and their regions, including Bit Kapsi, Bit Ishtar, Zakrute and Shaparda):⁵ horses, fast ones, fiery mules, Bactrian camels, offspring of their lands, large and small cattle, I received. From Parsuash I departed . . .

(iv) Year 9 (713)

Sargon Annals (Akkadian), Khorsabad: Lie 1929: 30–3, ll.191–4. Fuchs 1994: 122–3; 323.
Translation: ARAB II, para.24.

(After dealing with more problems in Ellipi and Karalla along the edge of Median territory) the tribute of Ullusununu, the Mannaeans, of Dalta of Ellipi, of Bel-apla-iddina of Allabria, of 45 city-rulers of the mighty Medes, 4,609 horses, mules, cattle, sheep without number, I received.

Notes

1. The stela was found by T.C. Young and L.D. Levine at the village of Najafehebad (anc. Kishesim(?), see Fuchs 1998: 56, n.15; Parpola and Porter 2001, map 11; Radner 2003b: 120), near Godin Tepe in western Iran, in October 1965. Levine (1972: 25–7) argued that it had almost certainly been moved from its original place of erection, which could have been Godin itself (cf. Börker-Klähn 1984, Nr.173). Reade (1995: 39) has countered, by pointing to the stela's great weight, suggesting that it was originally set up close to where it was found, and that this was the main city of Kishesim, which Sargon had renamed Kar-Ninurta. The date of its composition is almost certainly 716; in fact, Sargon refers to its erection at the very end of the text. For the location of places and Sargon's route through the region, see Levine 1972: 29–32 (and cf. **fig.2.1**); for a different reconstruction of the geography, making the Assyrian campaigns more far-reaching, see Reade 1995 (together with references to earlier, detailed discussions) and cf. the maps in SAA 1 and Parpola and Porter 2001.

2. The Annals of Sargon II exist in a series of recensions compiled at different points in his reign, most important and latest being the ones from his palace at Khorsabad (Dur Sharrukin). Lie's edition represents a composite text, ably reanalysed by Fuchs (1994) together with discussion of the very first copies by P.E. Botta (Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive III–IV* Paris, (1849–50), predating the decipherment of cuneiform, and the problematical edition by H. Winckler (*Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Leipzig, 1889).
3. The new royal city, founded by Sargon II, at the modern site of Khorsabad, north of Nineveh (Caubet 1995).
4. The extract comes from the detailed report of Sargon's eighth campaign (714), during which he moved through the Zagros, and up to Lake Urmia, where he devastated part of the territory of Urartu. It is one of the most important texts for reconstructing the geography of the Zagros in the Neo-Assyrian period. For different analyses of the route, see Levine 1974; Reade 1978; Zimansky 1990; Liebig 1996.
5. Several of these rulers have Iranian names (e.g. Masdayyukku, Bagbarna, Satarpani).

3. Sennacherib (705–681)

Bellino Cylinder (Akkadian): Luckenbill 1924: 60, l.33.¹

Translation: ARAB II, para.282.

Year 2 (703): On my return (from Ellipi)² I received the heavy tribute of the distant Medes, whose name no one among the kings, my fathers, had heard; to the yoke of my rule I made them submit.

Notes

1. This version of the annals, now in the British Museum, was composed soon after Sennacherib's second campaign in 703. The first copy was published by A.H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London, 1851); for Charles Bellino, after whose fine first copy (predating decipherment by several decades) the cylinder is named, see R.D. Barnett in *Iraq* 36 (1974): 5–28 and pl.II.
2. See Fig 2.1.

4. Esarhaddon (681–669)

Akkadian inscriptions, Nineveh: Borger 1956: 54, Nin.A–F, Ep.15–16.¹

(Year 5? (676?)): Uppis, city ruler of Partakka, Zanasana, city ruler of Partukku and Ramateya, city ruler of Urakazabarna,² distant-dwelling Medes, who in the time of the kings my fathers had never crossed over the frontier of Assyria nor set foot on its soil, terror of the majesty of Ashur, my lord, overcame them. Choice great warhorses and blocks of lapis lazuli quarried in the mountain they brought to Nineveh, city of my lordship, and kissed my feet. Because of (some other) city rulers who threatened them they besought my lordship and pleaded for assistance. I sent my (lú)šut reš³ with them as governors of their lands. They trampled down the inhabitants of those cities and subjected them to my feet. Tribute and contributions for my lordship I imposed on them. Patusharri, a land bordering the salt desert,⁴ in the midst of the land of the distant Medes, by Bikni, the lapis lazuli mountain,⁵ on whose soil none of the kings my fathers had ever set foot – Shidirparna and Eparna, mighty city rulers, who had never submitted to a yoke, I deported to Assyria together with their people, their riding horses, cattle, small cattle and camels, a heavy booty.

Notes

1. Information about Esarhaddon's campaigns comes largely from a series of detailed building texts, such as these from Nineveh. For the different versions that have been used to create the composite text, see Borger 1956: 36–7.
2. Ramateya of Urakazabarna was one of eight local rulers in the Zagros who swore an oath of loyalty to abide by Esarhaddon's succession arrangements in 672 (SAA 2, no.6). Liverani (1995) has argued that men from these principalities served as bodyguards at the Assyrian court (see 2, no.16) and swore the oath in that capacity.
3. See 2, no.1, n.2.
4. Akk. *bit tabti* is interpreted by some as referring to the great salt desert of the central Iranian plateau, but could also indicate a region closer to Assyria (RLA VII, 622) – the salty plain on the eastern shore of Lake Urmia, for example.
5. Mount Bikni is often identified as Mount Demavend, north of Tehran (see, for example, Reade 1978), but I find preferable the arguments in favour of Mount Elvend (alt. Alvand) in the Zagros (Levine 1974: 118–19, cf. RLA VII, 622).

5. Ashurbanipal (669–c.630)

Prism B (Akkadian): Piepkorn 1933: 56–7, iv, 3–8.¹

Translation: Borger 1996: 221–2.

At that time (c.658), Biriskhatri, city ruler of the Medes, Sharati (and) Parihi, his two sons, Gagi, city ruler of Sahi, who had thrown off the yoke of my lordship – seventy-five of their strong cities I conquered, carried off their booty. Themselves I seized alive, brought them to Nineveh, city of my lordship.

Note

1. Ashurbanipal's annals have survived in a number of recensions on prisms from different times in his reign. Prism B was compiled in 649; see Grayson 1980 for the chronology of Ashurbanipal's reign.

B. Assyro–Median relations in the central Zagros as revealed by Assyrian queries to the Sun God (reign of Esarhaddon, 681–669)¹

6. Kashtaritu of Karkashshi² forms an alliance against Assyria

Akkadian tablet, seventh century; Nineveh: AGS 1; SAA 4, no.43, obv.1–14.

Shamash, great lord, give me a firm, positive answer to what I am asking you. From this day, the 3rd day of the month Ayaru (April–May), to the 11th day of the month Abu (July–August) of this year, for these 100 days and nights – the term stipulated for the performance of (this) extispicy – within this stipulated term, will Kashtaritu, with his troops, or the troops of the Cimmerians,³ or the troops of the Medes, or the troops of the Mannaeans, or any other enemy strive and plan? Will they, be it by means of pressure(?), or by force, or by waging war, or [by means of a tun]nel or breach, or (scaling) ladders, or by means of ramps or [battering]-rams, or famine, or by a treaty invoking the names of god and god[dess], or through friendly utterance or friendly negotiations, or through any ru[se of captu]ring a city, capture the city Kishassu (alt. Kishesim)?⁴ Will they enter that city

Kishassu? Will they conquer that city Kishassu? Will it be de[live]red to them? Does your great divinity know it? Is the capture of that city, Kishassu, by any enemy, from this day to the day of my stipulated term, decreed and confirmed in a favourable case, by the command of your great divinity Shamash, great lord? Will he who can see, see it, he who can hear, hear it?

(Followed by the standard formula ensuring that the ritual is correctly performed, repetition of the request, and result of the inspection of the sacrificial animal's liver.)

Notes

1. **2, nos.6–9** all come from Nineveh (Kouyundjik) and belong to the category of ‘oracle requests’ addressed to the Mesopotamian sun god, Shamash. For the nature and form of these texts, see SAA 4, xiii–lxv (cf. **2, Introduction**).
2. For the identity of Kashtaritu of Karkashshi, see **2, Introduction**.
3. For a detailed discussion of the Cimmerians, see Lanfranchi 1990; Ivantchik 1993.
4. See **fig.2.2**.

7. Kashtaritu makes peace overtures to the Assyrians

(i) Akkadian tablet, seventh century; Nineveh: AGS 142+; SAA 4, no.56, obv.1–9.

[Shamash, great lord], give me [a firm positive answer to what I am asking you]! [Kashtaritu, the city ruler of Karkashshi, [who] has sent [. . .] . . . [to Nabu-shuma-ishkun, the . . ., saying:] ‘Tell [the scribe(?) who] is with you to send [a message to the king of Assyria, stating that the king’s messenger should come and] conclude [a treaty w]ith me; [. . . and] go [on you]r way.’ Have [straight words of peace r]eally been sent to [. . .]?

(Followed by the standard formulae and repetition of the request.)

(ii) Akkadian tablet, seventh century; Nineveh: PRT 3+; SAA 4, no.57, obv.1–7.

[Shamash, grea]t [lord, give me a f]irm, positive answer to what I am ask[ing you! Should Esarhad]don, ki[ng of Assyria, send] the messenger of his choice [to Kash]tar[itu, city ruler] of Karkashshi? [And if Esarhaddo]n, king of Assyria, [sends his messenger to K]ashtaritu, [will he, on the advice of his advi]sors, [seize] that messenger, [question him], kill him?

(Followed by the standard formulae and repetition of the request.)

8. The Assyrians plan an attack on Kashtaritu

Akkadian tablet, seventh century; Nineveh: PRT 14+; SAA 4, no.62, obv.1–14.

[Shamash], great lord, [give me a firm, positive answer to] what [I am asking you! Should] Esarhaddon, king of A[ssyria strive and plan]? Should he send [magnates and governors], together with troops, horses, [and an army, as numerous as they desire], against Kashtaritu [of Karkashsh]i and the t[roops with him], to make war at the c[ity of K]asasu(?). I[f he, having planned, sends them], will the magnates and governors, the army of [Esa]rhaddon, conquer [that city(?)]? Will they, as long as they are in the district of K[arkashshi], march about [wherever] they wish? Will they escape the troops of the Medes, or [the troops of the

...], or the troops of the Mannaeans, or [any other] fierce enemy? Will they stay a[live and w]e[ll], will they be saved, will they [escape] and evade them? Will they [emerge] safely fr[om the district] of Karkashshi? Will they achieve their aim? [...] Will they co[m]e back al[ive from that, [set foot] on Assyrian soil, come before Esarhaddon, king of Assyria?

(Followed by the standard formulae and repetition of the request.)

9. Assyrian tribute-gathering in Media

Akkadian tablet, seventh century; Nineveh: PRT 21; SAA 4, no.64, obv.1–16.

[Shamash, great lord], give me a firm, positive answer [to what] I am asking you! [Should Esarhaddon, king of] Assyria, strive and plan? Should he sum[mon] the governor of [...] together with troops, horses, ar]my, as many as he desires, (and) send [them to collect a tri]bute of horses? Should they go [from the city [...]paka to the city Andarpati[anu [...] as far as the salt desert?¹ From that [...] to the land Karzita[li [...] to Bit Tat[ti(?) [...] the city Karzita[li [...] of] Eparna,² as many as the[re are [...] [...] of dust [...] If he sends them and(?) they g]o, will they march about for as many days [as they want] and collect [hors]es? Will they escape, or save themselves from the [troops of the Medes, from the troops of the Sa]pardaeans, from the troops of [the [...] or from a]ny other enemy? [Will they stay alive and safe, and will they return] alive [and well, and set foot on Assyrian so]il?

(Followed by the standard formulae and repetition of the request.)

Notes

1. For the location of the salt desert, see **2, no.4, n.4**.
2. The same name is associated with this region in the Esarhaddon 'annals' passage (**2, no.4**).

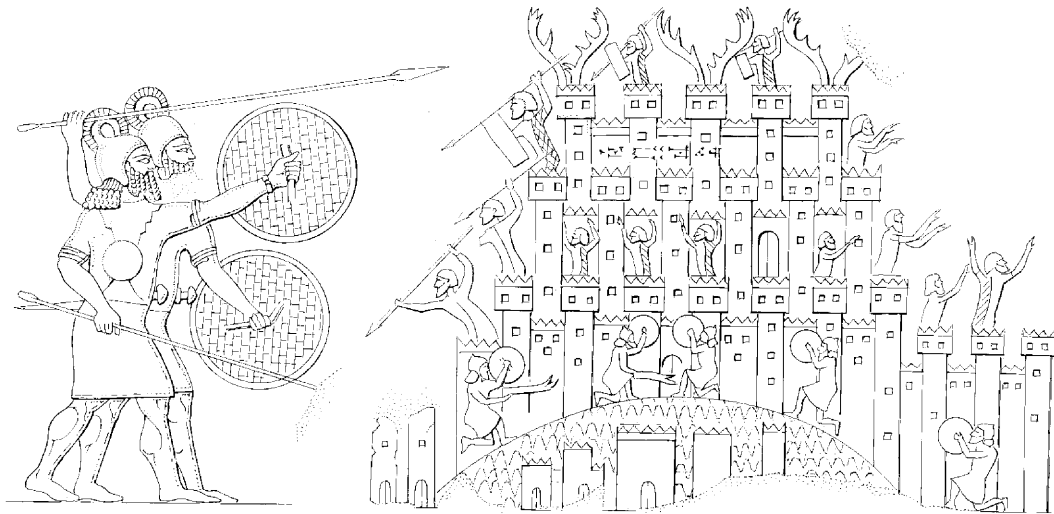


Figure 2.2 Neo-Assyrian relief of the Median fortress of Kishesim. From Sargon II's palace at Khorsabad (now lost; Bottin and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* I, 68). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

C. The Medes and the fall of Assyria

10. Babylonians and Medes victorious over Assyria

Fall of Nineveh Chronicle (Akkadian): Gadd 1923; ABC, no.3.

Translations: ANET, 303–5; Glassner 1993/2004, no.22.¹

Year 10 (616): In Ayaru (April–May), Nabopolassar mustered the army of Akkad² and marched along the banks of the Euphrates. The Suheans and Hindaneans³ did not do battle against him (but) placed their tribute before him. In the month Abu (July–August), the army of Assyria prepared for battle in Gablini⁴ and Nabopolassar went up against them. On the 12th day of Abu (23rd July), he did battle against the army of Assyria and the army of Assyria retreated before him. He inflicted a great defeat upon Assyria, plundered them greatly. He captured the Manneans, who had come to their (sc. the Assyrians') aid and the great ones of Assyria. On that day, he captured Gablini. (Also) in Abu, the king of Akkad (and) his army went up to Mane, Sahiri⁵ and Balihu.⁶ He plundered them, sacked them extensively, removed their deities. In Ululu (August–September), the king of Akkad and his army returned and on his way he took (the people of) Hindanu and its gods to Babylon. In Tashritu (October–November), the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria came after the king of Akkad as far as Gablini, but they did not overtake the king of Akkad (and) they withdrew. In Addaru (March 615), the army of Assyria and the army of Akkad did battle with one another in Madanu of Arraphu,⁷ and the army of Assyria retreated before the army of Akkad, and they (sc. army of Akkad) inflicted a great defeat upon them (sc. Assyrian army), and drove them back to the Zab river.⁸ They captured their chariots and horses, plundered them greatly. They took many [. . .] with them across the Tigris and brought (them) into Babylon.

[Year 11 (615): The king] of Akkad mustered his army, marched along the bank of the Tigris, and in Ayaru (May), he encamped against Ashur.⁹ [On day x] of Simanu (June), he did battle against the city, but he did not capture it. The king of Assyria mustered his army, pushed the king of Akkad back from Ashur, and went after him as far as Takritain, a city on the bank of the Tigris [. . .].¹⁰ The king of Akkad stationed his army in the fortress of Takritain. The king of Assyria and his army encamped against the army of the king of Akkad, which was stationed in Takritain, and did battle against them for 10 days, and he (sc. the king of Assyria) did not capture the city. The army of the king of Akkad, which was stationed in the fortress, inflicted a great defeat on Assyria. The king of Assyria and his army [. . .] and returned home. In Arahsmnu (late October–late November), the Medes went down to Arraphu and [. . .]

Year 12 (614): In Abu (July–August), the Medes [. . .] against Nineveh [. . .] hastened and captured Tarbisu, a city in the district of Nineveh [. . .] They went along [the Ti]gris and encamped against Ashur. They did battle against the city and [. . .] destroyed [. . .] . . . they inflicted a terrible defeat upon a great people,¹¹ plundered, [sacked them]. [The king of A]kkad and his army, who had gone to help the Medes, did not reach the battle. The ci[ty] . . . [. . . The king of Akka]d and U[mak]ishtar¹² met one another in front of the city and concluded a mutual accord and peace. [. . . Umak]ishtar and his army went home. The king of Akkad and his army went home.

[Year 13 (613)]: In Ayaru (May–June), the Suheans rebelled against the king of Akkad and

engaged in hostilities. [The king of Akkad] mustered his army and marched to Suhu. In Simanu, day 4 (11th June), he did [battle against] Rahilu, a city which is in the middle of the Euphrates, and at that time captured the city. He built his [. . .] The people who (lived) on the bank of the Euphrates came down to him. [. . .] he encamped against Anat.¹³ The siege engines [from] the west bank [he brought] . . . he brought the siege engines up to the wall. He did battle against the [city] and . . . [. . . the king of] Assyria and his army came down and . . . the king of Akkad and his army . . . [. . .]

[Year 14 (612)]: The king of Akkad mustered his army [and marched to Assyria.] The king of the Umman-manda¹⁴ towards the king of Akkad [. . .] . . . they met one another. [The k]ing of Akkad . . . [. . . U]makishtar . . . and brought across, and they marched along the bank of the Tigris, and [. . . they encam]ped against Nineveh. From Simanu (late May–late June) until Abu (late July–late August), for three [months . . .] . . . they subjected the city to heavy fighting. Abu, [day . . . a] huge [defeat] on a grea[t people(?)]. At that time, Sinsharishkun,¹⁵ king of Assyr[ia . . .] . . . [. . .] . . . they carried off the vast booty of the city and the temple and [turned] the city into a ruin he[ap. . .] of Assyria grasped the feet of the king of Akkad to plead for his life.¹⁶ Ululu, day 20 (8th September), Umakishtar and his army went home. After he had gone, the king of Akka[d . . .] they marched to Nasibina.¹⁷ Plunder and exile [. . .] and they brought (the people of) Rusapu¹⁸ to the king of Akkad at Nineveh. In [X, day X . . ., Ashur-uballit(?)]¹⁹ ascended the throne in Harran²⁰ to rule Assyria. Until [X, day X, . . .] in Nineveh [. . . f[rom day 20 of [month x], the king of [. . .] set out and in [. . .]

Year 15 (611): In Du[muzu (June–July), the ki]ng of Akkad [mustered his army and . . .] marched to Assyria, and [. . .] of land . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .], and he captured Shu-[. . .] . . ., plundered it, carried off its hu[ge?] booty. In [Arahsam]nu (November–December), the king of Akkad took the head of his army, [and marched] against Ruggu[litu].²¹ He did battle against the city and, on 28th Arahsamnu (8th December), captured it . . . [He lef]t not one man (alive). [. . .] he went [home].

Year 16 (610): In Ayaru (May–June), the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Assyria. From [. . .] until Arahsamnu (November), he marched about victoriously in Assyria. In Arahsamnu, the Umman-manda, [who] had come [to hel]p the king of Akkad, put their armies together and marched [against Ashur-uballit], who had ascended the throne of Assyria. Fear of the enemy overcame Ashur-uballit and the army of Eg[ypt, which had?] come [to help him?], and they aban[doned] the city [. . .] they crossed. The king of Akkad reached Harran and [. . .] he captured the city. He carried off the huge booty of the city and temple.²² In Addaru (late February–late March 609), the king of Akkad left their [. . .] He went home. The Umman-manda, who had come to help the king of Akkad, withdrew.

<Year 17> (609): In Dumuzu (late June–late July), Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, the large army of Egypt [. . .] crossed the river (sc. Euphrates) and marched against Harran for conquest. [. . .] they [capture]d it(?). They defeated the garrison, which the king of Akkad had stationed inside. When they had defeated (it), they encamped against Harran. Until Ululu (late August–late September) they did unceasing battle against the city, but achieved nothing. The king of Akkad went to help his army and . . . [. . .] he went up [to] Izalla²³ and the many cities of the mountains . . . [. . .] he set fire to their [. . .] At that time the army of [. . .] ma]rched as far as the district of Urartu.²⁴ In the land . . . [. . .] they plundered their [. . .]

The garrison, which the king of [. . . set] out(?). They went up to [. . .]. The king of Akkad went home.

Notes

1. For discussion of this chronicle, see **2, Introduction**.
2. I.e. Babylonia.
3. Suhu was a state on the Middle Euphrates, just below the confluence with the Khabur, which became an Assyrian province in the ninth century; Hindanu was a city (and district) in Suhu.
4. City on Middle Euphrates, probably close to the confluence with the Khabur, see Zadok 1985, s.v. Gablini 2.
5. The location of neither is known.
6. Given its name, probably located on the Balikh river.
7. East of Tigris, near modern Kirkuk.
8. Tributary of Tigris.
9. Throughout the chronicle, the city of Ashur is called 'Baltil', an archaising way of writing its name.
10. Modern Takrit, south of Ashur.
11. Akk. *dabû niše rabâti limniš iltakan* is translated in this sense by Grayson (ABC, no.3 & p.93, l.27) and Glassner (1993: 195 [2004: 221]). Liverani (2001) suggests that the phrase means little more than that the Medes defeated 'many people'.
12. Gr. Cyaxares, king of the Medes.
13. Modern Ana, part of ancient Suhu.
14. This is a literary term of debated meaning, but the resonance is 'barbarian', 'semi-human' (see Goodnick-Westenholz 1997: 265–6 for discussion and references to different interpretations; add Liverani 1988). It was sometimes applied to the Cimmerians in Neo-Assyrian texts. In Neo-Babylonian texts (such as these) it regularly designates the Medes.
15. Sinsharishkun was a son of Ashurbanipal and brother of his predecessor, Ashur-etil-ilani. The date for the start of his reign is uncertain, see Kuhrt 1995a: 541–6, for a guide to the problematical evidence for, and chronology of, this period. Glassner (1993: 196 [2004: 223]) suggests his death was reported in the lacuna. This is quite plausible as subsequently Ashur-uballit (II) appears as the (last and short-lived) Assyrian ruler.
16. The identity of this individual is unknown; it could be Sinsharishkun, the Assyrian king; see ABC, p. 281 (but see above, n.15).
17. In the area of modern Nusaybin.
18. Rusapu is very probably to be equated with Assyrian Rasappu, located by most authorities in the Jebel Sinjar area (Kessler 1980: esp. 155; Fales 1992; Liverani 1992). Note that the Babylonians stay in Assyria, while the Medes go home, and return to Assyrian territory in Upper Mesopotamia, including the mountainous region to the north, annually between 611 and 607. This suggests that most of Assyria's territory came under Babylonian, rather than Median, control (cf. Röllig 1993; Kuhrt 1995b; Rollinger 2003b).
19. Ashur-uballit (II) was the last (and very shadowy) king of the rump of Assyria after the fall of the main cities in the Assyrian heartland to the Medo-Babylonian forces. He is not mentioned again after the end of this chronicle.
20. On the Upper Balikh, see **fig.15.3**.
21. Near modern Tell Ahmar (ancient Til Barsip), on the Upper Euphrates, a few kilometres south of Carchemish.
22. Contrast the later account by Nabonidus (**2, no.11**), who retrospectively makes the Medes, as the divine tools of the Babylonian god Marduk, solely responsible for the devastation of Harran and other cult-centres, using the topos of 'nomad hordes'.
23. Tur Abdin.
24. The mountainous area north of Assyria (cf. Rollinger in press).

11. Median destruction of sanctuaries during the war against Assyria

Babil Stele of Nabonidus (Akkadian), Babylon: MVAG 1 (1896), 73–83. VAB 4, Nbn.8, col. II; Schaudig 2001: 516, 523.¹

Translations: ANET, 309–11; TUAT I, 407.

He (sc. Marduk)² provided him (sc. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon) with help, gave him a companion for himself. The king of the Umman-manda,³ who has no rival, he caused to bow to his command, caused him to come to his aid. Above and below, from right and left, he (sc. king of the Medes) swept like a flood storm avenging Babylon in retaliation. The king of the Umman-manda, unafraid, destroyed the temples, (the temples) of all the gods of Subartu,⁴ and the towns with sanctuaries in the territory of Akkad,⁵ which had been enemies of the king of Akkad and had not come to his aid (i.e. against Assyria) – he destroyed every one of their cults, devastating their cult-centres like a flood. The king of Babylon (sc. Nabopolassar), to whom sacrilege is an abomination, did not raise his hand against the cults of any of the gods, but he left his hair unkempt, slept on the ground.⁶

Notes

1. The partly broken basalt stele was found near the site of Babylon and dates from the reign of the Babylonian king Nabonidus (556–539). In it he presents a retrospective picture of the devastation of cult-centres from the time of Sennacherib (705–681), who had pillaged Babylon and removed the cult-statue of Marduk. Nabonidus retraces this history to explain the reasons for his own rebuilding of Harran, devastated by the Medo-Babylonian troops (see **2, no.10**, sub Year 16).
2. Marduk was the patron-god of Babylon and chief of the Babylonian pantheon.
3. See **2, no.10**, n.14.
4. An archaic term for Assyria.
5. I.e. Babylonia.
6. In other words, the Babylonian king is presented as innocent of any sacrilege – as, indeed, going into formal mourning for the destruction of the shrines. Only the ‘barbarian’ Medes (Umman-manda) wrought this terrible havoc.

D. The Scythians in the Zagros

12. Peace negotiations between Assyria and the Scythians

Akkadian tablet, seventh century; Nineveh: PRT 16; SAA 4, no.20, 1–10.¹

Shamash, great lord, give me a firm, positive answer to what I am asking you! Bartatua,² king of the Scythians,³ who has now sent his messengers to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, concerning a royal daughter – if Esarhaddon, king of [Assyria], gives him a royal daughter in marriage, will Bartatua, king of the Scythians, speak to [Esarhaddon, king of Assyria,] in good faith, true and serious words of peace? Will he honour the oath⁴ of [Esarhaddon, king of Assyria]? Will he do everything that is pleasing to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria?

(This is followed by the standard formulae.)⁵

Notes

1. This is another oracle request by Esarhaddon (681–669) to the sun god, Shamash, cf. **2, nos.6–9**, n.1.

2. B/Partatua is the Akkadian form of Protothyas, the name of a Scythian chieftain in Herodotus (see **2, no.14**).
3. Akk. (kur)iškuza. It is sometimes maintained that another way of designating the Scythians in Assyrian texts is 'Cimmerians'. That certainly appears to be the convention in late Babylonian documents. But the clear separation of the two in these and other Assyrian texts makes the argument unsustainable (RLA V, 594; Ivantchik 1993: 85–93).
4. Akk. *adê*, 'loyalty oath' was one of the central mechanisms of Assyrian imperial control (see SAA 2: xv–xxv; Liverani 1995).
5. The end of the text (ll.14–20) reports the results of the divination: the first was ambiguous, but the second one was positive. It is, therefore, possible that Esarhaddon did conclude a treaty with the Scythians, the agreement sealed by the marriage of one of his daughters to the Scythian leader. It has been argued that the absence of references to Scythians after the reign of Esarhaddon signifies the success of this accord (Ivantchik 1993: 93–4).

E. Later writers on the Medes

13. Herodotus' view of the development of Median kingship

Herodotus I, 96–101.¹

There was among the Medes a wise man, named Deioke,² son of Phraortes. This Deioke longed for power and set about it in the following way. At that time the Medes lived in villages, and in his own village he was already a man of note; now he began to devote himself ever more keenly to the practice of justice. He did this at a time when there was much lawlessness throughout Median territory, well aware that injustice is the enemy of law. When the Medes in his own village saw how he behaved, they chose him to be their judge. And because he was motivated by his desire to gain power, he was straight and just. Because in this way he obtained great praise from his fellow citizens – so much so, in fact, that those living in the other villages were convinced that Deioke was the only man who dispensed justice honestly. And as they were suffering from unjust decisions, they gladly went to Deioke, after they heard about him, in order to submit their cases to him and, eventually, entrusted them to no one else.

(97) As the number of those addressing themselves to him grew constantly (because it became known that his penalties were fair), Deioke realised that everyone depended on him. So he refused to sit in judgement any more and give verdicts, because it was not to his advantage to neglect his own affairs and pronounce justice every day for everybody. Soon there was more robbery and lawlessness in the villages than there had been before. Then the Medes came together and consulted about the best course of action in the present circumstances (I suppose those who spoke most were Deioke's friends), and said: 'If the present situation continues, we shall no longer be able to live in our land, so let us appoint a king. Then peace and order will prevail, and we will be able to devote ourselves to our regular activities and not be forced to leave because of the current disorder.' These were their arguments in favour of the introduction of kingship.

(98) As soon as proposals were made about who should be appointed king, Deioke was put forward and praised by everybody, so that they agreed that he should be their king. Deioke then ordered them to build a palace for him in keeping with the dignity of kingship and to give him a guard of spearbearers. The Medes did that; they built him a large, fortified palace on the site he indicated, and let him choose his spearbearers from among all the Medes. When he had obtained power in this way, he forced the Medes to build one town

and defend it in particular at the expense of the others. The Medes obeyed him in this as well, and he built large and strong walls; this is now called Ecbatana. These walls are so constructed that each surrounding wall is higher than the preceding one by the height of the battlements.³ The site was helpful, since it was on a hill, which helped to produce this effect, but there was much planning involved as well. There are seven circles, the inner one containing the royal palace and the treasuries. The longest wall is comparable in circumference to the one at Athens. Of the first circle, the battlements are white, of the second black, of the third purple, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange. That is how the battlements of all these encircling walls are painted with colours. The two last ones, however, have their battlements plated, one with silver, one with gold.⁴

(99) This was built by Deiokes for himself and around his own house, but he ordered the rest of the people to live outside the wall. After the building was finished, he instituted a new protocol. No one was allowed to have free access to the king, instead messengers should deal with everything. The king was visible to no one; moreover, it was improper for anyone to laugh or spit in his presence.⁵ He made himself exceptional so that his contemporaries, who had grown up with him and were his equals in birth and courage, would not resent his position but, as a result of not seeing him, would begin to think that he was a creature different from themselves.

(100) By instituting these rules, he had acquired a strong position, and he showed himself a strict and impartial judge. Anyone who had a complaint had to deliver it to him in writing; he investigated the incoming complaints and made his decision public. That is how he dealt with lawsuits. But he also introduced the following practice: when he heard that someone had committed an act of violence, he sent for him and punished him in accordance with the offence, and in the whole country he governed, he had spies and eavesdroppers in his service.

(101) Deiokes, then, united the Median people,⁶ and ruled just them. The Median tribes are these: Busae, Paraetaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, Magi. So these are the Median tribes.

Notes

1. See How and Wells 1912, ad loc., who characterised this story as a 'typical description of a Greek tyrant's rise to power'; cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1994a; M. Meier et al. 2004.
2. Attempts have been made to identify Deiokes with a Zagros kinglet called Dayukku, deported to Hama (north Syria) in 715 by Sargon II (PNAE I, s.v. Daiukku; alternatively, Daiku of Shaparda in 716, *ibid.*, s.v.). For the problems in maintaining such an equation, see Helm 1981.
3. For Median fortifications, see Gunter 1982; Roaf 1995: 61, fig.26; cf. **fig.2.2**.
4. Gnoli (1974: 118) has compared this to the colours of the Mesopotamian planets.
5. See Briant 1984a: 98 for the argument that this description of court ceremonial has been modelled on the Achaemenid court of the fifth century.
6. Gr. *ethnos*.

14. The successors of Deiokes and the Median struggle against Assyria

Herodotus I, 102–3; 106–7.1.

Deiokes' son was Phraortes, who took over rule after Deiokes' death, having been king for fifty-three years. When he took over, he was not content with just ruling over the Medes, but

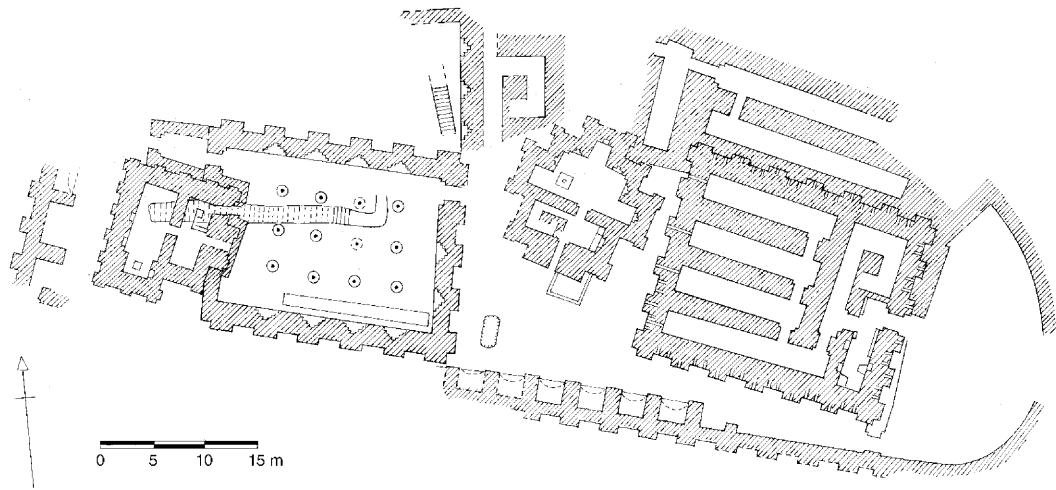


Figure 2.3 Plan of the seventh-century citadel of Tepe Nush-i Jan. The mud-brick buildings have elaborate niched walls. The cruciform structure in the centre was certainly a sanctuary, the walls decorated with blind 'windows' (cf. fig. 11.50). It contained an altar and was carefully filled with stones before being abandoned (c. 600 BC). The structure to the east is thought to be a fort. It and the building immediately to the west (which had columns) were built somewhat later. The building at the far western end may also be a temple. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

made war on the Persians; they were the first he attacked and the first he subjected to the Medes.¹ After he had these two peoples, both strong, he began to subject Asia, going from one people to the next, until, while campaigning, he came up against the Assyrians, especially those Assyrians who had Nineveh and who had previously ruled everything.² But at this time they were quite isolated, their allies having abandoned them; however, in themselves they were powerful. It was against these that Phraortes fought and was himself killed, having ruled twenty-two years, together with much of his army.

(103) After the death of Phraortes, his son Cyaxares succeeded. He was reputedly far more aggressive than his predecessors. He was the first to organise the inhabitants of Asia in army-divisions and separated the various groups – the spearmen, the archers and the cavalry. Before him, they fought all mixed up. He was the man who fought the battle against the Lydians at the moment when the day turned into night during the fighting,³ and who subjected Asia east of the Halys river. After gathering all his subjects, he marched against Nineveh in order to take revenge for his father and to conquer the city. He had already defeated the Assyrians and was besieging Nineveh, when a huge army of Scythians approached, commanded by the Scythian king, Madyes, the son of Protothyas.⁴ They had entered Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians,⁵ who had been driven from Europe, and in the course of their pursuit they entered the Median land.

(There is a long excursus at this point on the Scythian defeat of the Medes and their subsequent roaming around 'Asia'.)⁶

(106) For twenty-eight years the Scythians dominated Asia, and because of their violence and neglect, everything was in chaos. Not only did they extract heavy tribute from everyone, they also raided and robbed everybody of their property. Most of them were invited by

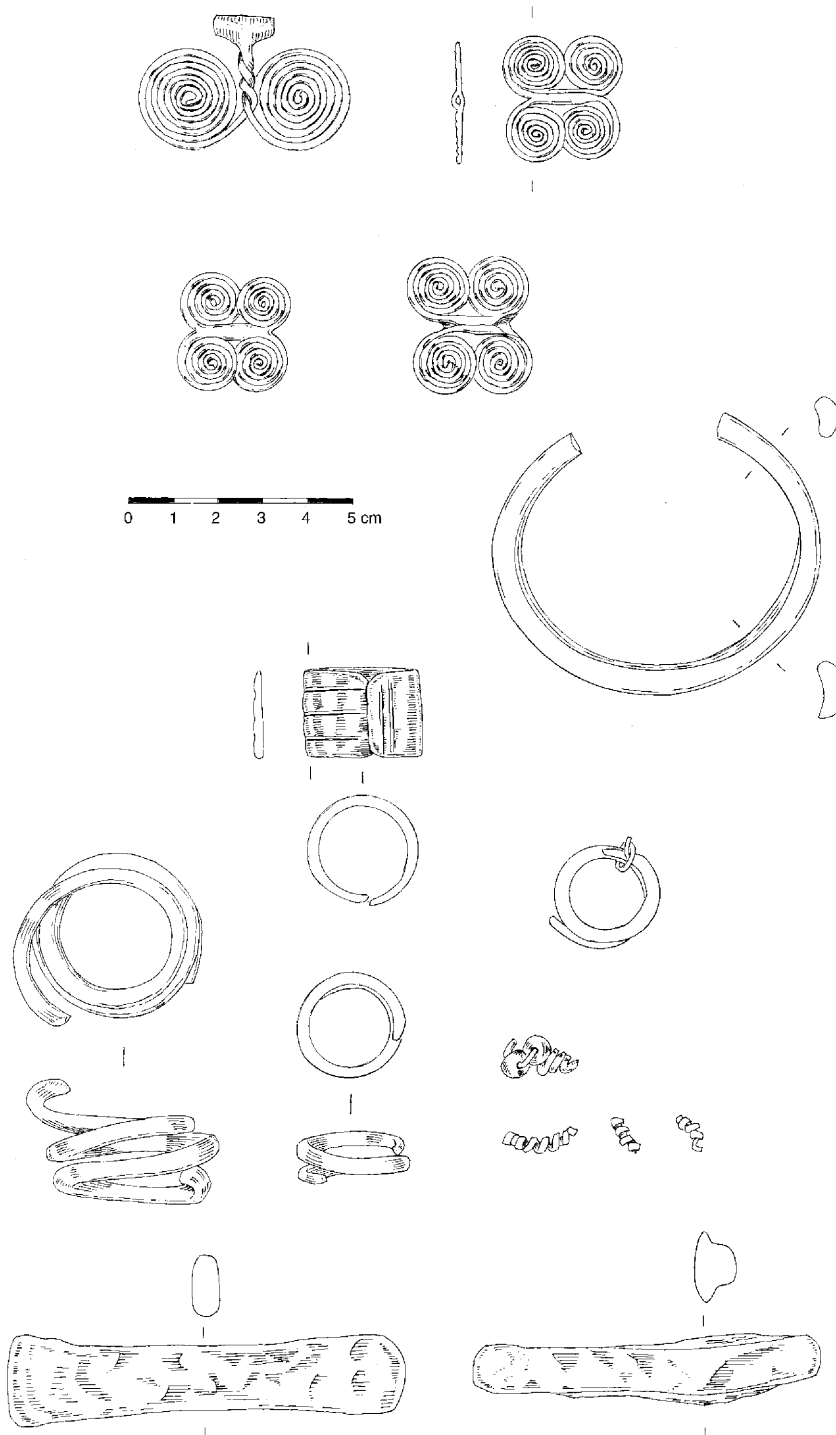


Figure 2.4 Some silver objects from the 'Nush-i Jan Treasure', now in the British Museum. The hoard consists of 321 items, some over one thousand years old at the time of deposition. They were in a bronze bowl buried in the fort. Several were deliberately snapped, which suggests that the objects were to be used as a form of currency; alternatively, it may have been a silversmith's hoard (Curtis 1984). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Cyaxares and the Medes to a dinner, at which they were given lots to drink and then massacred. So the Medes regained their power, and ruled over the same subjects as before, and conquered Nineveh as well (how they did this, I shall describe at another point),⁷ and subjugated the Assyrians, save the Babylonian part.⁸

(107) After this, Cyaxares died, having ruled for forty years, including the years of the Scythian domination,⁹ and his son Astyages succeeded him.¹⁰

Notes

1. There is no solid, earlier evidence for Persian subjection to the Medes; indeed, the Cyrus Cylinder (3, no.21, l.21) seems to contradict it.
2. Herodotus is rather confused about the Assyrians, seeing them as people inhabiting the whole Fertile Crescent including Babylonia.
3. See 2, no.15.
4. Cf. 2, no.12, n.2.
5. See 2, no.6, n.3.
6. For Assyrian evidence on the Scythians, see 2, no.12.
7. In fact, Herodotus never does this.
8. Cf. Hdt. I, 178–87 (for problems, see Rollinger 1993).
9. This is the usual translation of the passage; but it raises chronological issues, which some try to resolve by adding the twenty-eight years of Scythian rule to the forty years of Cyaxares' reign (see, e.g., Scurlock 1990; cf. Ivantchik 1999). The Assyrian evidence (2, no.12) contains no hint of a Scythian–Median conflict.
10. Herodotus' account of Astyages' reign forms part of the story of Cyrus the Great; see 3, nos.7, 30, 31. His chronology of the Median kings works out, either as (a): Deiokes, 700–647; Phraortes, 647–625; Cyaxares, 625–585; Astyages, 585–550; or (b): Deiokes, 720–667; Phraortes, 667–645; Cyaxares (plus Scythian interregnum), 645–585; Astyages, 585–550. At I, 130 (3, no.7) he says that the Medes, including Scythian rule, were in power for 128 years, which places the start of their domination over Asia in 678 (see also Henige 2004).

15. The Lydo–Median conflict

Herodotus I, 73–4.

So Croesus¹ moved into Cappadocia for these reasons: because he wanted to add land to that which was already his share, but above all because he had faith in the oracle and wanted to exact retribution from Cyrus for what he had done to Astyages.² Because when Astyages, the son of Cyaxares and brother-in-law of Croesus, was king of the Medes, Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subjugated him. He had become Croesus' brother-in-law like this: a group of nomadic Scythians,³ separated from the others, moved into Median territory. At that time, the king of the Medes was Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, son of Deiokes, and, at first, he treated the Scythians well as suppliants. In fact, he treated them so well that he gave them some boys to learn their language and their method of archery. After some time, it so happened that the Scythians, who were always going hunting and always bringing something back, caught nothing. Coming home with empty hands, Cyaxares (who, as this incident shows, was extreme in his temperament) treated them very harshly and shamefully. And because they had suffered like this at the hands of Cyaxares and feeling it to be a personal insult, they decided to chop up one of the boys placed in their charge, to prepare him in the way they usually prepared game, bring him to Cyaxares as though he really were that, and then betake themselves as quickly as possible to Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, at

Sardis;⁴ and that is what happened. Cyaxares and those eating with him tasted the meat, and the Scythians, having done this, sought asylum with Alyattes.

(74) When, after this, Alyattes refused to surrender the Scythians to Cyaxares, war broke out between the Lydians and the Medes, which went on for five years, with sometimes the Medes victorious over the Lydians, sometimes the Lydians victorious over the Medes; there was also a night-battle. As the war proved indecisive for both sides, it happened, in the sixth year, while they were fighting and in the middle of the battle, suddenly day turned to night. This change of daylight had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales the Milesian, and he had specified the year in which the eclipse occurred.⁵ The Lydians and Medes, when they saw night instead of day, stopped the battle, and both sides were most anxious to make peace. Those who brought them together were Syennesis, the Cilician, and Labynetus, the Babylonian.⁶ They were the ones who brought about a sworn agreement between the two and an exchange of marriage: they decided that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, because without such a strong tie, agreements tend not to remain strong. These people (sc. the Medes) make their sworn agreements just like the Greeks; also, when they cut into the skin on their arms, they lick each other's blood.

Notes

1. Croesus was the last king of Lydia, who was defeated by Cyrus the Great, probably in the 540s; see **3, nos. 12–19**.
2. For Cyrus' defeat of Astyages, see **3, nos. 1**, col. ii, 1–4; **6–8**.
3. For the Scythians, see **2, nos. 12; 14**.
4. Alyattes was the father and predecessor of Croesus.
5. The eclipse is generally thought to have occurred in 585 (28 May), but see Rollinger 2003b: 309, n. 106, for the fact that it is highly unlikely to have been foretold by Thales; id.: 305–13 for an analysis of Herodotus' confusion of the geography of the region, lack of precision on where the battle occurred and the vague way in which he uses the Halys to divide 'Lower' from 'Upper' Asia.
6. Syennesis is not a name, but the title of the ruler of the part of Cilicia centred on Tarsus (see Casabonne 2004: 165–73); 'Labynetus' could render the name Nabonidus, the last king of Babylonia, who was not on the throne in 585. It is, therefore, usual to assume that this is a confusion on Herodotus' part, and that the Babylonian negotiator (almost certainly the overlord of Cilicia at this time) was Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562).

16. Ctesias' story of the fall of Assyria to the Medes

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGtH 688 F1 b (D. S. II, 23–8); Lenfant, 55–64.

Being of such a character, he (sc. Sardanapalus)¹ not only brought his life to a shameful end, but totally destroyed the Assyrian empire, which was the longest-lasting of all known in history.²

(24) For a certain Arbaces, a Mede by race, distinguished for his courage and brilliant spirit, was in charge of the Median troops sent each year to Nineveh.³ While on service, he got to know the general of the Babylonians, who urged him to overthrow the Assyrian empire. This man was called Belesys, and he was the most notable of the priests the Babylonians call Chaldaeans.⁴ Being, as a result, a great expert in astrology and divination, he predicted the future infallibly to everyone. He was admired for this, and so he predicted to the commander of the Medes, who was his friend, that he would definitely become king over all the lands ruled by Sardanapalus. Arbaces praised the man and promised to give him

the satrapy of Babylonia, once it was all done; but himself, like someone elated at a message from a god, gathered round him the leaders of other peoples, and assiduously invited them all to dinners and social occasions, and so formed friendships with all of them. He also aspired to see the king face to face and observe his whole manner of life. To achieve this, he presented one of the eunuchs with a golden bowl and so gained access to Sardanapalus. When he observed at close quarters the luxury surrounding him and his attraction to womanish habits and practices, he despised the king as a man of no account and pinned his hopes all the more on the hopes raised in him by the Chaldaean. Eventually he conspired with Belesys that he (sc. Arbaces) should get the Medes and Persians to revolt, while the other should persuade the Babylonians to join in and gain the support of the leader of the Arabs (who was Belesys' friend) for the attempt to gain supreme power. When the year of military service was over and the next contingent arrived, the soldiers returned as usual to their homeland. On this occasion, Arbaces persuaded the Medes to revolt against royal rule, and the Persians to join the plot in return for their freedom. Belesys, too, persuaded the Babylonians to strike for their freedom, and he sent messengers to Arabia in order to get the leader of the country, his friend and bound to him by ties of hospitality, to join the attempt. At the end of the year, they all gathered a mass of soldiers and came in a crowd to Nineveh, on the pretence that they were bringing the replacements as usual – in fact, of course, to overthrow the Assyrian empire. When all the four peoples had gathered together in one place their total number came to 400,000; and when they had come together in one camp, they discussed their plan together.

(25) When Sardanapalus got wind of the revolt, he immediately led the forces from his other subjects against them. The first battle was joined in the plain and the rebels were defeated with heavy losses and pursued to a mountain seventy stadia⁵ from Nineveh. Later they came down again into the plain and prepared for battle. Sardanapalus drew up his personal army opposite them and sent heralds to the enemy camp: he would give 200 talents of gold to whoever killed Arbaces the Mede, and twice that, plus the government of Media, to him who brought him alive. He promised the same reward to whoever killed Belesys the Babylonian or took him alive. But when no one took any notice of the heralds, he joined battle, and slew many of the rebels, forcing the remainder back to their camp in the mountains. Arbaces' entourage lost heart at these setbacks and he convened a meeting of his friends to decide what to do. The majority said that they should go home, seize some strong places and prepare everything needed for war. But the Babylonian Belesys insisted that the gods had indicated with signs that, after much toil and hardship, they would eventually succeed. He encouraged them in other ways, too, as much as possible and so persuaded them all to stay and face the danger. So a third battle was fought with the king victorious, capturing the camp of the rebels and pursuing the defeated as far as the Babylonian frontier; even Arbaces himself, who had fought brilliantly and killed many Assyrians, was wounded. When the rebels had suffered so many, continuous setbacks, the leaders gave up hope of victory and prepared to go each to his own home. But Belesys, after a sleepless night which he spent studying the stars, said to those who had lost hope in the affair, that if they waited five days, help would come of its own accord and everything would change utterly to the contrary; for he saw, from his experience of the stars, that the gods were foretelling this. He appealed to them to wait for this number of days, and so test his skill and the goodwill of the gods.

(26) After they had all been called back and waited for the appointed time, a messenger came with the news that a force sent from Bactria⁶ to the king was close and advancing with all speed. So Arbaces and the generals with him decided to go quickly to meet them,

together with the pick of the army and the best equipped, so that, should they fail to persuade the Bactrians verbally to join the revolt, they could force them with their weapons to share their hopes. But, in the event, first the commanders, then the whole force responded well to the call for freedom, and they all encamped together. As it happened, the Assyrian king was unaware of the revolt of the Bactrians and, elated with his previous successes, turned back to indulgence and distributed to the soldiers animals for a sacrifice, a lot of wine and other viands. When those with Arbaces learnt from some deserters, while the whole army was feasting, of the relaxation and drunkenness in the camp of the enemy, they made a surprise attack during the night. As this was a case of organised men falling upon disorganised, men ready for action upon the unprepared, they captured the camp, killed many of the soldiers and chased the remainder to the city. After this, the king appointed Salaimenes,⁷ his wife's brother, general, while he concentrated on defending the city. The rebels fought two battles in the plain outside the city, and twice defeated the Assyrians, killing Salaimenes and cutting down some of the enemy in their flight and killing almost all those who had been shut out from the city and forced to leap into the Euphrates river.⁸ So large was the number killed that the river-water mixed with the blood was changed in colour over quite some distance. And when the king was shut up and besieged, many of the peoples rebelled, each going over to liberty. Sardanapalus, seeing that the entire kingdom was in the greatest danger, sent his three sons and two daughters with a lot of money to Cotta, the governor of Paphlagonia and the most loyal of his subjects. He also sent messengers to all his provinces to raise forces and prepared for a siege. An oracle had come down to him from his ancestors, according to which nobody could take Nineveh by force as long as the river did not turn against the city. He thought this could never happen, so he held out in hope, thinking to wait out the siege and get the troops which would be sent from the provinces.

(27) The rebels, elated by their success, pressed on with the siege, but because of the strength of the walls they were unable to harm anyone in the city, because catapults, 'tor-toises',⁹ rams, machines for bringing down walls, had not at that time been invented.¹⁰ Moreover, those in the city had plenty of all the things needed because the king had made provision in advance on that score. For these reasons, the siege dragged on and they spent two years attacking the walls and preventing anyone in the city from going outside into the countryside. In the third year, when there was violent and continuous rain, it so happened that the Euphrates rose, flooded part of the city and destroyed the wall for 20 stadia. Then the king thought that the oracle had been fulfilled, that the river had clearly become the city's enemy and gave up hope of being saved. To avoid falling into the hands of the foes, he prepared a massive pyre in the palace and piled on it gold and silver, as well as all the royal garments; then he shut the concubines and eunuchs into a room which had been got ready in the midst of the pyre, and consigned himself together with them and the palace to the flames.¹¹ When the rebels learnt of Sardanapalus' death, they took the city forcing a way in where the walls had collapsed, dressed Arbaces in the royal robe, proclaimed him king and so gave him complete sovereignty.

(28) The new king then rewarded the generals, his companions in the struggle, giving them gifts according to their service. When he was appointing satraps over the peoples, the Babylonian Belesys, who had foretold that he would become king over Asia, came to him, reminded him of his good service, and asked to be given the governorship of Babylon as had been promised at the start. He revealed further that, at the moment when matters looked bad, he had made a vow to Belus that, if Sardanapalus was defeated and his palace burnt

down, then he would bring its ashes to Babylon; there he would erect a mound near the god's precinct and the river, so that for all sailing on the Euphrates it would be an eternal memorial of the man who had brought Assyrian rule to an end.¹² He made this request because he had learnt from a eunuch, who had escaped, come to him and whom he had hidden, about the silver and gold. Arbaces was unaware of this because everyone in the palace had been burnt along with the king and so he allowed him to take the ashes and to hold Babylon free of tax. Belesys got boats together and sent, along with the ashes, most of the silver and gold to Babylon. But when he was caught in the act and the matter revealed to the king, the latter appointed the generals who had fought with him as judges. The perpetrator confessed his guilt and the court condemned him to death. But the king was magnanimous and was concerned that the beginning of his reign should be marked by moderation, (so he) freed Belesys from the threat to his life and let him keep the silver and gold he had taken. Nor did he take away his governorship of Babylon, saying that his former good services were greater than his later crimes. This moderation was bruited abroad and gained him considerable goodwill from, and glory among, the peoples; everyone thought that someone who treated wrongdoers like that was worthy of kingship. Arbaces behaved with restraint to the inhabitants of the city, settling them in villages and giving back to each his possessions, but he levelled the city to the ground.¹³ Then he had the silver and gold from the pyre, amounting to many talents, moved to Ecbatana in Media. So the Assyrian empire lasted thirty generations after Ninus, that is more than 1,300 years, and was destroyed, as I have said, by the Medes.

Notes

1. According to Greek tradition, Sardanapalus (a Greek rendering of the name of the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (669–c.630)) was the last Assyrian ruler and a byword for luxurious living and effeminacy. Contemporary Mesopotamian texts show that he was succeeded by three more kings.
2. In Ctesias' vision, the Medes were subject to the Assyrians for most of their 1,300 (alternatively 1,360) years of rule. In Ctesias' chronology, the Assyrian empire extended from c.2060 to c.760, followed by over 280 years of Median rule. The Assyrians were lords of all Asia, including Egypt and Central Asia (but not India).
3. Ctesias described in his discussion of Assyrian history a system whereby the Assyrian kings ordered contingents from each subject group to take turns serving at Nineveh for one year before being replaced by new troops.
4. Chaldaeans were groups of people settled in Babylonia in the early first millennium, cf. Kuhrt 2002a: 479, for a brief discussion. The idea that they were Babylonian priests (later, expert astrologers) is first found in Herodotus (see Kuhrt 1982).
5. 1 stadion = approx. 190.5 m; 70 stadia is, therefore, a little over 13 km; 20 stadia = close to 4 km.
6. Bactria (Bactriane in Ctesias) is a large region of Central Asia (see **fig.5.1**); the name is applied rather vaguely by classical writers to an area embracing Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan.
7. Alternatively, 'Galaïmenes' (unknown).
8. Nineveh is on the Tigris, not the Euphrates.
9. Shields for protecting sappers.
10. Assyrian palace reliefs depict sophisticated siege-engines equipped with battering rams and fire-dousing equipment; they also show large shields used to protect archers and sappers. So Ctesias is quite mistaken here. For a good selection of photographs of Assyrian reliefs, see Strommenger and Hirmer 1964; Reade 1983; Curtis and Reade 1995 (cf. **fig.7.3**).
11. Cf. Athen. XII, 38, pp.528f–529a & 529b–d, who gives a detailed description of Sardanapalus' effeminacy, debauchery and indulgence in fine food and drink, derived from Ctesias (Lenfant, 54–5, 62; cf. **fig.2.5**); note that Sardanapalus became a standard sobriquet in the Roman empire for rulers deemed unworthy of power, not suitably dignified (Lenfant 2001).

12. See Van de Mieroop (2004), who sets this episode into the context of a possible Babylonian story about the sack of Nineveh, mirroring Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon in 689.
13. For evidence on Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid period settlement in and around Nineveh, see Kuhrt 1995b.



Figure 2.5 *The death of Sardanapalus*, by Eugène Delacroix, 1827; Musée du Louvre, Paris. The melodramatic scene was based on Ctesias' detailed description of the Assyrian king's death and self-immolation (cf. 2, no.16, n.11). It is a textbook example of the Orientalist image of despotic luxury, sensuality and degeneracy. (Photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

17. The Median dynasty according to Ctesias

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F5 (D. S. II, 32.4–34); Lenfant, 78–82.

(Ctesias) says that after the destruction of the Assyrian empire, the Medes ruled over Asia, Arbaces being the king who defeated Sardanapalus, as was described. When he had reigned twenty-eight years, his son Maudaces became king and ruled Asia for fifty years. After him, Sosarmes ruled for thirty years, Artycas fifty, the one called Arbianes twenty-two, and Artaeus forty.¹

(33 contains an excursus on a bitter war, fought between the Cadusians² and Medes, under Artaeus; the Cadusians were, as a result, never subject to the Medes, although they did become allies.)

(34) After the death of Artaeus, Artynes ruled over the Medes for twenty-two years, and Astibaras for forty.

(The remainder of 34 contains an excursus on a revolt by the the Parthians,³ which led to conflict with the Sacae,⁴ ultimately amicably resolved.)

When Astibaras, the king of the Medes, died in old age at Ecbatana, he was succeeded by Aspandas his son, called Astyages by the Greeks. And when he had been defeated by Cyrus the Persian, the kingship passed to the Persians, about whom we shall write in detail at the proper time and place.⁵

Notes

1. For observations on the basic reliability of some of these names, insofar as they render those of Zagros chieftains noted in Assyrian texts, see Auberger 1991: 19.
2. The Cadusians were a people living to the north of Media (see Syme 1988; **8, no.37**, n.4). From the reign of Darius II (424/3–405) down to the reign of Artaxerxes III (358–339), hostile encounters with them are mentioned in the Greek literary sources (**8, no.37; 10, no.5; 11, no.21(vi); 13, no.31**; cf. **9, no.67**). These should probably be seen as royal forays to renew and consolidate relationships of alliance (rather than attempts to impose direct rule, cf. **17, Introduction**) between the Persian kings and the inhabitants of this region. Ctesias' story traces the origins of this relationship right back into 'Median times'.
3. Parthia is located east of the Caspian in modern Turkmenistan.
4. The Sacae are the Scythians, in this instance the Scythians of Central Asia, who always lived on the margins and beyond the frontiers of the Achaemenid empire and the subsequent hellenistic kingdoms, but supplied troops to the Persian armies, see Briant 1982a: ch.4.
5. So, according to Ctesias, the Median empire lasted well over 280 years.

18. Relations between the Babylonian and Median king according to a late Babylonian writer

(i) Nabopolassar and Astyages

Berossus, *Babyloniaca* = FGrH 680 F8b.

Translations: Burstein 1978: 25 (6a); Verbrugghe and Wickersham 1996: 56–7.

After Samoges, Sardanapalus gained the throne and reigned over the Chaldaeans twenty-one years.¹ Nabopalassoros sent to help Astyages,² leader and satrap of the Medes, part of the royal army, in order to obtain for his son, Nabukhodonosoros,³ a daughter of Astyages, Amytis, as his wife.

(ii) Nebuchadnezzar and the Median princess

Berossus, *Babyloniaca* = FGrH 680 F9a.

Translations: Burstein 1978: 27 (2a); Verbrugghe and Wickersham 1996: 59.

In this palace (in Babylon),⁴ he (Nebuchadnezzar II) had high stone terraces built that gave the appearance of being mountains planted with all sorts of trees. He constructed and prepared what is known as the 'Hanging Garden'⁵ for his wife, who had a love of the mountains since she had grown up in Media.

Notes

1. Berossus' *Babyloniaca* is only preserved in sad fragments, that have passed through innumerable rewritings. Enough survives to show that he focussed exclusively on Babylonian history, and only mentions Assyrian kings who reigned over Babylonia (see Kuhrt 1987a); Sardanapalus indicates the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (669–630?), who ruled Babylonia through a rather shadowy figure called Kandalanu from 648 to 627.
2. This is a mistake either by Eusebius (who, writing in the fourth century AD, preserves this Berossus passage) or an intermediary source quoting Berossus incorrectly. It must originally have been 'Cyaxares'. But note that in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, the roles of Cyaxares and Astyages are reversed.
3. I.e. Nebuchadnezzar (II).
4. In the preceding passage, Berossus says that Nebuchadnezzar's elaborate palace took only fifteen days to build, seemingly echoing that king's own statement (VAB 4, Nbk. 15, VIII, 64–IX, 1). Given the unusual numeral, this may be an indication of Berossus' access to original documents (or at least copies).
5. Gr. *kremastos paradeisos*. No clear evidence for such a structure was found in the excavations of Nebuchadnezzar II's palace in Babylon (see generally, Finkel 1987). There are anomalies in the tradition which has led one scholar to argue that the 'Hanging Gardens' were actually built by an Assyrian king at Nineveh (Dalley 1994; 2003). For a full and lucid analysis of the question, pointing out the errors, circularities and inconsistencies in this argument, see Bichler and Rollinger 2005 (esp. 167–72 on the divergent Berossus tradition).

19. Life at the Median court according to Xenophon¹

(i) Court dress

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* I, 3.2–3.

... and he (sc. Cyrus) noticed that he (sc. Astyages) was wearing make-up, with eyes outlined, colour rubbed on his face and false hair, as was the Median fashion. All this is Median, as are the purple tunics and sleeved coats, the necklaces worn around the neck and the bracelets on their wrists,² while the Persians, even now in their homes, have much simpler clothes and a more thrifty lifestyle. When he noticed his grandfather's raiment, he stared at him and said: 'Isn't grandfather handsome, mother!' His mother asked him who he thought more handsome – his father or grandfather? Cyrus replied immediately, 'Among the Persians, mother, by far the most handsome is my father. But among the Medes, as far as I have seen them in the streets and at court, my grandfather is the most handsome.'

(3.3) Then his grandfather kissed him and dressed him in a lovely robe, and adorned him with necklaces and bracelets as a sign of his favour; and when he went out, he took the boy with him on a horse with a gold-studded bridle, just as he himself usually rode out. And as Cyrus was a child, who loved beautiful things and wanted distinction, he was delighted with the robe and pleased to learn horse-riding.

(ii) Eating, drinking and audience at court

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* I, 3.4; 3.8.

When Astyages was dining with his daughter and Cyrus, he wanted the boy to enjoy his dinner as much as possible, so that he would not feel too homesick. So he set before him dainty delicacies and all kinds of sauces and meats. The story is that Cyrus said: 'What a business you have with dinner, grandfather! You have to reach with your hands for all the

dishes and taste all these different kinds of food!’ ‘How is that?’ said Astyages, ‘Don’t you think, really, that this dinner is better than you get in Persia?’ (. . .)³

(3.8) ‘How about Saca, my cup-bearer’, said Astyages, ‘whom I value most of all – why have you not given him anything?’⁴ Saca, as it happened, was very good-looking. He had the honour of introducing to Astyages those who had business with him, while keeping out those he thought it not appropriate to allow in.⁵ Then Cyrus asked cheekily, as a boy might who has not yet learned tact: ‘Why do you think so much of him, grandfather?’ Astyages responded with humour: ‘Don’t you see how beautifully and elegantly he pours the wine?’ Now the cup-bearers of those kings have an exquisite way of serving the wine: they pour it without spilling a drop and present the cup with three fingers; they present it so that it is placed in the most convenient way for the drinker to take hold of. (. . .)⁶

Notes

1. Xenophon’s biography of Cyrus is more fiction than historical fact, although exactly how it might be used by historians is debated (see Enclr VI, 512–14, for overview of problems and literature). It seems likely that for his depiction of the Median court, Xenophon drew on contemporary Achaemenid institutions. However, the work has been influential in creating an impression of a highly evolved Median court-life.
2. Examples of magnificent jewellery of this type from the Achaemenid period have been found; see, e.g., **fig.13.3**. These are described and depicted, repeatedly, worn by high-ranking Persians; see **13, nos.21–2; figs.4.2; 11.20; 13.5**.
3. The subsequent dialogue is designed to show how morally superior Cyrus’ Persian simplicity of manner and thoughtfulness for others is, demonstrating his fitness to be king over all.
4. The passage follows an episode where Cyrus has shared his food out to all Astyages’ courtiers in gratitude for their devoted service.
5. Cup-bearer was, at many courts, a very high-ranking and trusted official. Because of his closeness to the king, he could be instrumental in gaining a royal audience (see further **12, no.7**).
6. In the next passage, Cyrus shows his adroitness at giving his grandfather a cup of wine.

CYRUS THE GREAT

Introduction

The Persian empire was founded by Cyrus II of the small kingdom of Persia (called ‘Persis’ by Greek authors), approximately equivalent to the modern Iranian province of Fars (OP Parsa). Much of the chronology of events and developments is uncertain (cf. **3, no.20**, n.5). A Babylonian chronicle is the sole reliable, indeed crucial, document; it, therefore, opens this chapter (**3, no.1**), followed by sections on early Persia and Cyrus’ predecessors (**3, nos.2–5**), his defeat of the Medes (**3, nos.6–11**), the Lydian and Babylonian conquests (**3, nos.12–28**), the new royal residence at Pasargadae (**3, no.29, figs.3.5–3.8**; cf. RLA X, 351–63, s.v. Pasargadai), and some later stories about his birth, childhood, rise to power, death and unrivalled reputation (**3, nos.30–7**).

Until perhaps the early seventh century, the region of Fars including the earlier great, but at that time abandoned, city, Anshan (modern Tall-i Malyan), was claimed as part of the old kingdom of Elam (see Carter and Stolper 1984; Kuhrt 1995a: 365–74; Potts 1999). It is now generally accepted that, by at least the late second millennium, Iranian people had infiltrated this territory and mingled with the local population, a process leading to the emergence, or better ‘ethnogenesis’, of the people we call Persians (Stronach 1974: 44–53; Miroshedji 1985; Sumner 1994; Henkelman 2003b). Elam experienced a series of political problems from the later eighth century onwards, owing to conflict with Assyria (Carter and Stolper 1984; Waters 1997/2000). As a result, it had lost direct control of the region of Anshan (Fars) certainly by the middle of the seventh century, if not earlier. One outcome of this was the emergence of a new, small kingdom there, ruled by a Persian dynasty. The first king, according to Cyrus’ own account (**3, no.21**, ll.20–1), was Teispes. He and his successors, as well as Cyrus himself, were called kings of Anshan in more or less contemporary Babylonian texts, including those written in Cyrus’ own name.¹ So this ‘Persian’ dynasty was perceived as, and perceived itself to be, ruling an Elamite territory (**3, nos.1** (ii, 1, 4); **3; 21**). This has considerable significance, as (the still poorly understood) Elamite culture exercised a profound influence on the Persians. To take just some examples: the later Old Persian royal inscriptions are virtually always accompanied by a rendering in Elamite (as well as Akkadian) – in fact, the earliest version of Darius’ long inscription at Bisitun was (almost certainly) in Elamite, thus predating the Old Persian text (see **5, no.1**, n.1 and **fig.5.2**); Elamite bureaucratic practices were adopted by the Achaemenid administration (**3, no.4; 16, Introduction; Sections A & B**), and seals used by kings and officials were sometimes carved in a definable Late Elamite style (cf. **3, no.3**; for discussion of this and other styles, see Root 1991; Garrison and Root I, 16–20). Finally, we may note that two of the three rebellions

against Darius I in Elam (**5, no.1**, paras.16, 22) were led by individuals with Iranian personal names and patronymics. One of them is indeed described as a Persian, with his base in Fars, yet he claimed to be an Elamite king with an Elamite name (see further Henkelman 2003b: 184, n.7).² Even more striking is the fact that the name of the great conqueror and founder of the empire, Cyrus II, is almost certainly Elamite ('He who bestows care'/'He (or x) gives fortune', see Zadok 1995b: 246; Stronach 1997b; Henkelman 2003b: 194–6). It has even been argued that Cyrus was, indeed, an Elamite (Potts 2005). The two ethnic elements were so interwoven that it is probably meaningless to try to draw hard and fast dividing lines (note particularly Alvarez-Mon 2004).

The archaeological evidence from Fars suggests that, in the period between c.1100 and c.650, the number of settlements, with the exception of the western fringe (Carter 1994) declined sharply. This pattern is reversed in the course of the seventh century, with the region becoming more densely settled. The process coincides with the dates currently adopted for the early Persian kings (Miroschedji 1985; cf. **3, no.2**),³ pointing to the formation of the kingdom of Anshan/Persia around this time. But apart from their names and titles, we know practically nothing about Cyrus the Great's predecessors. An approximate chronology can be constructed for them using Herodotus' seemingly reliable length of twenty-nine years for Cyrus' reign (**3, no.34**). On the basis of Babylonian dated documents (which pinpoint the year of his death), this would mean that Cyrus ruled from 559 to 530; that, in turn, places the three earlier Persian kings between c.650 and 559. What territory they controlled, or how they built up their position, is unknown.

The only chronologically fixed data for Cyrus (aside from his death) are contained in the Babylonian Chronicle (**3, no.1**). It records Cyrus' defeat of the Median ruler, Astyages, in 550, and Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia in 539, after triumphing over the Babylonian king, Nabonidus, in a battle at Opis, east of the Tigris. It also alludes to another conquest by Cyrus (**3, no.1**, ii, 15–17)⁴ in 547. This is normally assumed to be a reference to Cyrus' defeat of the Lydian king, Croesus. That may well be the case, but the name of the country to which Cyrus was marching is not preserved (see further **3, no.1**, n.5; cf. most recently, Rollinger in press).

How Cyrus possessed the capability to defeat the Medes, and why the Median king attacked him, are aspects that remain unknown to us. It is possible that the Medes exercised, or claimed to exercise, some kind of suzerainty over Anshan, which the Persians challenged (see **3, no.7**).⁵ It is equally possible that Persian expansionist moves provoked an aggressive response from the Medes. The stories about Cyrus' treatment of the defeated Median king vary, as did traditions about his relationship to the Median royal house (**3, nos.6–11**). One thing seems certain: despite Ecbatana's continuing strategic importance, it did not become the burgeoning empire's new centre. The chronicle presents Cyrus removing all valuables from the Median capital and transporting them back to Anshan.

The fall of the Medes led to Persian confrontation with the Lydians, Babylonians and peoples of Central Asia. Only later sources, from the fifth and fourth centuries, describe the Lydian conflict, the fall of Sardis and the fate of its king, Croesus (**3, nos.12–19**). The most detailed account is that of Herodotus (**3, nos.12–16**); Ctesias (**3, nos.18–19**) seems to have drawn on somewhat different tales. Predating Herodotus by several decades, and contradicting both him and Ctesias, is Bacchylides' ode (**3, no.17**, cf. also **fig.3.3**), which includes an extended lyrical description of the disappearance of Croesus and his family; putting poetic imagery aside, it looks as though in this tradition they were executed by the Persians. The Lydian conquest was followed up by the reduction of the cities along the Aegean coastline, a

task made more difficult by the revolt of the Persian appointed Lydian treasurer, Pactyes. Eventual success was achieved by Cyrus' generals, threatening and fighting every inch of the way (**3, no.20**).

The fall of Babylon is documented in both contemporary and later Babylonian texts, as well as the chronicle (**3, no.1**) and some classical writers (e.g. Herodotus, **3, no.28**). The local texts shed considerable light on how Cyrus' take-over of power was mediated and legitimised for the defeated: the Babylonian king, Nabonidus, was vilified mercilessly (see especially **3, no.23**). It was stressed that Cyrus had been selected by the Babylonian gods themselves to become the new ruler; and Cyrus guaranteed Babylonia's socio-political status quo, which provided a means for the local élite to rally to the side of the conqueror (see **3, nos.21–3**). According to a later Babylonian writer of the early third century (**3, no.25**), Nabonidus himself was spared and settled by Cyrus with an estate in Carmania (cf. Briant 1985a). Another Babylonian writing around the same time recalled his reign in a manner that has given rise to divergent interpretations (**3, no.24**). The original editor of the text (cast in the form of a prophecy) understood the writer to be labelling Cyrus' reign, in retrospect, as harsh. This view has been challenged (most recently by Van der Spek 2003b), and should perhaps be rejected. On the other hand, it is as well to recall that, according to the Babylonian Chronicle (**3, no.1**, (iii 14)), Cyrus had followed up his victory over Nabonidus by looting and massacring the inhabitants of Opis, where the battle had been fought. So his reputation in Babylonia may not have been uniformly favourable, just as Nabonidus' reputation was not consistently negative (**3, no.23**, n.22).

What we lack entirely is any hint about how Cyrus consolidated his hold over the extensive Babylonian empire, which stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Egyptian frontier (see p.4). The only reflections of Cyrus' Babylonian conquest by a people subject to its rulers are contained in the Old Testament. Particularly interesting are Deutero-Isaiah (**3, no.26**), who hails Cyrus in messianic terms comparable to the tone of the Babylonian Cyrus Cylinder (**3, no.21**), and the Book of Ezra (**3, no.27**), where Cyrus is presented as returning the exiled Jews to Judah and personally authorising, and interesting himself in, the restoration of the Jerusalem temple. What remain debated and problematical are the precise dates and contexts, hence historical reliability, of these texts. Do they show how communities, previously subject to now-defeated enemies, were treated, in order to strengthen support for the Persians? In other words, do they provide us with a hint of how the Persians tried to root themselves more firmly in former Babylonian territories? or is this how Cyrus was written up much later to serve as an idealised role-model in a quite different political and historical context?⁶

Cyrus certainly campaigned successfully in Central Asia. Nothing connects his successor, Cambyses, with any activities there, and it is assumed that most of the latter's reign was occupied with preparations for, and the conquest of, Egypt (see **Chapter 4**). Yet at Cambyses' death in 522, this eastern territory was in Persian hands, with Persian governors in place (see **5, no.1**, paras.35, 38, 45). But precisely when he campaigned there, or how often, we do not know for certain. Ctesias presents him fighting in the east immediately after the defeat of Astyages (**3, no.8**), as well as at the end of his life (**3, no.35**). Unfortunately, Herodotus (**3, no.34**) uses Cyrus' eastern wars to make a didactic point at some length. His moral lesson demands that Cyrus die during that campaign, thus diminishing its chronological value. How reliable the collocation of Cyrus' expedition to the east and his death is remains uncertain (cf. **3, no.36**, for an alternative setting). It is, thus, better to place the stories of Cyrus' last days in the category of heroic sagas, where the various tales of his birth, childhood and rise to power (**3, nos.30–3**) also properly belong.

Notes

1. There is one exception: Cyrus is called ‘king of Parsu’ in col.ii, l.15 of the Babylonian Chronicle text (**3, no.1**), which is, of course, not contemporary. See Miroschedji (2003), who argues that the inclusion of Anshan in first-millennium titles is a way of evoking a ‘golden age’ of Elam’s past. Note also his point that the earliest ‘Achaemenid’ pottery derives from the Median sphere (Miroschedji 2003: 36).
2. For further discussion of the growing evidence of Persian–Elamite acculturation (not only in Fars), see Boucharlat 2005.
3. See **Table 1** (p.879).
4. Note that, owing to the text’s state of preservation, the identity of the protagonist in l.17 is not beyond dispute.
5. For arguments against Median overlordship, see Rollinger 1999.
6. For arguments in favour of dating the writings of Second Isaiah to the fifth century, see P. Davies 1995; Baltzer 1999: 57–8; Römer 2002. The problem of the historicity of Ezra and of using the Persian ‘documents’ in the book of that name is too vast to be listed here. For a discussion of the current situation, see Kuhrt 2001a; Fried 2003; Grabbe 2004; for a suggestion of how such royal rescripts could have been preserved and reinterpreted, see Baslez 2001.

A. The expansion of Persia under Cyrus II

1. Cyrus’ defeat of the Medes and his conquest of Babylonia

The Nabonidus Chronicle (Akkadian): BHT, pls.XI–XIV; 98–123; ABC, no.7.

Translations: ANET, 305–7; Glassner 1993 [2004], no.26; Tavernier 2003 (ii, 15–18, iii, 1–3/8–28): 361–3; Brosius 2000, no.11.

(col.ii)

1. (550/49) (Astyages) mustered (his army) and marched against Cyrus, king of Anshan,¹ for conquest [. . .]
2. The army rebelled against Astyages (Akk. *Ishtumegu*) and he was taken prisoner. They handed him over to Cyrus² [. . .]
3. Cyrus marched to Ecbatana (Akk. (kur)*Agamtanu*), the royal city.³ The silver, gold, goods, property [. . .]
4. which he carried off as booty (from) Ecbatana he took to Anshan. The goods (and) property of the army of [. . .]⁴

(ll.5–12: report on Nabonidus’ activities and events in Babylonia, 549–547) then:

13. (547/6) On the fifth day of the month Nisanu (6th April) the queen-mother died in Dur-karashu which (is on) the bank of the Euphrates upstream from Sippar.
 14. The prince and his army were in mourning for three days (and) there was (an official) mourning period. In the month Simanu (June)
 15. there was an official mourning period for the queen-mother in Akkad. In the month Nisanu (April) Cyrus, king of Parsu, mustered his army
 16. and crossed the Tigris below Arbail. In the month Ayaru (May) [he marched] to [. . .]⁵
 17. He defeated its king, took its possessions, (and) stationed his own garrison (there) [. . .]
 18. Afterwards the king and his garrison was in it [. . .]
-

(ll. 19–end of column: primarily internal Babylonian affairs)

(col. iii; beginning broken)

1. (540/539) [. . .] killed(?) /defeated(?). The river . . . [. . .]
2. [. . .] . . . Ishtar of Uruk⁶ [. . .]
3. [. . .] of Per[sia(?) . . .]
4. [. . .]⁷

(539/8) (ll. 5–10: description of New Year festival performed by Nabonidus and his measures to protect divine statues)

10. Until the end of the month Ululu (ended 26th September) the gods of Akkad [. . .]
11. which are above the . . . and below the . . . were entering Babylon. The gods of Borsippa, Cutha,
12. and Sippar did not enter. In the month Tashritu (27th September–26th October) when Cyrus did battle at Opis on the [bank of]
13. the Tigris against the army of Akkad, the people of Akkad
14. retreated. He carried off the plunder (and) slaughtered the people. On the fourteenth day (10th October) Sippar was captured without battle.
15. Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day (12th October) Ug/Gubaru, governor of Gutium,⁸ and the army of Cyrus without a battle
16. entered Babylon. Afterwards, after Nabonidus retreated, he was captured in Babylon. Until the end of the month the shield
17. of the Guti (i.e. troops) surrounded the gates of Esangil.⁹ Interruption (of rites/cult) in Esangil or the temples
18. there was none, and no date was missed. On the third day of the month Arahsamnu (29th October), Cyrus entered Babylon.
19. They filled the haru-vessels in his presence.¹⁰ Peace was imposed on the city, the proclamation of Cyrus was read to all of Babylon.¹¹
20. He appointed Gubaru, his governor, over the local governors of Babylon.
21. From the month Kislimu (25 November–24 December) to the month Addaru (22 February–24 March 538) the gods of Akkad which Nabonidus had brought down to Babylon
22. returned to their places. On the night of the eleventh of the month Arahsamnu (6 November 539) Ug/Gubaru died.¹² In the month [. . .]
23. the king's wife died. From 27 Addaru (20 March 538) to 3 Nisanu (27 March 538) [there was] mourning in Akkad.
24. All of the people bared(?) /shaved(?) their heads. When on the 4th day (of Nisanu = 28 March 538), Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus,
25. went to E-ningidar-kalamma-summu,¹³ the official of the sceptre-house of Nabu¹⁴ [gave him(?)] the sceptre of the land.
26. When [Cyrus(?)] came, in Elamite attire, he [took] the hands of Nabu [. . .]
27. lances and quivers he picked [up, and(?)] with the crown-prince [he came down(?)] into the courtyard.
28. He (or: they) went back [from the temple(?)] of Nabu to Esangil. [He/they libated] ale before Bel¹⁵ and the Son of [. . .]¹⁶

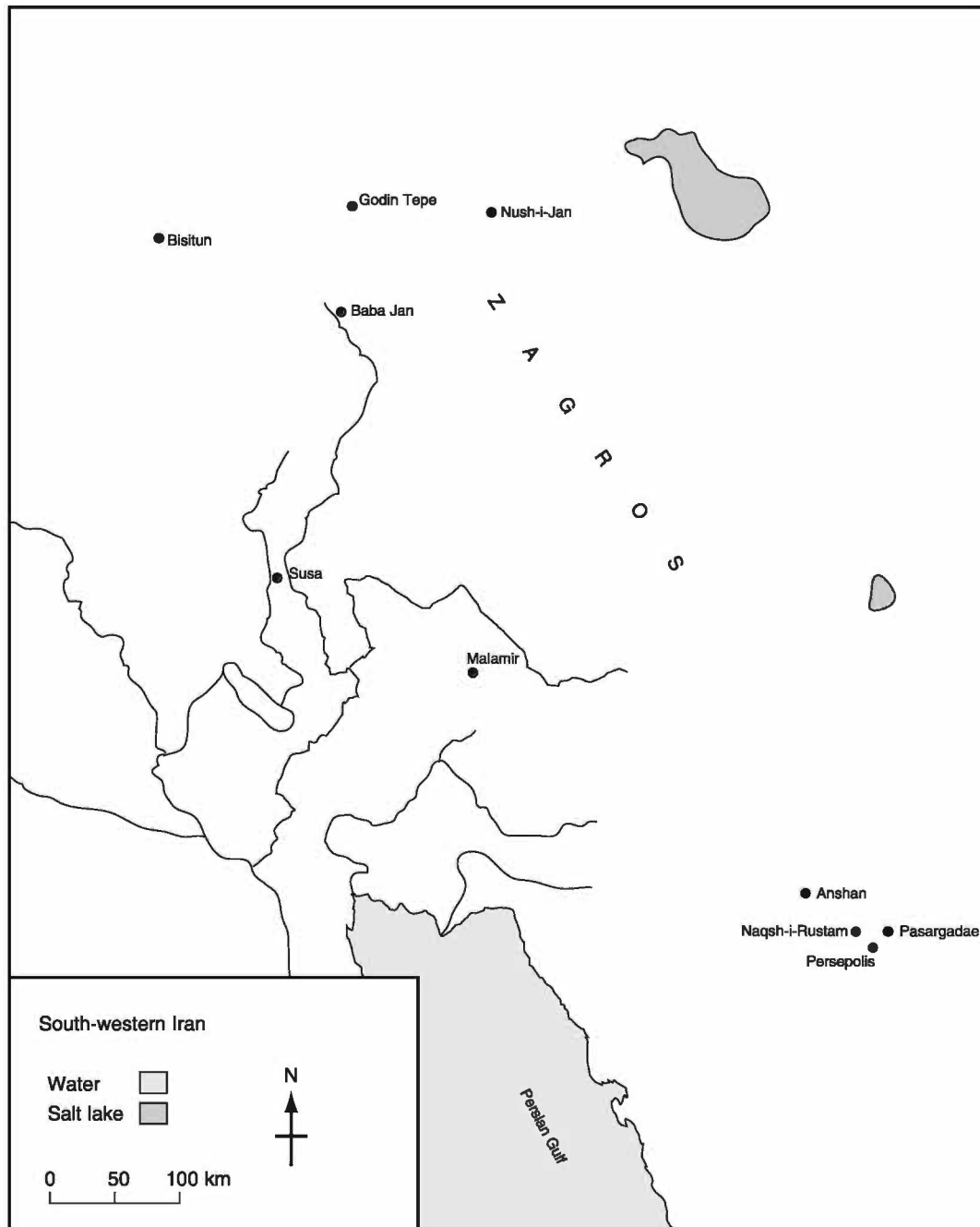


Figure 3.1 Sketchmap of Fars and Elam. (After Potts 1999.)

Notes

1. For Anshan, see **3, Introduction**.
2. The Babylonian account agrees with Herodotus (**3, no.7**) that Astyages attacked Cyrus and was taken captive.
3. This is the earliest mention (so far) of Ecbatana, the Median capital, in surviving texts.
4. Von Voigtlander (1963: 194) suggests that a Babylonian town may have been looted by the Persians at this point.
5. The first editor of the text, Sidney Smith (1924: 101, 112, 116, 120), suggested that Cyrus' campaign was directed against Croesus of Lydia. However, the traces on the tablet do not support such a restoration (see Cargill 1977; again recently, Rollinger in press). It is also difficult to know how to understand Cyrus' route through what may well have been Babylonian territory (Kuhrt 1995b): was it an act of aggression? Had the Persians conquered this region? Or had it been under Median control since the fall of Assyria? The creation of the fortress of Dur-karashu and the presence of the crown-prince with army there, both imply that tensions had developed between Babylonia and Persia (cf. Beaulieu 1989: 197–203).
6. Ishtar was a goddess associated with sex and war, closely linked to the southern city of Uruk.
7. It is possible that this passage recorded a military clash between Babylonians and Persians, part of their escalating conflict (cf. von Voigtlander 1963: 194–5; CAH IV, 120–3; Beaulieu 1989: 219ff; Briant 1996a: 51–2; 912 [2002b: 41; 883–4]); cf. above, n.5.
8. Gutium is an archaic term for the mountains to the north-east of Babylonia, here perhaps signifying the Median region. The text provides a hint of Cyrus' evolving administrative arrangements.
9. Temple of Marduk, chief god of the Babylonian pantheon and patron of Babylon.
10. This follows the very persuasive arguments of Kessler (2002a), that Cyrus, on entry, took part in the *haru* ritual, during which he was invested with the Babylonian royal regalia; cf. below, n.13.
11. This is the translation suggested by CHI II, 539 (see also CAD XVII/iii: 253). For discussion of the significance of Cyrus' ceremonial entry, see Kuhrt 1990a.
12. Although Gobryas, Cyrus' original appointee as governor of Babylonia, died, the multitude of surviving administrative and business documents from Babylonia show that a man with the same name (Gubaru = Gr. Gobryas) was installed subsequently, but not immediately, and governed Babylonia certainly into the 520s (CAH IV, 125–7; Briant 1996a: 82–7 [2002b: 70–6]; cf. **Table 3(a)**, p.881).
13. The temple of Nabu *ša hare* in Babylon, where the royal insignia were bestowed on the Babylonian ruler (Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 103), cf. above, n.10.
14. Babylonian god of wisdom and writing.
15. I.e. Bel-Marduk, head of the Babylonian pantheon; patron deity of Babylon.
16. Translation of ll.24–8 follows the new reading, after collation, of Andrew George (1996: 379–80); it is preferable to the rendering of the lines by Grayson (ABC, no.7). The passage indicates that Cyrus, wearing Persian (= 'Elamite') robes, installed his designated successor, Cambyses, as 'sub-king' of Babylonia in the course of the traditional Babylonian New Year festival ceremonies of 538. The arrangement appears to have lasted no longer than one year; the reasons for its discontinuation are unknown (for a discussion, see CAH IV, 122; 125–6; Kuhrt 1997).

B. Persia before Cyrus II

2. A 'Persian' hostage at the Assyrian court?

Clay prism, inscribed in Akkadian, from Babylon: Nassouhi Prism (AfK 2 (1924–5: 97ff), 7–13. Weidner 1931–2: 4; Borger 1996, Prisma H 2 II' 7'–13' (p.250) & pp.191–192.¹

(When) Kurash, king of Parsumash,² heard of the mighty victory, which I had inflicted on Elam with the help of Ashur, Bel, Nabu and the great gods, my lords, (and that) I had

overwhelmed the whole of Elam like a flood, he sent Arukku, his eldest son, together with his tribute, as hostage to Nineveh, my lordly city, and implored my lordship.

Notes

1. The prism contains one of the editions of Ashurbanipal's annals from 639. Here he reports his triumph over Elam.
2. It has been usual to identify him with Cyrus I, the grandfather of Cyrus II (Weidner 1931–2; more recently, Dandamaev and Lukonin 1988; CAH III, 155). However, there is no reason to assume that it must mean the ruler of the Persian kingdom in the region of Elamite Anshan. A growing number of scholars now think that it is more likely to be a small kingdom, closer to Assyria (the name appears attached to a small region in the central Zagros, for example; see **fig. 2.1**). The rejection of the identity of this figure with Cyrus I is strengthened by the following: (a) the name was quite common; it appears, for example, among the persons named in the Susa tablets (MDP 9) as well as in sixth-century Babylonia (Zadok 1976: 63 & n.12); (b) the seal of Cyrus' grandfather (**3, no. 3; fig. 3.2**) should be dated, on stylistic grounds, to the late seventh to early sixth century, which means Cyrus I should be placed there too (Miroschedji 1982; 1985; cf. Waters 1997/2000; Stronach 1997a). Note that some would date the Susa documents even later (see **3, no. 4**, n.1), reducing the time gap between them and the Persepolis Elamite texts, for which see **Chapter 1**. An additional point against identifying this Cyrus with Cyrus the Great's grandfather (though not a clinching one) is that Cyrus I's eldest son was almost certainly Cambyses (I).

3. Inscription on cylinder seal of Cyrus I

Elamite cylinder seal inscription: PFS 93*. Hallock 1977: 127–8 & fig.E5; Garrison and Root 1996/8, fig.2a; **fig. 3.2**.

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.1.

Cyrus the Anshanite,¹ son of Teispes.²



Figure 3.2 Composite drawing of several cylinder seal-impressions (PFS 93*) preserved on the Persepolis Fortification texts (509–494, see **Chapter 1**); height 1.75 cm. Framed by the inscription, a mounted warrior levels his spear in pursuit of an enemy already wounded and fleeing; two slain enemies lie below the prancing horse. It seems to have been an old seal that continued in use, as shown by the Late Elamite style of the carving (late seventh to early sixth centuries?) and the inscription, see **3, no. 3**. For discussion of image and style, see Garrison and Root 1996/8: 6–7, with earlier references. (After Garrison and Root 1996/8.)

Notes

1. For the slightly problematical reading, see Henkelman 2003b: 193, n.39. For Anshan, see **3, Introduction**; cf. **3, no.1**, ii 1, 4; **3, no.21**, ll.12 & 21.
2. El. Sheshpesh; for a recent discussion of the genealogy, see Stronach 2003; for doubts about dating the seal to the early sixth century, see Young 2003.

4. Transactions in the Palace of Susa (late seventh to sixth centuries)

Elamite tablet, Susa: MDP 9, no.34.¹

- 1 wool(?) x from the Kurrupans
 6 6 to the grooms(?) have been sent(?)
 1 Karashu² supplied

Total: 8 sarpi,³ sent for Humbanhaltash's people by the Kurrupans. Month Shabatu (January–February), day x. At Bupila.

Notes

1. Several hundred Late Elamite texts were found below the Apadana at Susa, which was built by Darius I (**11, no.13**). They therefore predate his reign and reflect part of the administrative system in place at Susa in the Late Elamite period, when a small kingdom flourished there (see Waters 1997/2000; but see **3, no.2**, n.2). The precise dating is hard to establish, but seems likely to be the late seventh to early sixth century, or slightly later (cf. **3, no.2**, n.2; Miroschedji 1982; Stolper in Caubet 1994: 267–9; Potts 1999: 297–301; Henkelman 2003b: 200–1; Tavernier 2004: 30–2, suggesting 590/580–565/555). They are linked, by language and administrative processes, to the later Elamite bureaucratic texts from Persepolis (509–458), see further **Chapter 16**.
2. Karashu is perhaps an Elamite name, which does not necessarily define ethnicity. An estimated 10 percent (at least, see Tavernier 2002a and 6) of the names in the Susa tablets are Iranian; note particularly MDP 9, no.98, rev.1, where a Kur(a)ash, i.e. Cyrus, appears (Jusifov 1963: 210). The Elamite used in the archive contains several Iranian loanwords (Henkelman 2003b: 212, n.106).
3. The meaning of sarpi/saharpi is not known. It was argued by Hinz (1968) that it was the Medo-Persian garment called *sarapis* by late Graeco-Roman grammarians, citing Ctesias as their source. For the circularity of Hinz's arguments and the uncertainties of the term, see Henkelman 2003b: 206–10; 228–31.

5. The Persian tribes

Herodotus I, 125.¹

There are many tribes of Persians. The ones whom Cyrus got together and persuaded to rebel against the Medes were the ones on whom all the other Persians depended: Pasargadae, Maraphii,² Maspaii. Of these, the Pasargadae are the noblest, and to them belongs the Achaemenid clan, from which all the Persian kings come.³ The other Persian tribes are: Panthialaei, Derusiaei, Germanii – they are all agriculturalists; the others are pastoralists: Dai, Mardi, Dropici, Sagartii.⁴

Notes

1. For a discussion of the realities of the tribal nature of Persian society, reflected by Herodotus, see Briant 1990a: 77–81; 1995; 1996a: 28–9 [2002b: 18–19]; for the archaeological evidence, see Miroschedji 2003.
2. Note **6, no.4**(167) for the commanders of the expedition against Barca: one is described as a Maraphian, the other as a Pasargadian. For the appearance of groups of Maraphians in the Persepolis Fortification archive, see Briant 1996a: 345 [2002b: 333–4]; **13, no.5**; for their appearance in the Susa ‘Acropole’ texts, see Henkelman 2003b: 213, nn.112 & 115. Both are also place names; for Pasargadae, see **3, no.29**; **figs.3.5–3.8**, for El. Marrapiyaš, see Briant 1996a: 345; 931 [2002b: 333; 925].
3. Note **13, no.6**, where Orxines is described as a member of the Pasargadae tribe (Lat. *gens*) and descended from Cyrus.
4. A clear difference in socio-political status is being expressed by Herodotus: the first three tribes represent an élite, with the Pasargadae at the apex, while the farmers and herders occupy a lower, dependent position. For the Sagartians, see further **11, no.25**(85); **17, no.9**.

C. Cyrus defeats Astyages, king of the Medes

6. Nabonidus’ vision of Cyrus’ war against the Medes

Clay cylinder (two copies preserved, one from Sippar, the other probably from Babylon), inscribed in Akkadian: V R, pl.64. VAB 4, Nbn.1, col.I, 16–33; Schaudig 2001: 416–18; 436–7.

Translations (partial): TUAT II/4, 493–6; TUAT Erg., 16–17; A.L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia, 1956): 250; Beaulieu 1989: 107–8.

In the beginning of my everlasting reign,¹ they (sc. the gods) caused me to see a dream: Marduk,² the great lord, and Sin,³ the light of heaven and earth, both stood there. Marduk spoke to me: ‘Nabonidus, king of Babylon, have bricks transported by your horses, build Ehulhul,⁴ and let Sin, the great lord, take up his dwelling there!’ I spoke reverently to Marduk, the Enlil⁵ of the gods: ‘The Medes, whose power is great, are roving around the temple you are commanding to be built.’⁶ Marduk said to me: ‘The Mede of whom you spoke – he, his land and the kings, who went at his side, are no more.’⁷ When the third year arrived,⁸ he roused against him Cyrus, king of Anshan,⁹ his young servant.¹⁰ With his few troops he scattered the multitude of the Medes. Astyages, king of the Medes, he seized and took him captive to his land.

Notes

1. Akk. *ina reš šarrutiya* = ‘in my accession year’, which is 556. H. Tadmor (1965: 353–5) argued that Nabonidus was here referring generally to the early part of his reign; Beaulieu (1989: 108) has countered that this is an unnecessary interpretation, and the dream is indeed set in 556.
2. Marduk (also Bel-Marduk) was the patron-god of Babylon and chief of the Babylonian pantheon.
3. Sin was the Moon God, patron of the Babylonian city of Ur and the north Mesopotamian city, Harran.
4. Ehulhul is the name of the temple of the Moon God in Harran, captured and looted during the Medo-Babylonian war against Assyria (**2, no.10**, sub Year 16).
5. Enlil was an earlier chief of the Mesopotamian gods; the name here indicates Marduk’s pre-eminent position in the pantheon.

6. D. Baltzer (1973–4) has shown that this does not mean that the Medes were in control of Harran, as often thought.
7. In older translations, Marduk's speech is made to continue to the end of this passage. The translation given here follows the clarification of the passage by D. Baltzer (1973–4; cf. TUAT II/4, 494–5; Beaulieu 1989: 108; Schaudig 2001: 436).
8. As the Nabonidus Chronicle (**3, no.1**) shows that Cyrus' victory over Astyages occurred, pretty certainly, in 550, H. Tadmor (1965: 353–4) argued that the term 'in the third year' was used here metaphorically. It could also indicate that the Persian–Median war broke out in 553, and the defeat of Astyages was only achieved in 550. Note the long-drawn-out war between the two described by Ctesias (ap. Nicolaus of Damascus), involving at least three battles before Cyrus' final victory (Lenfant, F8d (11–46)).
9. See **3, Introduction**.
10. Baltzer argued that this should be understood as Cyrus' subservience to the Medes, as their suzerainty over the Persians is mentioned by Herodotus (**3, no.7**) and Ctesias (**2, no.16**). As our knowledge of the extent and nature of Median control is so uncertain, it is unknown whether these later Greek accounts are historically correct or simply fit their later Median imperial stereotype. It is also possible, and perhaps preferable, to understand the phrase as meaning that Cyrus is here presented as the servant of Marduk, hence his 'divine tool' for achieving the god's purpose (cf. Cyrus Cylinder (**3, no.21**); Isaiah 42 and 45 (**3, no.26**); M. Smith 1963).

7. Herodotus' story of Cyrus' defeat of Astyages

Herodotus I, 127–8; 130.

Now that they had a leader, the Persians were delighted to free themselves because they had long resented being ruled by the Medes.¹ When Astyages learnt what Cyrus was doing, he sent a messenger to summon him. But Cyrus told the messenger to take back the message that he would be with him sooner than Astyages wanted. When he heard this, Astyages armed all the Medes, and so reckless was he that he appointed Harpagus as general, forgetting what he had done to him. No sooner had the Medes marched out and joined battle with the Persians, than some of them deserted to their side, while only those who had not shared in Harpagus' plot fought them; but the majority turned and fled.

(128) Although the Median army had been so shamefully defeated, Astyages, as soon as he heard, threatened Cyrus: 'Even so, Cyrus will not escape punishment.' Saying this, he took the magian dream-interpreters, who had persuaded him to let Cyrus go,² and impaled them; then he armed the remaining Medes in the city, both young men and old. He led them out, met the Persians and was defeated; Astyages himself was taken prisoner and lost the Medes he had led.

(At 129, Herodotus recounts a didactic story about a meeting between Harpagus and the captive Astyages.)

(130) That is how Astyages, after a reign of thirty-five years, was deposed and the Medes became subject to the Persians because of his cruelty. They had ruled all of Asia beyond the Halys river for 128 years, apart from when the Scythians were in power.³ At a later time, they changed their minds about what they had done and rebelled against Darius; but the rebels were defeated in battle and conquered.⁴ But in Astyages' time, the Persians and Cyrus revolted against the Medes and ruled over Asia from then on. Cyrus did no other harm to Astyages, but kept him with him until he died.

Notes

1. The Median noble, Harpagus, who had been instrumental in saving Cyrus' life as a baby in Herodotus' story (**3, no.30**), was horribly punished by Astyages, who served him his son for

- dinner (**3, no.31**). He therefore plotted with other Medes, secretly persuading Cyrus to revolt, and Cyrus in turn persuaded the Persians; see Hdt. I, 123–6.
2. The magi are described by Herodotus as a Median tribe (**2, no.13**); they are associated with Persian learning and religion (see further **11, Introduction & Section H(d)**). The magi had previously told Astyages that he had nothing further to fear from Cyrus (**3, no.31** (123)).
 3. For this episode and the chronological problem, see **2, no.14** & n.9; for the chronology of Herodotus' Median kings, *ibid.*, n.10.
 4. For the Median revolts against Darius I in 522/1, see **5, no.1**, paras.21; 24–8; 31–2.

8. Ctesias' story of Cyrus' defeat of Astyages and its consequences

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F9(1–3); Lenfant, 108–10.

He (sc. Ctesias) says about Astyages that he had no kind of family-relationship to Cyrus; he also calls him Astyiges. Astyages fled from Cyrus to Ecbatana and was hidden in the 'rams heads'¹ of the rooms of the royal palace, where he was concealed by his daughter, Amytis, and her husband, Spitamas. When Cyrus arrived, he ordered Oibaras² to interrogate, under torture, Spitamas and Amytis, and even their children, Spitakes and Megabernes, about Astyages. But the latter gave himself up, so that the children would not be tortured because of him. Having been seized and placed in heavy fetters by Oibaras, he was freed by Cyrus himself a little later and honoured as a father. At first, Cyrus also honoured the daughter, Amytis, as a mother,³ but later she became his wife, when her husband, Spitamas, was executed because he had lied, saying he knew nothing when they were looking for Astyages. This is what Ctesias says about Cyrus, and it is not all of what Herodotus says.

(2) And that he (sc. Cyrus) then made war on the Bactrians,⁴ and the battle was undecided. But when the Bactrians learnt Astyages had become Cyrus' father, and Amytis his mother and wife, they submitted to Amytis and Cyrus of their own accord.

(3) And (he says) that Cyrus made war on the Sacae⁵ and captured Amorges, the king of the Sacae, husband of Sparethra. She, after the capture of her husband, gathered an army and fought Cyrus leading 300,000 men and 200,000 women. She defeated him and took prisoner, along with many others, Parmises, Amytis' brother, and three of his sons. It was for their sake that Amorges was released, and then they were released too.

Notes

1. Gr. *en tois kriokranois ton basileion oikematon*; see Lenfant, 257, n.413 on the various suggested emendations and interpretations. It is very possible, as she suggests, that Ctesias is here visualising the Achaemenid style capitals with animal protomes known from the columned halls in Pasargadae, Susa and Persepolis (cf. **fig.11.12**).
2. Oibaras was Cyrus' first and most prominent supporter in the revolt against Astyages, see Ctesias' *Persica* (ap. Nicolaus of Damascus = FGrH 90 F66(11–31); cf. Lenfant, 96–103); elements of the story are a doublet of Ctesias' account of Arbaces' revolt against Sardanapalus (**2, no.16**).
3. This must have been intended to be seen as part of the process of legitimisation, i.e. making Cyrus heir to the Median throne; cf. the relationship between Alexander and Darius III's mother, Sisygambis, later (Brosius 1996: 21–2; **17, no.2(ii)** (12)). Note also Xenophon (see **3, no.11**), where Media comes to him in the form of his Median wife's dowry.
4. Herodotus refers briefly to the fact that Cyrus had to deal with the Bactrians after the fall of Lydia (I, 153), but only describes the ultimately unsuccessful war against the Massagetae, a Scythian group beyond the empire's frontier, in which he lost his life (**3, no.34**). It is by no means impossible that Cyrus campaigned in Central Asia soon after his defeat of Astyages and before the Lydian campaign, cf. Briant 1984b.

5. I.e. Scythians; although sharing some features with Herodotus' story of Cyrus and the Massagetae, this seems to be a quite different episode in Ctesias. The warlike nature of Scythian women figures already in his earlier story about the Scythian queen Zarina, who fought against the Medes (FGrH 688 F1b(34.3–5); cf. Lenfant, 81).

9. The further fate of Astyages

Justin I, 6.16.

Astyages was captured in the battle; Cyrus refrained from doing anything except taking the kingship away from him, comporting himself more like a grandson than a victor. He also gave him the governorship of the great nation of Hyrcania,¹ because he (sc. Astyages) did not want to go back to Media.

Note

1. Hyrcania is south-east of the Caspian; Ctesias (3, no.10) has Astyages settled in Bactria.

10. The death of Astyages

Ctesias, Persica = FGtH 688 F9(6); Lenfant, 111.¹

He (sc. Ctesias) also explains how Cyrus sent Petesacas, the eunuch, who enjoyed great influence with him, to Persia to bring Astyages back from the Barcanians.² For he (sc. Cyrus) and his daughter Amytis wanted very much to see their father. Oibaras advised Petesacas to abandon Astyages in the desert to die of hunger and thirst; and that is what happened. The crime was revealed in a dream and, in response to repeated demands, Cyrus handed over Petesacas to Amytis for retribution. She gouged out his eyes, flayed and crucified him.³ Oibaras, fearing that he would suffer the same fate although Cyrus had insisted he would not allow anything similar to happen, fasted for ten days and died from hunger. As for Astyages he was buried with great pomp. His body had remained undamaged in the desert, because (says Ctesias) lions had guarded his body until Petesacas came back to fetch it.

Notes

1. Herodotus does not mention Astyages' death. Xenophon, in his heavily romanticised history of Cyrus, casts Astyages as the fond grandfather of Cyrus; when he dies, he is succeeded by his son, Cyaxares, who is Cyrus' antagonist (Cyrop. I, 5.2). The fourth-century orator, Isocrates, refers to Cyrus as Astyages' killer (Evag. 8); the only fuller account of Astyages' death is found in Ctesias.
2. The episode is recounted after Cyrus' Lydian campaign. The Barcanians are placed in Bactria by Ctesias earlier (FGtH 688 F1b(2.3)). For Barce in Central Asia, said to have been settled by the people of Barce deported to Bactria by Darius I, see 6, no.4. This must be where Ctesias located the governorship said by Justin (3, no.9) to have been bestowed on Astyages by Cyrus.
3. The frightful punishments meted out by Persian queens are a *topos* in several Greek writers (Herodotus, Deinon), and figure prominently in the preserved fragments of Ctesias. On the motif and its role in forming modern images of the Achaemenid empire, see particularly Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983a.

11. Cyrus' take-over of Median power according to Xenophon

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 5.17–20.¹

When they approached Media on their march, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares.² Cyrus told Cyaxares that a house had been picked for him in Babylon and an official residence, so that he could put up in a home of his own whenever he went there. Then he also gave him many handsome presents.

(5.18) Cyaxares accepted them, and introduced him to his daughter, who brought a gold crown, bracelet, necklace and a Median robe as beautiful as could be.³

(5.19) As the girl placed the crown on Cyrus, Cyaxares spoke. 'I give you, too, Cyrus', he said, 'her, my daughter, as wife. Your father married my father's daughter, and you are their child. This is the girl, whom you often petted when you came to visit us as a boy. Whenever somebody asked her whom she would marry, she said "Cyrus". With her, as a dowry, I give you all of Media, because I have no legitimate male child.'

(5.20) That is what he said, and Cyrus replied, 'Well, Cyaxares, I hold your family in great esteem, and your child and your presents. So I should like', he continued, 'with the approval of my father and mother to accept them.' That is how Cyrus responded, although he continued to give the girl gifts he thought would please both her as well as Cyaxares. When he had done this, he marched to Persia.

Notes

1. Xenophon's picture of Persian–Median relations is that of a fond, though weak, Astyages to whom his grandson, Cyrus, is devoted. Power passes from Medes to Persians in a peaceful way: the last Median ruler has no sons and so gives his kingdom together with his daughter's hand to Cyrus, after he has conquered everywhere else.
2. In Xenophon's story, Cyaxares is the last Median king and uncle of Cyrus.
3. These items are part of the repertoire of Achaemenid royal gifts, on which see **13, Section B(c)**.

D. Cyrus' conquest of Lydia and western Asia Minor

(a) Herodotus' version of the fall of Lydia

12. Croesus plans to make war on Cyrus

Herodotus I, 53–4.

Croesus gave orders that the Lydians who were to bring the gifts to the temples (sc. at Delphi) should ask the oracles, whether Croesus should make war on the Persians and whether he should acquire allied troops. When the Lydians arrived where they had been sent, they offered their presents and enquired of the oracles, as follows: 'Croesus, king of the Lydians and other peoples, considering this to be the only place for oracular responses among mankind, has bestowed gifts on you commensurate with your revelations. Now he wants to ask whether he should make war on the Persians and acquire allied troops.' That is what they asked, and the opinions of both oracles were in agreement, namely that if Croesus made war on the Persians, he would destroy a great empire. They advised him further to find the strongest among the Greeks and make them his allies.

(54) When the oracles' reply had been brought back and Croesus heard it, he was very

pleased with them. As he fully believed that he would destroy Cyrus' kingdom, he sent again to Pytho¹ and presented the Delphians with two gold staters² each (he had found out how many there were).

Notes

1. Another name for Delphi, whose serpent guardian (a python) is said to have been slain by Apollo.
2. Usually a coin equivalent in value to 2 drachmas (1 drachma = approx. 5 g).

13. Croesus attacks Cyrus

Herodotus I, 73; 75–7.

Croesus mounted a campaign into Cappadocia for the following reasons: he very much wanted to add more land to what he already had, but above all because he trusted the oracle and because he wanted to take vengeance on Cyrus for the sake of Astyages. For Astyages, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus' brother-in-law, and Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subjected the king of the Medes. (. . .)¹

(75) Croesus had then this quarrel with Cyrus, and so he sent to the oracles to ask whether he should make war on the Persians; when he received an ambiguous reply,² he believed it to be in his favour and invaded Persian territory. When Croesus reached the Halys river, he had the army cross by the existing bridges – that is my view; but most Greeks believe that Thales of Miletus got the troops across. (*Description of a supposed river diversion by Thales.*)

(76) So Croesus having got across with the army, reached the part of Cappadocia called Pteria³ (Pteria is the strongest place in this country and lies on the same line as the city of Sinope, which is on the Euxine Sea);⁴ there he camped and devastated the homesteads of the Syrians.⁵ He also took the city of Pteria and enslaved the inhabitants, took all the places round about and drove all the Syrians from their homes, though they had done him no harm. Meanwhile, Cyrus gathered his own army, took along also all those living along the route and confronted Croesus. Before he set out on the march, he sent heralds to the Ionians to try to get them to desert Croesus; but the Ionians would not be persuaded. When Cyrus arrived and encamped opposite Croesus, then and there, in the Pterian land, they fought with each other to the utmost of their strength. The battle was fierce and many fell on both sides. Neither side had won when night came, and they separated – so hard did the two armies struggle.

(77) Croesus was not happy with the size of his army (the army that had been fighting was much smaller than Cyrus'); so, because he was annoyed at this, when Cyrus did not have another go the next day, he marched back to Sardis, intending to call on the Egyptians in accordance with the sworn treaty (for he had made an alliance with Amasis, the king of Egypt, before the one with the Lacedaemonians),⁶ and send also to the Babylonians (because he had also made an alliance with them; Labynetus was ruler of the Babylonians at this time),⁷ as well as summoning the Lacedaemonians to come at a fixed time. What he planned was to muster these, assemble his own army, wait until the winter was over and, at the start of spring, march against the Persians. With this in mind, as soon as he got to Sardis, he sent heralds to the allies giving them notice to assemble in five months' time at Sardis. As for the army he had then, which had fought against the Persians, he disbanded all the non-Lydians. It never occurred to him that, after such an even contest, Cyrus might march against Sardis.

Notes

1. Remainder of I, 73–4 contains Herodotus' description of the conflict between Medes and Lydians ending in the Battle of the Halys, 585; see **2, no.15**.
2. See **3, no.12**.
3. Summers (1997) argued that Pteria is to be located at the important site of Kerkenes Dağ. His ideas and chronology concerning its Median characteristics are now rejected (including by himself), see Rollinger 2003a. It should be understood, instead, as an Anatolian dynastic centre founded shortly after 700 BC (briefly, Lanfranchi et al. 2003: x–xi).
4. The Euxine is the Black Sea.
5. Herodotus calls the inhabitants of Cappadocia 'Syrians'. They are distinguished from the inhabitants of the Levant by sometimes being called 'Cappadocian Syrians' or 'Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians'. Some Greek writers called them 'White Syrians'; for discussion of the terminology, see Helm 1980, esp. 288.
6. In response to the oracles' advice that Croesus should find the strongest people in Greece to be his allies (see **3, no.12**), he had persuaded the Spartans to join him (Hdt. I, 69–70); for Amasis, see **4, Introduction**.
7. 'Labynetus' is Herodotus' generic name for the Neo-Babylonian king (see **2, no.15**). On chronological grounds, it must in this instance be Nabonidus – of which 'Labynetus' may well be a rendering.

14. Croesus defeated and Sardis besieged

Herodotus I, 79–81.

When Croesus marched off after the battle in the Pterian area, Cyrus knew that, when he had gone, he would disband the army. So he thought about it and realised that the best thing would be for him to march as fast as possible on Sardis, before the Lydians rallied their forces a second time. That is what he thought and that is what he did – quickly. He marched the army into Lydia and came as his own messenger to Croesus. Croesus was completely at a loss, as everything had turned out contrary to his expectation; however, he led the Lydians out into battle. There was, at that time in Asia, no people braver or more warlike than the Lydians. They fought on horseback, armed with long spears and were skilled riders.

(80) They met in the plain before the city of Sardis, broad and bare. (The Hyllus river and others flow across it and rush into the largest, called the Hermus, which flows from the mountain sacred to Mother Dindymene, reaching the sea at the city of Phocaea.)¹ When Cyrus saw the Lydians drawing up there for battle, he was afraid of their horses and did what Harpagus, a Mede,² suggested – which was this: he collected all the camels carrying the food and baggage, which followed his army,³ took off their loads and mounted men on them equipped like cavalry soldiers. Once equipped, he ordered them to go at the head of the army towards Croesus' horse, while the infantry were ordered to follow the camels and all the horses were drawn up behind the infantry. Once they were all drawn up, he told them to spare no Lydian who might come their way, but they must not kill Croesus, even if he fought for his life when captured. Those were his orders; and the reason for placing the camels facing the horse was this: horses are frightened of camels, and cannot stand either the sight or smell of them. So that was the reason for the trick, i.e. that Croesus' cavalry, on which the Lydian was relying for success, would be rendered useless. So when battle was joined, as soon as the horses smelt the camels and saw them, they turned to flee and Croesus' hopes were dashed. But the Lydians were no cowards, and as soon as they realised

what had happened, they leaped from their horses and fought the Persians on foot. Eventually, after many had fallen on both sides, the Lydians were routed; driven inside the walls, they were besieged by the Persians.

(81) So there they were, under siege. And Croesus, thinking that the siege would last a long time, sent more messengers from behind the walls to his allies. Whereas the previous messengers had been sent summoning them to assemble in five months' time at Sardis, these went to ask for help as soon as possible because Croesus was besieged.

Notes

1. The acropolis of Sardis lay on the northern slope of the Tmolus mountain (mod. Boz Dağ), down which flowed the Pactolus, joining the Hermus in the plain below. For an overview of the site and excavations (still in progress), see Greenwalt 1995; for location and layout, Dusinger 1997a: 16–26; 2003: 13–20.
2. For Harpagus, see **3, nos. 7; 30–1**.
3. Camels were bred for use particularly as pack-animals in the Neo-Assyrian armies from the mid-eighth century on (Kuhrt 1999).

15. The fall of Sardis

Herodotus I, 84.

This is how Sardis was taken. When Croesus had been under siege for a fortnight, Cyrus sent riders around his army promising a reward to whoever was first to set foot on the wall. After that, the army tried, but without success. When the others stopped, a Mardian¹ called Hyroiades tried to climb a part of the citadel which was unguarded, as nobody thought it could ever be taken at that point, because here the citadel was sheer and impregnable. This was the only spot that Meles, an earlier king of Sardis, had not carried the lion borne him by the concubine, after the Telmessians² declared that, if he carried the lion around the wall, Sardis would never be taken. So Meles carried it around the rest of the citadel wall, where it could be attacked, but he omitted this place because it was impregnable and sheer; it is where the city faces Mount Tmolus.³ Now the day before, this Hyroiades, the Mardian, saw one of the Lydians climb down from the citadel after a helmet, which had fallen down, and retrieve it. He noted this, thought about it, and then climbed up himself with other Persians after him. Many climbed up, and so Sardis was taken and the whole city sacked.

Notes

1. The Mardi were a Persian tribe, see **3, no. 5**.
2. There are two places called Telmessus in south-west Turkey: Lycian Telmessus is at the site of modern Fethiye (western Lycia); the other is in Caria and less certainly identified. Although both had oracular Apollo shrines, the Carian was the more famous and is probably the one meant here.
3. For the Lydian fortifications and the signs of destruction, see Dusinger 1997a: 97–8; 2003: 47–56.

16. The Persians in Sardis and the fate of Croesus

Herodotus I, 85–8.

What happened to Croesus himself was this: He had a son, as I said earlier, a likely youth, but dumb. In his days of prosperity, Croesus did everything possible for him; as well as trying other things, he sent to Delphi about an oracle for him. And the Pythia¹ spoke thus:

Lydian born, king of many, great fool, Croesus,
Wish not to hear the voice, so much prayed for, of your son speaking in the palace.
Much better for you that he does not; for luckless the day you first hear him.

When the defences were being taken, there was a Persian who did not know Croesus and was about to kill him. Now Croesus saw him coming, but in this time of disaster he did not care; it did not matter whether he was struck down and died. But this son, the dumb one, when he saw the Persian approaching, broke into speech from fear and grief, and said: ‘Man, do not kill Croesus!’ This was the first thing he uttered, and after that he was able to speak for the rest of his life.

(86) So the Persians held Sardis and took Croesus alive, after he had ruled fourteen years and been under siege for fourteen days, and brought his own great empire to an end, just as the oracle said. The Persians took him and brought him to Cyrus; and he had a great pyre built, placed Croesus bound in fetters on top and twice seven Lydian boys next to him. He may have been thinking of making a victory-offering to one of the gods, or wished to fulfil a vow; or it may be that he put Croesus on the pyre because he knew that Croesus was a pious man and wanted to see if some divine being might not save him from being burnt alive.² Anyway, that is what they say he did. As Croesus was standing on the pyre, he remembered, in spite of his bad situation, the divinely inspired saying of Solon that no living man is fortunate.³ When this occurred to him, he sighed and groaned, so breaking his profound silence, and thrice spoke the name ‘Solon’. When Cyrus heard this, he ordered the interpreters to ask Croesus on whom he was calling; so they approached and asked him. Croesus was silent in response to their questioning, but when he was forced to reply, he said: ‘I would have given much that all rulers should encounter this man.’ This was quite meaningless, so they asked him again what it was he was saying. And as they kept on and became bothersome, he explained how the Athenian Solon had first come, how he had gazed at all Croesus’ vast wherewithal and scorned it, saying such and such, and how it had all happened to Croesus just as Solon had said, although he was speaking less of him than mankind in general, particularly those who thought of themselves as blessed. While Croesus was talking, the pyre had already been lit and the outer edge was burning. When Cyrus heard Croesus’ story from the interpreters, he changed his mind – he realised that he himself, a man, was giving over live to the flames another being, who had once been just as fortunate as himself. As he grew afraid of retribution and pondered the fact that nothing in mankind’s affairs is ever certain, he ordered the blazing fire to be quenched as quickly as possible and take Croesus and those with him down; but, hard as they tried, his servants could not control the fire.

(87) Then, say the Lydians, when Croesus realised Cyrus’ change of heart and saw everyone striving in vain to put out the flames, he cried out and prayed to Apollo that, if the god

had ever been pleased with a gift given by him, he might now come to his aid and save him from this imminent disaster. With tears he besought the god: and, suddenly, clouds gathered in a clear, calm sky, a storm burst and rain poured down with extreme violence dousing the pyre.⁴ This taught Cyrus that Croesus really was a god-fearing and good man. When he had got him down from the pyre, he put this question to him: 'Whoever persuaded you, Croesus, to invade my territory and become my enemy instead of friend?' To which Croesus responded: 'It was I myself, oh king, and so brought good fortune on you and misfortune on myself; but I was incited to make war by the god of the Greeks. Nobody is so stupid as to prefer war to peace – in peacetime, sons bury their fathers, while in war fathers bury their sons. But, I suppose, the gods wanted it to turn out like this.'

(88) That is what Croesus said. Cyrus loosened his bonds, sat him down close to him and treated him with great respect; he and all who looked upon Croesus were impressed. But the latter was deep in thought and silent. After a while, he turned, saw the Persians sacking the Lydian city and spoke: 'My lord, should I tell you whatever comes into my mind or should I keep quiet?' Cyrus told him to speak out whatever he wanted to say. So Croesus asked him: 'What are all those people doing in such a hurry?' Cyrus said: 'They are plundering your city and taking your wealth away.' 'Not my city', Croesus replied, 'nor my wealth – I no longer have any share in it – it is your property that they are ravishing and pillaging.'⁵

Notes

1. The woman through whom the oracle at Delphi gave utterance, see Maurizio 1995.
2. The image of Croesus on the pyre was widespread, see **3, no.17 & fig.3.3**, but not universal, see **3, no.19**.
3. The reference is to a, probably apocryphal, moralising story intended to illustrate the wisdom of Solon of Athens and the vanity of mortal fortunes, see Hdt. I, 30–2.
4. Cf. **3, no.17** (with a different outcome).
5. Hdt. I, 89–92 provides more didactic anecdotes of Croesus' newfound wisdom and his eventual acceptance of the rightness of the Delphic oracle. Croesus features repeatedly later in Herodotus as the sage advisor of Cyrus and his successor, Cambyses. In both Ctesias (**3, no.19**) and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Croesus is treated with honour by Cyrus; the latter depicts Croesus in very similar vein to Herodotus and is, perhaps, dependent on him.

(b) Greek images of Croesus' fate preceding Herodotus

17. The fate of Croesus recalled by the poet Bacchylides

Maehler 1982/1997, F3.¹

- (IIc) For once long ago the ruler
of the horse-taming Lydians,
when Zeus fulfilled
the doom foretold and
Sardis was captured by Persian arms,
Croesus was protected by Apollo, he of the golden
(IIIa) lyre. When he (sc. Croesus) was overtaken
by that unexpected day, he did not wait for

- mournful servitude to come as well, but had a
pyre built facing the bronze-walled
- (b) palace court; this he mounted, with his
dear (wife) and lovely-haired daughters,
who wailed heartrendingly.² There he raised
his hands to the high heaven
- (c) and cried: 'Oh omnipotent god,
where is the lord, the son of Leto?³
Gone is Alyattes'⁴ palace
. . . of countless
. . .
- (IVa) . . . The Persians have devastated the city,
reddened with blood is gold-bearing
Pactolus,⁵ women are dragged
brutally from the well-built halls.
- (b) What was detested, is (now) welcome: Death is sweet.'
Thus he spoke, and ordered the soft-pacing servants
to light the wooden pile. The girls
screamed and threw up their hands
- (c) to the mother. For the death, which can be seen approaching,
is the most bitter for mortals.
But when the blazing strength of
the terrible fire rushed forth,
Zeus summoned up a black-cloaking cloud
and doused the yellow flame.
- (Va) Anything can happen, if the divine will
has brought it about: at that time, Delos-born
Apollo bore the aged man to the Hyperboreans⁶ together with the
slender-footed daughters and gave them a new dwelling,
- (b) for the sake of his piety: for he, of all mankind,
had sent the richest gifts to holy Pytho.

Notes

1. Bacchylides was a lyric poet from Keos, c.520–450. Until the find of a papyrus containing his victory odes (and some of the dithyrambs) in Egypt in 1896, he was known only through citations in other works. This extract comes from one of his odes in honour of the victory won by the chariot-team of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse. Bacchylides, like Pindar, probably stayed at his court for some time. His vivid picture of Croesus on the pyre predates that of Herodotus by at least thirty years and diverges from it; see Segal 1971; Burkert 1985b; Crane 1996.
2. Note that here Croesus prepares to immolate himself together with his family.
3. I.e. Apollo.
4. Alyattes was Croesus' father; cf. **2, no. 15**.
5. The Pactolus was the river flowing past Sardis; cf. **3, no. 14**, n. 1. Its alluvial gold was the source of Lydia's legendary wealth.
6. A mythical people, devoted to the cult of Apollo, living in the far north beyond the North Wind.



Figure 3.3 Attic Red Figure vase from Vulci in Etruria, early fifth century, showing Croesus sitting on a funeral pyre, to which a slave is setting fire. (Cf. **3, nos.16–17.**) (Photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

(c) Ctesias' version of the Lydian conquest

18. The capture of Sardis

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F9(4); Lenfant, 110.

Ctesias also recounts how Cyrus undertook a campaign against Croesus and the city of Sardis, with Amorges¹ as his ally. How, on the advice of Oibaras, wooden images of Persians were displayed above the walls,² which struck the inhabitants (of Sardis) with fear, and so the city was taken. He also tells how, before its seizure, Croesus' son was handed over as a hostage, following a fateful vision he had, and how the son was executed before his eyes because he had tried to trick them. Further, how after his mother witnessed his fate, she threw herself from the walls and died.

Notes

1. For Amorges, king of the Saca, see **3, nos.8; 35.**
2. For a similar (though not identical) stratagem employed by Semiramis in India, according to Ctesias, see FGrH 688 F1b(16.8–10) (Lenfant, 43–4).

19. Croesus' miraculous delivery

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F9(5); Lenfant, 110–11.

Ctesias also recounts how, after the capture of Sardis, Croesus sought refuge in the Apollo sanctuary inside the city, and how Cyrus there bound him in fetters three times, but each time he was freed by an invisible force, although the temple was sealed and Oibaras was put there to guard him. And how Croesus' companions were beheaded, because they were suspected of treachery for freeing Croesus. Then, how he was taken into the palace and tied up more securely but, with thunder and lightning, he was released again; then Cyrus let him go. For that, Cyrus honoured Croesus and gave him a big city, Barene,¹ close to Ecbatana, which had five thousand cavalry soldiers and ten thousand light armed soldiers, spearmen and archers.²

Notes

1. According to Justin I, 7, Cyrus granted Croesus part of his patrimony together with the city of Beroe, 'so that he might live in a style, if not royal, at least one close to that of royal majesty'. For the bestowal of 'cities' by the Persian king on defeated enemies, see Briant 1985a.
2. For the 'gift' of troops in the Persian empire, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988b.

(d) Aftermath**20. The consolidation of the Lydian conquest**

Herodotus I, 141; 153.3–154; 156.2–157; 160.1–4; 161–3.1; 168–9; 171.1.

As soon as the Lydians had been subdued by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus in Sardis that they were prepared to be his subjects on the same terms they had under Croesus.¹ Cyrus listened to their proposal and then told them a story. He said that a flute-player once saw fish in the sea and played to them, imagining that they might come out on the land. When his hopes were dashed, he took a net, gathered in a multitude of fish with it and drew them out; when he saw them jumping about, he said to the fish: 'Now stop your dancing; you wouldn't come out and dance when I played to you.' Now Cyrus told this story to the Ionians and Aeolians, because earlier when Cyrus had asked them, through messengers, to revolt against Croesus they had not complied, but now that everything was over they were ready to do so.² He was furious when he told them this story. When the Ionians heard the message in their cities, each fortified its defences and they assembled in the Panionium³ – all, that is, except the Milesians; only with them had Cyrus made the same agreement as they had with Lydia.⁴

(Hdt. I, 142–53.2 contains a history of the Ionians and Aeolians, and their appeal to Sparta for help against Persia.)

After this, Cyrus placed Sardis in the hands of the Persian Tabalus, but the Lydian Pactyes was put in charge of the gold of Croesus and the other Lydians. He himself went off to Ecbatana, taking Croesus with him and taking scant notice of the Ionians, because Babylon lay in his path and the Bactrians, Sacae and Egyptians,⁵ against whom he wanted to campaign himself, while sending another general against the Ionians.

(154) Hardly had Cyrus left Sardis than Pactyes caused the Lydians to rebel against him and Tabalus. He went down to the seacoast and, as he had all the gold of Sardis, hired

mercenaries and persuaded the people living along the coast to join him. Then he marched to Sardis and besieged Tabalus, shutting him up in the citadel.

(Hdt. I, 155–56.1: Croesus advises Cyrus how to act.)

(156.2) Cyrus was pleased with this advice (. . .); so he called Mazares, a Mede, and gave him orders to tell the Lydians what Croesus had suggested; further, he was to enslave all the others who had fought with the Lydians at Sardis and use all means to bring Pactyes to him alive.

(157) After he had issued these orders en route, he marched home to Persia. When Pactyes realised that the army sent against him was drawing near, he panicked and fled to Cyme. When Mazares the Mede arrived in Sardis, with the part of Cyrus' army he had with him, he could not find Pactyes' supporters in the city. So, first of all, he had the Lydians comply with Cyrus' orders and, as a result, the Lydian mode of life changed in every respect.⁶ Then Mazares sent messengers to Cyme, ordering them to surrender Pactyes. The Cymeans decided to refer the matter to the god in Branchidae for advice, because there was an old-established oracle here, which all the Ionians and Aeolians used to consult. This place is in Miletus, above the harbour of Panormus.⁷

(Hdt. I, 158–9 contains a story about the Cymeans trying to force a reply from the shrine, which would allow them not to break the sacred law of asylum; they were unsuccessful.)

(160) When the Cymeans heard the response, they sent Pactyes to Mytilene, because they neither wished to perish for surrendering him nor to undergo a siege for his sake. When Mazares sent messengers demanding Pactyes' surrender by the Mytileneans, they prepared to do so for a price. But I can't say precisely how much, because it never came off. And that is because, when the Cymeans realised what the Mytileneans were going to do, they sent a ship to Lesbos and took Pactyes away to Chios. But the Chians, in return for getting Atarneus, dragged him out of the shrine of Athena Protector-of-the-City and handed him over. This place Atarneus is in Mysia, facing Lesbos. So the Persians now had Pactyes and kept him under guard to show him to Cyrus.

(161) Now that the Chians had surrendered Pactyes, Mazares led his troops against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus. First, he enslaved the Prieneans, then he overran the whole of the Maeander plain and gave it to the army to plunder, and Magnesia likewise. Immediately after that, he became ill and died.

(162) After his death, Harpagus came to succeed him in the command – he, too, was a Mede, the one whom King Astyages had feasted with the unnatural meal and who had helped Cyrus gain the kingship.⁸ So this was the man appointed by Cyrus as general. When he got to Ionia, he took the cities by means of earth mounds: he would drive the people inside the walls, throw up mounds against the walls and take them.

(163) The first Ionian city he attacked was Phocaea.

(Hdt. I, 163–7 describes Phocaea's relations with places in the west, and its eventual abandonment by the inhabitants.)

(168) The Teans acted in a very similar way: when Harpagus had taken their walled city with siege mounds, they all got on boats and sailed off to Thrace, where they founded Abdera.

(169) These were the only Ionians who, unwilling to put up with being slaves, abandoned their homeland. The other Ionians, save the Milesians, confronted Harpagus in battle, like the refugees, and all fought bravely for their homes. But when they were defeated and their cities taken, they all stayed where they were and did as they were told. As I said before, the Milesians had made a treaty with Cyrus and remained unaffected. So that is how Ionia was enslaved for the second time.⁹ When Harpagus had conquered the mainland Ionians,

the island Ionians were frightened that they would suffer the same fate and gave themselves up to Cyrus.

(Hdt. I, 170 describes a meeting of the Panionium.)

(171) After Harpagus had subdued Ionia, he moved against the Carians, Caunians and Lycians, taking with him in the army Ionians and Aeolians.

(Hdt. I, 171.2–176 concerns early Carian, Caunian and Lycian history; their habits and, briefly, reactions to Harpagus' attacks.)¹⁰

Notes

1. See Hdt. I, 6–28.
2. See **3, no.13** (76).
3. The Panionium was a sanctuary, originally in the territory of Mycale, sacred to Poseidon of Helicon, according to Hdt. I, 148; later, it was near Ephesus (see Hornblower 1982: 56–8; 1991: 527ff; CAH IV, 481). The cult and an associated festival were common to the twelve Ionian cities, and so provided a base where matters affecting them could be discussed when critical situations arose; see, for example, **6, no.43**; **9, no.45**.
4. See Hdt. I, 17–22.
5. The sequence of Cyrus' conquests, apart from his victory over the Medes (550) and Babylon (539) is unknown (see **3, Introduction**; **3, no.1**). It is conceivable that Herodotus placed the Lydian campaign immediately after the Persian defeat of the Medes, simply because his histories began with Lydia, rather than for precise chronological reasons. Note that in Photius' epitome of Ctesias the order of Cyrus' wars is Media–Bactria/Sacae–Lydia–Derbicae, while Babylon is omitted in his summary. Justin I, 7.3, on the other hand, presents Cyrus having to interrupt his Babylonian war in order to fight against Croesus, while Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* has his conquests in the order Armenia and Scythia–Assyria–Lydia–Babylon–Media, the last being a peaceful take-over (**3, no.11**). He never campaigned against Egypt; for the Persian conquest of Egypt, see **Chapter 4**.
6. Croesus' advice to Cyrus (Hdt. I, 155–6.1) had been to pardon the Lydians for their revolt on condition that, henceforth, they wear soft clothes, devote themselves to dancing, music and shopkeeping and so become incapable of warlike activities.
7. The oracle of Apollo at Didyma, in the territory of Miletus, was administered (until 494, when, according to Herodotus, it was destroyed; see **6, no.44**) by members of the Branchidae family.
8. See **3, nos.7, 30; 31**.
9. Hdt. I, 6 describes the first 'enslavement' of the Greeks by Croesus.
10. According to Hdt. III, 120, Cyrus appointed Oroites satrap at some point, presumably replacing Tabalus. Oroites was still in position early in Darius I's reign, see **4, no.16**; **5, no.15**.

E. The Persian conquest of Babylonia

(a) The Babylonian evidence

2.1. Marduk leads Cyrus into Babylon

The Cyrus Cylinder. Akkadian text inscribed on a clay cylinder, found at Babylon, in the area of the sanctuary of the chief Babylonian god, Marduk, now in the British Museum: V R pl.35 + BIN 2, no.32; Weissbach 1911: 2–9; Eilers 1971/4; Berger 1975; Arfa'i 1978; Schaudig 2001: 550–6 (see **fig.3.4**).¹

Translations: ANET, 315–16 (lacking the final lines); TUAT I/4, 407–9; Lecoq 1997: 181–5; Brosius 2000, no.12; Tavernier 2003, no.4.

[first four lines broken]

5. An imitation of Esangil² he made [. . .] to Ur and the other cult-centres.

6. A cult order that was unsuitable [. . .] he spoke daily, and, an evil thing,

7. he stopped the regular offerings [...] he placed in the cult-centres. The worship of Marduk, king of the gods, he removed from his mind.
8. He repeatedly did that which was bad for his city. Daily [...] he destroyed all his [subjects] with an unending yoke.
9. In response to their lament the Enlil of the gods³ grew very angry [...] their territory. The gods who lived in them left their dwelling-places,
10. despite his anger (?) he brought them into Babylon.⁴ Marduk [...], to all the places, whose dwelling-places were in ruins,
11. and to the inhabitants of Sumer and Akkad,⁵ who had become like corpses,⁶ he turned his mind, he became merciful. He searched through all the countries, examined (them),
12. he sought a just ruler to suit his heart, he took him by the hand: Cyrus, king of Anshan,⁷ he called, for dominion over the totality he named his name.⁸
13. Gutium⁹ and all the Umman-manda¹⁰ he made subject to him. The black-headed people,¹¹ whom he allowed his hands to overcome,
14. he protected in justice and righteousness. Marduk, the great lord, who cares for his people, looked with pleasure at his good deeds and his righteous heart.
15. He ordered him to go to Babylon, and let him take the road to Babylon. Like a friend and companion he went by his side.
16. His massive troops, whose number was immeasurable like the water of a river, marched with their arms at their side.
17. Without battle and fighting he let him enter his city Babylon.¹² He saved Babylon from its oppression. Nabonidus, the king who did not honour him, he handed over to him.¹³
18. All the inhabitants of Babylon, the whole of the land of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors knelt before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his kingship; their faces shone.
19. 'The lord, who through his help has brought the dead to life, who in (a time of) disaster and oppression has benefited all' – thus they joyfully celebrated him, honoured his name.
20. I, Cyrus, king of the universe, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters,¹⁴
21. son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan,¹⁵
22. eternal seed of kingship, whose reign was loved by Bel¹⁶ and Nabu¹⁷ and whose kingship they wanted to please their hearts – when I had entered Babylon peacefully,
23. I set up, with acclamation and rejoicing, the seat of lordship in the palace of the ruler. Marduk, the great lord, [...] me the great heart, [...] of Babylon, daily I cared for his worship.
24. My numerous troops marched peacefully through Babylon. I did not allow any troublemaker to arise in the whole land of Sumer and Akkad.
25. The city of Babylon and all its cult-centres I maintained in well-being. The inhabitants of Babylon, [who] against the will [of the gods . . .] a yoke unsuitable for them,
26. I allowed them to find rest from their exhaustion, their servitude I relieved. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced at my [good] deeds.
27. Me, Cyrus, the king, who worships him, and Cambyses, my very own son,¹⁸ as well as all my troops
28. he blessed mercifully. In well-being we [walk] happily before him. [At his] great [command] all the kings, who sit on thrones,

29. from all parts of the world, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, who dwell [in distant regions], all the kings of Amurru, who dwell in tents,
30. brought their heavy tribute to me and kissed my feet in Babylon.¹⁹ From [. . .],²⁰ Ashur and Susa,
31. Agade, Eshnunna, Zamban, Meturnu and Der as far as the territory of Gutium, the cities on the other side of the Tigris, whose dwelling-places had [of o]ld fallen into ruin
32. – the gods who dwelt there I returned to their home and let them move into an eternal dwelling. All their people I collected and brought them back to their homes.²¹
33. And the gods of Sumer and Akkad, which Nabonidus to the fury of the lord of the gods had brought into Babylon, at the order of Marduk, the great lord, in well-being
34. I caused them to move into a dwelling-place pleasing to their hearts in their sanctuaries.²² May all the gods, whom I have brought into their cities,
35. ask before Bel and Nabu for the lengthening of my life, say words in my favour and speak to Marduk, my lord: ‘For Cyrus, the king, who honours you, and Cambyses, his son,
36. [. . .] the kingship.’ The lands in their totality I caused to dwell in a peaceful abode.
37. [. . .] goose, 2 ducks and 10 wild doves, over and above the goose, ducks and wild doves
38. [. . .] I supplied in plenty. To strengthen the wall Imgur-Enlil, the great wall of Babylon [. . .], I took action.
39. [. . .] The quay-wall of brick on the bank of the moat, which an earlier king had built, without completing the work
40. [. . .] on the outer side, what no other king had done, his craftsmen (?), the levy [. . .] in Babylon
41. [. . . with] asphalt and bricks I built anew and [completed the work on it (?)].
42. [. . .] with bronze bands, thresholds and *nukuse* (door-posts) [. . . in] their [gates]
43. [. . . An inscription] with the name of Ashurbanipal,²³ a king who preceded me [. . .] I found
44. [. . .]
45. [. . .] eternity.

Notes

1. The function of the cylinder (**fig. 3.4**) was that of a building inscription to commemorate work carried out on the Babylon temple by Cyrus, after his victory over the Babylonian king, Nabonidus (October 539, cf. **3, no. 1**, iii, 12–16). Such pious acts of temple work were part of a standard process of legitimisation in Babylonia, and thus follow conventional forms: the right to rule of the new king is stressed by vilifying his defeated (or deposed) predecessor (ll. 1–8); the wickedness of the previous king has led the god(s) to seek a new candidate to take over rule of Babylonia (ll. 9–14); the victor has been given the throne by the divine will of the god(s) (ll. 15–19); the new king will put right everything that had been done wrong and ensure that divine offerings are made (or increased) (ll. 23–6), that abandoned sanctuaries are rebuilt and restaffed, that displaced persons are returned to their proper homes (ll. 30–4); the blessings of the gods are sought for these reverent acts, which include continuing maintenance and repairs of the whole city, in the manner of earlier rightful kings (ll. 34–45). For fuller discussions, see Kuhrt 1983; 1987a; 1990b; van der Spek 1983.
2. Marduk’s temple in the city of Babylon.
3. I.e. the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon, Marduk.
4. Nabonidus gathered the divine statues into Babylon, for protection, several months before Cyrus’ invasion, see **3, no. 1**, iii, 10–12, cf. Beaulieu 1993 (some, such as those from Ashur and Susa

- (l.30), could have been there already). The description of this act as being against the will of the gods in this context is, of course, the result of hindsight: i.e. because Nabonidus was defeated, what he did must have run counter to the divine will.
5. This is a traditional term for Babylonia.
 6. Both in Second Isaiah (**3, no.26**) and in the 'Verse Account' (**3, no.23**, vi, 15, perhaps i, 11–15), the subjects of the Babylonian king before the coming of Cyrus are likened to prisoners, enclosed by darkness. The image of the Babylonians as 'corpses' here is intended to evoke the deathlike trance in which Babylonia was shrouded before Cyrus' conquest, which serves to enhance the image of a joyful bursting into life with which Cyrus' arrival is greeted in ll.18–19.
 7. For Anshan, see **3, Introduction**. For a discussion of the significance of the Akkadian phrase *qata tamdhu* = 'to seize (with/by) the hand', see Miglus 2000: 454–6, esp. 455, n.30.
 8. Compare with this **3, no.26(iv)**.
 9. Gutium is an archaic term for the mountains north-east of Babylonia; it indicates broadly the territory of Media here.
 10. The Umman-manda describes the Medes here; for discussion of the term, see **2, no.10**, n.14.
 11. The 'black-headed people' is a traditional way of describing the inhabitants of Babylonia.
 12. Technically, this is correct, see **3, no.1**, iii, 15, 18–19; but the author of the cylinder has been careful to avoid any mention of the Battle of Opis, **3, no.1**, iii, 12–14, which preceded the entry.
 13. For the capture of Nabonidus, see **3, no.1**, iii, 16.
 14. From here until the end of the cylinder, Cyrus is presented as speaking in the first person; he begins with a roll-call of the age-old Mesopotamian imperial titles, to which he is laying claim. Note, especially, 'king of the four quarters (sc. of the world)', used by the kings of Agade, who created the first empire in Mesopotamia in the third millennium, and were regarded as the perfect exemplars of world conquerors (Liverani 1993; generally Franke 1995; Kuhrt 1995a: 44–55).
 15. Cyrus lists his predecessors as Cambyses (I), Cyrus (I) and Teispes; all were 'great kings' and ruled in 'Anshan', the archaic name for Parsa/Fars. This runs counter to the idea that Persia was subject to the Medes and flatly contradicts the romantic legends of Cyrus' birth and youth (Kuhrt 2003; **3, nos.30–2**). Note also that he does not name Achaemenes as a predecessor; Achaemenes appears as founder of the Persian dynasty only from the reign of Darius I, whose genealogical statement is highly problematical (see **5, no.1**, para.2 & n.5; Stronach 2000: 682–5).
 16. Bel (= 'Lord') is another way of referring to the god Marduk.
 17. Nabu was the god of writing and wisdom who, at this time, was often presented as Marduk's son.
 18. Cyrus installed Cambyses as sub-king of Babylon after his conquest in the course of a traditional Babylonian ceremony (**3, no.1**, iii, 24–8 & n.16), which perhaps explains the fact that he is linked by name with Cyrus in the divine blessings received.
 19. The author of the cylinder presents the conquest of Babylon as the climax of Cyrus' achievements, leading automatically to the surrender of other rulers and dominion over 'the world'. Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* assigns Cyrus' Babylonian victory a similar significance, placing his final triumph there, followed by the cession of Media, and moving on to Cyrus' organisation of court-ceremonials, as befitted a king. The identity of the people who, in fact, may have paid tribute to Cyrus after his Babylonian victory, we do not know. An earlier conqueror, Sargon II of Assyria (722–705), also described his conquest of Babylonia as resulting in immediate obeisance paid by rulers at the edges of the Assyrian empire. (Note that the phrase 'from the Upper Sea (i.e. Mediterranean) to the Lower Sea (i.e. Persian Gulf)' is an age-old way of visualising 'world rule' in Mesopotamia.) Provincial governors, subject-kings and city rulers (such as the Phoenicians, see **4, no.7(iv)**) within the Babylonian empire probably acknowledged Cyrus at this point (Amurru is a Mesopotamian term for 'the west', i.e. Syria-Palestine), as, probably, would the rulers of the Arab groups (those 'who dwell in tents'), whose territories abutted the empire and whose prosperity depended on maintaining good relations with any power controlling the outlets for their trade (cf. Hdt. III, 88.1; Briant 1982b, ch.3).
 20. It was thought that the surviving traces here could be read as Nineveh, but Finkel (1997) has shown this to be impossible; a plausible restoration could be 'Babylon'.
 21. Ll.30–2 have been used to underpin the Old Testament account that Cyrus gave orders for the temple in Jerusalem to be restored and the Israelites deported by Nebuchadnezzar II (597/6, 587/6) to return. But (a) the cities to be restored are in Assyria, south-west Iran and east of the

Tigris; (b) the order for restoration and repatriation was part of the roster of conventional acts of 'reversal' > 'restoration' initiated by a new conqueror (cf. n.1 above). Whether Cyrus really played a role in restoring the people of Jerusalem is disputed and the cylinder cannot help to resolve the question (cf. Kuhrt 1983; Bedford 2001).

22. Cf. n.4 above.

23. The Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal, reigned from 669 to around 630. He was responsible for an enormous amount of restoration work in Babylon, which had been sacked by his grandfather, Sennacherib (705–681). Cyrus' reverent acknowledgement of him as his predecessor in pious reconstruction shows that he cast himself in the same mould as the Assyrian king. The statement helps to dispel any notion that Cyrus presented himself, or was perceived by the Babylonians, as ushering in a novel style of imperial government and religious tolerance, which contrasted with Assyrian 'oppression' (see the discussions referred to above, n.1).

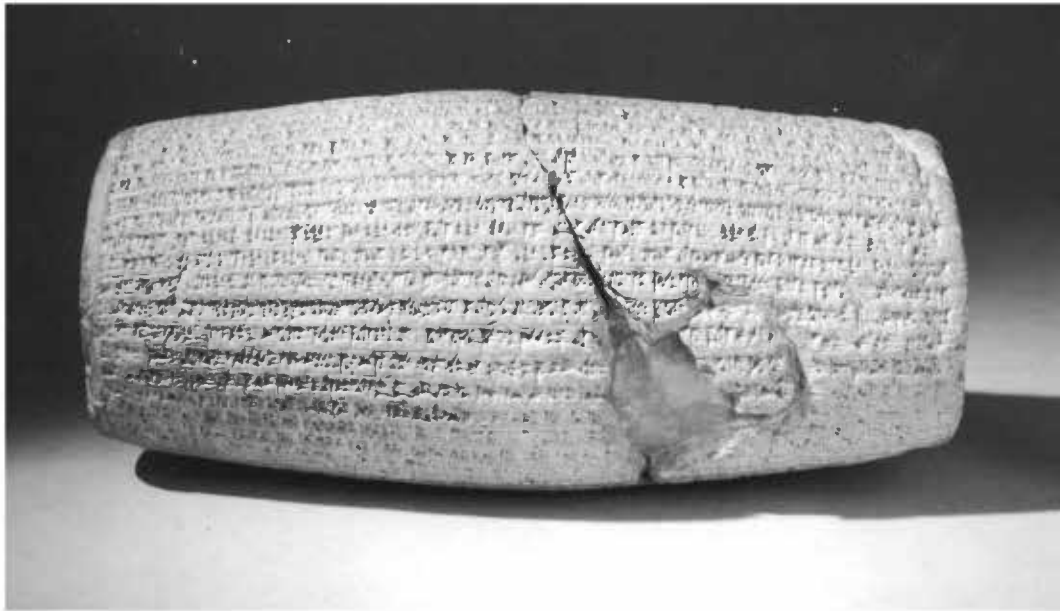


Figure 3.4 Clay cylinder (BM 90920 + NBC 2504) inscribed with an account of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon (3, no.21), now in the British Museum. (Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

22. Cyrus' activities in Babylonian cities

(i) Uruk

Two versions of Akkadian inscription on four stamped bricks from Uruk (Berlin and London; the Berlin exemplars are now lost): A. Schott, *Die inschriftlichen Quellen zur Geschichte Eannas* (UVB 1, Berlin, 1930), Nr.31; TSBA 2 (1873), after 148. Weissbach 1911: 8–9; C. Walker 1981, no.115; Schaudig 2001: 548.

Cyrus, king of lands, who loves Esangil and Ezida,¹ son of Cambyses, the mighty king am I.

(ii) Ur

Inscribed bricks (Akkadian) from enclosure wall of Egishnugal, Ur: UET 1, no.194; C. Walker 1981, no.116; Schaudig 2001: 549.

Cyrus, king of the world, king of Anshan,² son of Cambyses, king of Anshan. The great gods filled my hands with all lands and I caused the land to dwell in tranquillity.

(iii) Cyrus acknowledges the help of Sin of Ur in his conquest(?)

Fragment of clay cylinder, inscribed in Akkadian, found at Ur: UET 1, no.307; Schaudig 2001: 480–1.³

[. . .] and over the people joyfully named my name, Sin,⁴ [the lamp] of heaven and earth, with his favourable omen filled my hands with the four quarters of the world. I returned the gods to their shrines [. . .] let them dwell. [. . .] life of long days, a firm throne, an everlasting reign and kingship without equal, grant me as a gift.

Notes

1. The main temples of Babylon and Borsippa.
2. See **3, Introduction**.
3. The fragment does not preserve Cyrus' name, but the date and the similarity of message to the Cyrus Cylinder have strongly suggested to scholars that it should be attributed to him. However, Schaudig (2001: 480) argues that Nabonidus (himself a usurper) is the more likely originator, so the question of authorship is moot.
4. Sin is the Mesopotamian moon god, patron deity of the city of Ur. Note that, if this is Cyrus' inscription (above, n.3), then he is attributing his victory to the appropriate local god (as he acknowledged Marduk of Babylon's help in **3, no.21**).

23. A poetic condemnation of Nabonidus and paean in praise of Cyrus

Verse Account of Nabonidus. Fragmentary Akkadian text, probably from Babylon (although Sippar is also possible): BHT, pls. V–X; 83–91; Schaudig 2001: 563–78.¹

Translations: Landsberger and Bauer 1927: 88–98; ANET, 312–15.

obv.col.i

(break)

1. [. . .] of justice did not come forth from him,
2. [. . .] he put the nobles to the sword,
3. [. . .] he blocked the road for the merchant.
4. [. . . for the gardener?] he made scarce the kuruppu²
5. [. . . plentiful crops (?) were not in the land,
6. [. . .] did not sing the *alalu*-song³
7. [. . .] he (no longer) walled off the farmland⁴
8. [. . .] torn out/opened
9. [. . . he took away] their property, scattered their possessions,
10. [. . .] he ruined,
11. [. . .] their [corpses] to a dark place(?),

12. [. . .] their shoulders became narrow,
 13. [. . .] their faces were changed,
 14. [. . .] they did not parade through the town square.
 15. [. . .] you see no joy;
 16. [. . .] not joyful, they advised.
 17. [. . .] his (sc. Nabonidus') protective spirit⁵ became hostile to him,
 18. [. . . god(?)]s, seized by misfortunes.
 19. [. . . god(?)]s, he performed an unholy act,
 20. [. . .] he planned foolishness.
 21. [. . .] and no one in the land had seen its like.
 22. [. . .] he placed on a pedestal;
 23. [. . .] he called its name Nannar,⁶
 24. [. . .] of lapis lazuli, crowned with his tiara.
 25. [. . .] its appearance is that of the moon in eclipse,
 26. [. . . the gesture of its hand is like that of the god Lugal.su.du⁷
 27. [. . .] its hair [rea]ched the pedestal
 28. [. . . in fr]ont of it were a Flood monster and a wild bull.
 29. [. . . like] its/his tiara became its/his appearance
 30. [. . .] his . . . his face became hostile
 31. [. . .] let its form grow
 32. [. . .]GAL its name
 33. [. . .] beneath it/him
- (break)

col.ii

1. [illegible]⁸
2. Ea-Mummu⁹ could not have formed (it);
3. Adapa¹⁰ did not know its name.
4. (Nabonidus said:) 'I shall build his house, I shall construct his dwelling
5. I shall form its brick, I shall establish its foundation,
6. I shall make the window and locks similar to Ekur,¹¹
7. I shall call its name Ehulhul¹² forever.
8. When I have completed what I am building
9. I shall take his (sc. Sin's) hand and set him in his dwelling.
10. Until I have achieved this and fulfilled my desire,
11. I shall omit the festival, the New Year Festival I shall order to cease.'
12. He made its brick, he made its plan.
13. Its foundation he enlarged, made high its summit.
14. With gypsum and bitumen he made its façade shine.
15. A fierce wild bull like (that of) Esangil¹³ he had set up in front of it.
16. After he fulfilled his desire, a work of falsehood,
17. had built an abomination, a work of sacrilege, at the beginning of the third year,
18. he entrusted his military camp to his first born.¹⁴
19. The troops throughout the land he placed under his (command).
20. He gave it (all) up, entrusted the kingship to him (sc. his son),
21. and himself set out on a far journey;
22. the forces of Akkad¹⁵ marching with him,

23. to Tema¹⁶ in the midst of Amurru¹⁷ he set his face.
 24. He set out along distant paths (and) roads. When he arrived,
 25. he slew the prince of Tema with weapons,
 26. the inhabitants of city and country, their herds (also), he slaughtered.
 27. He himself took up residence in Tema, the forces of Akkad [. . .]
 28. [He em]bellished the city, built [his palace]
 29. like the place of Babylon, he built it . . . [. . .]
 30. The treasure of the city and the cou[ntry . . .]
 31. Guards surrounded him/it [. . .]
 32. They groaned (?) [. . .]
 33. The brick mould and [. . .]
 34. Through work [. . .]
 35. In i[t . . .]
- (break)

col.iii

(break)¹⁸

1. He [. . .]
 2. For 2 months [. . .]
 3. He killed the people [. . .]
 4. Women, small and [big . . .]
 5. He used up their possessions [. . .]
 6. The barley, which he found in it [. . .]
 7. His army, weary and ex[hausted . . .]
 8. 'When (will there be?) an end of [. . .]'
 9. Until now of the [. . .]
 10. The *hazannu*¹⁹ whom Cyrus [. . .]
 11. li[ke . . .]
- (break)

rev.

(col.iv is so scantily preserved that it is almost impossible to extract any sense, see Schaudig 2001: 569; 576. There are references to writing implements, which could suggest (in view of the content of column v) that the caricaturing of the king's claims to scholarship and wisdom began here.)

col.v

(break)

2. Praise of the lord of lords [. . . countries]
3. which he had not conquered, he wrote on (it) [. . . About]
4. Cyrus, king of the universe, who ru[les . . .]
5. [whose yoke] the king of every land is pulling,
6. he wrote on his stel[ae:] 'At my feet [I made him prostrate himself.]
7. His countries I conquered; his possessions I took to [my country.]'²⁰
8. He would stand in the assembly, exalt him[self]:
9. 'I am wise; I am knowledgeable; I have seen hidden [things].
10. A tablet made with a cut reed (stylus) I do not know, (but) I have seen sec[rets].
11. Revelations have been made to me by Ilteri,²¹ everything he has made [known to me].

12. (The series) “Mooncrescent, Anu and Enlil”, which Adapa compiled,²²
13. I surpass it in all wis[dom].’ [. . .]
14. He mixed up the rituals, confused the omens [. . .]
15. About the august rites he spoke e[vil].
16. The form of Esangil, the form which Ea-Mummu created,
17. he looked at (its) form and uttered insults.
18. When he saw the (moon)crescent of Esangil, he took (it with) his hand;
19. he summoned the scholars and spoke with them:
20. ‘For whom was this temple built? This is its symbol.
21. If it were Bel – his symbol is a spade.
22. (But) Sin has marked his temple with a crescent.’
23. Zeriya, the šatammu, crouched before him,
24. (and) Rimut, the zazakku,²³ standing before him,
25. confirmed the king’s words, agreed with his declaration.
26. They bared their heads and pronounced (as if under) oath:
27. ‘(Only) now do we understand, since the king has explained it!’
28. On 11 Nisanu (March–April), until the god had erected his dwelling
(break)

col.vi

(the number of lines missing at the end of v and beginning of vi is unknown)

2. [. . .] of Babylon, he (Cyrus) declared peace for them,²⁴
3. [. . . the of]ficial he determined for the sanctuary Ekur.
4. [. . . slaughtered ma]ny . . . butchered many aslu-sheep
5. [. . .] on the censer, the regular offerings of the gods he increased,²⁵
6. [. . . before] the gods he prostrated himself,
7. [. . .] was in his heart.
8. [. . .] he conceived the idea
9. [. . . earth]basket,²⁶ caused the wall of Babylon to be completed²⁷
10. [. . . the plans?] of Nebuchadnezzar, with a joyful heart, they (sc. inhabitants of Babylon) carried out.
11. [. . .] fortifications he has built on Imgur-Enlil.
12. [. . .] male and female (divine statues) he has returned to their shrines.²⁸
13. [. . .] who had left their [. . .], he has returned to their sanctum.
14. [. . .] he has calmed, their spirits he has gladdened,
15. [. . .] those who had been brought low, he has brought back to life.²⁹
16. [. . .] their term has been set.
17. [. . .] constructions/deeds he has removed,
18. [. . . what Naboni]dus had made in all the shrines,
19. [. . .] of his kingship he has erased;
20. [. . .] of his, he destroys foolishness;
21. [. . .] its image he has destroyed;
22. [. . . in] all sanctuaries, his name is erased.
23. [. . . whatever (Nabonidus) had ma]de, he (Cyrus) gave over to the flames
24. [. . . whatever (Nabonidus) had ma]de, he (Cyrus) had fire consume.
25. [. . . for Ba]bylon his workhouse³⁰ was set;
26. [he who was in pris]on, his prison term was lifted;

27. [. . . those] who were utterly oppressed;³¹
 28. [all rejoice (?)] to look upon him as king! (?)

(unknown number of lines missing at the end)

Notes

1. For substantial extracts with discussion, see Beaulieu 1989; Lackenbacher 1992; cf. Lee 1993: 131–2; Tavernier 2003, no.5. This is, at present, a unique political poem composed after Cyrus' conquest. It may have been intended to be sung, but in what context is not known. Like the Cyrus Cylinder (3, no.21), it vilifies the defeated Babylonian king, Nabonidus, and extols the reversals ushered in by the Persian conqueror. But the language used to describe the Babylonian ruler is one of such extreme contempt verging on caricature, that Nabonidus emerges as a ridiculous, self-deluding figure. The end of the text, containing the praise of Cyrus, is poorly preserved, although sufficient survives to leave no doubt about the nature of the document. Some of the images of the people's suffering under Nabonidus are echoed by Deutero-Isaiah (3, no.26(iii)); they seem to be part of a standard way for drawing the contrast between former oppression and present salvation, current at other times and in other places (see, e.g., the beginning of the Hymn to Ramesses IV, McDowell 2000, no.113). The main discussion of the text is that of S. Smith 1924: 27–83 (cf. S. Smith 1944). For problems in using the text as evidence for internal Babylonian socio-political tensions, see Kuhrt 1990b; Machinist and Tadmor 1993.
2. Akk. *kuruppu* is a reed-basket (alternatively a reed structure used for work or storage) and, in some contexts, a grain-measure. It appears often in connection with gardeners and brewers; its meaning here is unclear.
3. A rustic harvesting-song indicative of peace.
4. I.e. Nabonidus did not protect the arable land from flooding.
5. Akk. *šedu* gave individuals their potency and life-force, and guarded them from evil powers.
6. Another name for the Mesopotamian moon god, Sin, a deity prominently honoured by Nabonidus, particularly in his rebuilding of Harran in Upper Mesopotamia (looted by the Medo-Babylonian army during the war against Assyria, see 2, no.10 (Year 16)). From i 21 to ii 17, the poem is describing Nabonidus' creation of an offensive (in the author's view) statue of the moon god (see Seidl 2000) and his plan to rebuild the god's temple in Harran, see further Beaulieu 1989.
7. Possibly a form of the Mesopotamian god Ninurta, see the references in Schaudig 2001: 566, n.914.
8. Illegible traces of the line before the one numbered '2' by Smith are visible; how many lines preceded this is uncertain.
9. Ea was one of the most important gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon – a clever and cunning deity, friend of mankind, who inhabited the freshwater ocean (Akk. *apsû*), source of all life-giving rivers, springs and wells. Here, as often, he is given the epithet 'Mummu' to emphasise his aspect as a divinely creative craftsman.
10. Adapa was one of the seven primordial sages – half fish, half man – of Mesopotamia, who figure in Berossus' *Babyloniaca* (FGrH 680 F1).
11. Ekur was the temple of Enlil at Nippur, originally chief of the Mesopotamian pantheon, according to tradition built by the god himself.
12. Ehulhul was the name of the moon god's temple in Harran.
13. The temple of Marduk in Babylon.
14. The reference here is to Nabonidus' long campaigning in Arabia, leaving his son, Bel-shar-ušur (OT Belshazzar), in charge of Babylonia; for the precise course of events, see Beaulieu 1989.
15. I.e. Babylonia.
16. Tema is the great oasis of modern Tayma in northern Saudi Arabia.
17. I.e. the west.
18. Several lines are missing at the end of col.ii and a substantial number at the beginning of col.iii.
19. An important city-official, usually translated 'mayor'.

20. The sense of ll.2–7 is that Nabonidus ludicrously laid claim to dominion over countries subject to Cyrus.
21. Ilteri was a form of the moon god worshipped by some Arab groups and in north Syria (Lewy 1946).
22. The reference here is to a bowdlerised and, hence, blasphemous form of the famous Mesopotamian astrological omen series *Enuma Anu Enlil*. As Machinist and Tadmor (1993: 146–50) have demonstrated, Nabonidus is being ridiculed as someone who claims to have profound knowledge, despite not being able to read (see col.v, 9–10), which leads him to fabricate a frighteningly distorted version of one of the most revered and sacred works of Mesopotamian scholarship. He thus emerges ever more starkly as ridiculous, deluded and, literally, god-forsaken – in short, unfit to rule. For discussion of a later text, which offers an opposing vision of Nabonidus as pious and supremely expert in the series *Enuma Anu Enlil*, see Lambert 1968–9, together with the clarification of obv.iii, 2–5, presented by Machinist and Tadmor (1993: 148–50).
23. The *šatammu* was head of the temple administration in several Babylonian cities; the title does not necessarily always imply an association with cultic establishments (cf. Bongenaar 1997: 11–12). The very high position of *zazakku* has been clarified recently (see Beaulieu 1989, esp. 216–17, 221; Dandamaev 1994; Joannès 1994), and can be rendered approximately as ‘royal secretary’. Rimut himself appears in administrative texts, transmitting royal orders, in the last year of Nabonidus, and kept his position into the reign of Cambyses. A Zeriya, an important official in the Eanna temple in Uruk, figures in the last year of Nabonidus, see Beaulieu 1989: 216, 221.
24. Cf. Nabonidus Chronicle (3, no.1, iii 19).
25. Cf. Cyrus Cylinder (3, no.21, 37–8).
26. Akk. *tupšikku* describes the basket used to carry clay or earth for brickmaking or transporting the bricks themselves. The king, once granted (in the course of a lengthy ceremony) divine permission to build, formally shaped the first brick and carried the basket. For a discussion of the Mesopotamian ceremony and its significance, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991: 79–81.
27. Cf., with this and l.11, the Cyrus Cylinder (3, no.21, 38–9).
28. Cf. Cyrus Cylinder (3, no.21, 33–4).
29. Cf. Cyrus Cylinder (3, no.21, 19).
30. Akk. *nuparu*, see CAD N II, s.v. *nuparu* Ad).
31. Cf. Second Isaiah (3, no.26 (iii)).

24. Cyrus’ rule in Babylonia in ‘prophetic’ perspective

Dynastic Prophecy. Akkadian text, perhaps from Babylon: BHLT, 28; 32–3; van der Spek 2003b, Text 5.¹

Translations: Talon 1994: 101–2; van der Spek 2003a: 420–4; Foster 2005, IV: 62.

col.ii, 11–24

A rebel prince will arise.² [He will establish] the dynasty of Harran.³ [He will exercise kingship] for seventeen years. He will be stronger than/oppress⁴ the land and [he will cancel(?)] the festival of Esangil.⁵ He will build a fortress in Babylon. He will plot evil against Akkad.

A king of Elam will arise.⁶ The sceptre [. . .]. He will remove him from his throne [. . .]. He will seize the throne and the king who arose from the throne [. . .]. The king of Elam will change his place [. . .]. He will cause him to dwell in another land [. . .].⁷ That king will be stronger than/oppress the land and [. . .]. All the lands [will bring] tribute [to him]. During his reign, Akkad [will not enjoy/will live in?] a peaceful abode.⁸

Notes

1. The (very damaged) Akkadian text dates from the Seleucid period, although precise date of composition is uncertain and depends on the interpretation of the last section, see **10, no.41**. It belongs to a genre of Mesopotamian texts, whose precise classification is disputed, but usually called ‘prophecy’ (for discussion, see Longman 1991: 149–52). Their form is to place ‘predictions’ in the mouth of a god or a famous king of the distant past. This serves to lend them authority – an authority further strengthened by ‘forecasting’ events which, while containing no names, are easily identified as actually having occurred. The impression made on the reader, or listener, is that in days long past all was already foreseen, as can be proved by comparing prophecy with what has already happened. They are, thus, *vaticinia ex eventu*, which shed valuable light on how the past was viewed at the time the ‘prophecy’ was composed. It has been argued that the text originally covered several reigns in the Seleucid period, although how many and, hence, the precise date of its authorship is unknown (cf. Sherwin-White 1987: 10–14). A more recent interpretation is that it was composed during, or soon after, Alexander’s conquest (Van der Spek 2003b). The sections quoted here relate, very plainly, to the reigns of Nabonidus and Cyrus.
2. Nabonidus came to the throne in 556 as a result of a palace coup.
3. This is a reference to Nabonidus’ close association with the rebuilding of Harran devastated by Babylonians and Medes, cf. **2, no.10** (year 16); **3, nos.6, 23**.
4. Akk. *idannin*, see Van der Spek 2003b: 319, arguing that the meaning is semantically neutral, i.e. a strong reign.
5. I.e. the New Year festival; cf. the Nabonidus Verse Account (**3, no.23**, ii, 10–11).
6. This is obviously Cyrus; Elam is here used to indicate the east (Iran) in general.
7. In other words, Cyrus deported, but did not kill, the captured Nabonidus. This agrees with Berossus’ account (see **3, no.25**), but not with the novelistic *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon. The two Babylonian authorities should probably be preferred.
8. The phrase ‘will not enjoy’ was restored by the original editor on the basis of his interpretation of Akk. *eli mati dananu* as ‘to oppress’, using exactly the words applied to Nabonidus’ reign in the previous section, which was judged to be bad (Grayson 1975b; Talon 1994: 101; Tavernier 2003: 366). If that understanding is accepted, then the conclusion must be that, in the perspective of some Babylonians of the Seleucid period, Cyrus was not a good ruler, which runs counter to almost all other historical traditions we have about him. However, van der Spek (2003a: 421, and 2003b) translates: ‘That king will be stronger than the land . . . during his reign Akkad [will live] in security.’ If his interpretation is right (both are possible) then the later judgement on Cyrus was, on the whole, favourable, while Nabonidus was considered a bad, albeit strong, ruler.

25. Berossus’ account of Cyrus’ Babylonian conquest

Berossus, *Babyloniaca* = FGbH 680 F10a.¹

After Laborosaordochos² had been killed, the plotters came to an agreement that a certain Nabonnedus from Babylon should rule. He was one of the plotters. Under his rule, the walls of Babylon along the river were reinforced with baked brick and bitumen.

In the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus marched against him from Persia with a great force, captured the rest of his kingdom and moved against Babylon.

Nabonnedus learnt of Cyrus’ coming attack and ordered his army to assemble and meet him, but he lost the battle³ and had to flee with a few followers to Borsippa, where he barricaded himself in.⁴

Cyrus captured Babylon and had the walls of the outer city razed, because they presented too strong a defence for the city.⁵ Cyrus went to Borsippa to besiege Nabonnedus.

Nabonnedus did not wait for the siege to begin but surrendered almost immediately. Cyrus received him graciously, exiled him from Babylonia, but gave him Carmania⁶ instead. Nabonnedus spent the rest of his life in that country and died there.

Notes

1. Berossus was a Babylonian scholar, who wrote a history of his country in the early third century BC for the Seleucid king, Antiochus I (281–261). He based himself on Babylonian sources (almost certainly including such material as the chronicles (2, no.10; 3, no.1), reshaping his material to fit contemporary Greek conventions of historiography (see Burstein 1978; Kuhrt 1987a; Verbrugghe and Wickersham 1996).
2. Hellenised form of the Babylonian king's name Labashi-Marduk, son of Neriglissar (559–556). Labashi-Marduk seems to have been little more than a child when his father died; he ruled for only a few months before being assassinated in a palace coup which brought Nabonidus to power (cf. 3, no.24), as Nabonidus himself describes (VAB 4, Nbn.8, v, 1–7).
3. Cf. 3, no.1, iii, 12–14.
4. This may be a mistake for Sippar; cf. 3, no.1, iii, 14–15.
5. According to Hdt. III, 159, Darius I had the walls of Babylon destroyed, while 3, nos.21, l.38, 23, vi, 11 both credit Cyrus with building/completing Babylon's walls. There is no archaeological evidence for the razing of Babylon's walls, see Rollinger 1993.
6. Carmania is the modern south Iranian province of Kirman. The exiling of Nabonidus in Berossus agrees with the statement of Dynastic Prophecy (3, no.24), while the 'gift' of Carmania parallels Cyrus' treatment of Croesus *apud* Ctesias (3, no.19) and Justin I, 7 (see 3, no.19, n.1).

(b) Old Testament writers and the Persian conquest of Babylon

26. Yahweh chooses Cyrus as ruler of the world

(i) Isaiah 41.1–5.¹

Keep silence before me, all you coasts and islands;
 let the peoples come to meet me.
 Let them come near, then let them speak;
 we will meet at the place of judgement, I and they.
 Tell me, who raised up that one from the east,
 one greeted by victory wherever he goes?
 Who is it that puts nations into his power
 and makes kings go down before him?
 He scatters them with his sword like dust
 and with his bow like chaff before the wind;
 he puts them to flight and passes on unscathed,
 swifter than any traveller on foot.
 Whose work is this, I ask, who has brought it about?
 Who has summoned the generations from the beginning?
 It is I, Yahweh, I am the first,
 and to the last of them I am he.
 Coasts and islands saw it and were afraid,
 the world trembled from end to end.

(ii) Isaiah 41.25.

I stirred up one from the north, and he has come,
from the rising sun, and he shall call on my name;
he shall trample on rulers as on mortar,
as the potter treads clay.

(iii) Isaiah 42.1–7.

Behold my servant, whom I uphold,
my chosen one in whom I delight,
I have bestowed my spirit upon him,
and he will make justice shine upon the nations.
He will not cry out or lift his voice high,
or make himself heard in the open street.
He will not break a bruised reed,
and a smouldering wick he will not quench;
he will make justice shine faithfully.
He will not falter or be discouraged
until he has established justice on the earth;
and the coastlands wait for his law.
Thus speaks Yahweh, the Lord,
who created the heavens and stretched them out,
who spread forth the earth and what comes from it,
who gives breath to the people upon it
and spirit to those who walk upon it:
'I am Yahweh, I have called you in righteousness,
I have taken you by the hand and formed you;
to be a light to all peoples,
a beacon for the nations,
to open the eyes that are blind,
to bring the prisoners out from the dungeon,
from the prison those who sit in darkness.'²

(iv) Isaiah 44.28–45:1–7.

Thus says Yahweh, your Redeemer,
who fashioned you from birth (. . .)
who says to Cyrus: 'You shall be my shepherd
to carry out all my purpose,
so that Jerusalem may be rebuilt
and the foundations of the temple may be laid.'
Thus says the Lord to Cyrus, his anointed,
Cyrus whom he has taken by the hand
to subdue nations before him
and undo the might of kings;
before whom gates shall be opened

and no doors closed:
 'I will go before you
 and level the mountains,
 I will break in pieces the doors of bronze
 and cut asunder the bars of iron.
 I will give you treasures from dark vaults,
 hoarded in secret places,
 that you may know I am Yahweh,
 Israel's God who calls you by name.³
 For the sake of Jacob, my servant, and Israel, my chosen,
 I have called you by name
 and given you your title, though you do not know me.
 I am Yahweh, there is no other;
 there is no god beside me.
 I will strengthen you though you do not know me,
 so that men from the rising and the setting sun
 may know that there is none but I;
 I make the light, I create the darkness,
 author alike of prosperity and trouble.
 I, Yahweh, do all these things.'

Notes

1. The date of composition of any part of the Old Testament is fraught with problems and subject to heated debate. It is generally agreed that Isaiah 40–55, a different figure from the prophet of the first thirty-nine chapters (hence 'Second Isaiah', or 'Deutero-Isaiah'), prophesied to the exiled Israelites in Babylonia in the 540s, i.e. before Cyrus' conquest (see Ackroyd 1970: 105–6). It has even been argued that he was a pro-Persian propagandist (see, e.g., S. Smith 1944; Boyce 1982: 46–7). But there have also been dissenting voices, suggesting either that the prophecies be set into a cultic, rather than a historical, context (Vincent 1977; P. Davies 1995), or that they fit the early reign of Darius I (Garbini 1988: 87–101); the lack of historical precision throughout the prophecies has also been stressed (Ackroyd 1990). It is, thus, possible to argue for an understanding of the prophecies as exhortations to loyalty for the new régime *after* Cyrus' conquest of Babylon, holding out the promise of Jerusalem and Judah restored to rally support for the conqueror (cf. Kuhrt 1990b: 144–5). But there is not, indeed cannot be, any certainty about any of these views: a fairly recent, detailed analysis argues in favour of the 'traditional' date of Second Isaiah (Laato 1992; cf. Bedford 2001: 75–8).
2. Cf. this with some of the passages in the 'Verse Account', **3, no.23**, i, 11–14, vi, 26–7.
3. Compare this and other passages with Marduk's 'naming of Cyrus' name' and Marduk going by Cyrus' side on his way to Babylonia in the Cyrus Cylinder (**3, no.21**, 12 & 15). For a comparison of terminology with Mesopotamian traditions, see Laato 1992; note also the discussion in Bedford 2001, ch.2.

27. Cyrus' decree sanctioning restoration of the Jerusalem temple

Ezra 6.2–5.¹

A memorandum:² In the first year of Cyrus the king, Cyrus the king issued a decree: 'Concerning the house of god in Jerusalem, let the house be rebuilt, the place where sacrifices are offered and burnt offerings are brought; its height shall be 60 cubits and its breadth

60 cubits, with three courses of large stones and one course of timber; let the cost be paid from the house of the king.³ And also let the gold and silver vessels of the house of god, which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the temple that is in Jerusalem and brought to Babylon, be restored and brought back to the temple which is in Jerusalem, each to its place; you shall put them in the house of god.'

Notes

1. The decree appears twice in Ezra, here and Ezra 1.2–4, although there are significant differences between the two. The version cited here is in Aramaic, whereas the initial one in Ezra 1 is in Hebrew. Relatively few scholars accept the Hebrew version as genuine; about the authenticity of the one in chapter 6 (cited here) opinions are radically divided, although a prevailing one is that, although it may have been edited, it is basically a genuine Persian proclamation, issued by Cyrus after the Babylonian conquest – but there remains the problem that what evidence there is shows that no action was taken to rebuild the temple until Darius I's second year (520). For arguments in favour of authenticity see: Meyer 1896; Hensley 1977; Williamson 1985; Fried 2003; against: Torrey 1910; Lebram 1987; for an overview of the debate, see Grabbe 1992; 2004: 71–8; Bedford 2001: 129–32 (also his balanced discussion, *ibid.* 132–57). What is extremely unlikely is that the Persian government would have funded the costs of any rebuilding. Much of the argument in favour of authenticity is circular, i.e. because we know that the Persians had an exceptional policy of religious toleration, therefore this decree must be genuine. In fact, this novel Achaemenid policy is based entirely on the evidence of Ezra – nothing else supports it (see Kuhrt 2001). The oft-cited comparison with the 'Gadatas' text can no longer stand, given the strong likelihood that it is a Roman-period forgery (Briant 2003b).
2. The decree is preceded by an account of a dispute about whether the Jews were permitted to rebuild the temple or not. To resolve the matter, Darius I ordered a search to be made in the archives of the royal centres; the decree is said to have been found among the documents stored in Ecbatana.
3. Ar. BYT MLK', the term regularly used for government treasuries, see **14, no.10**, n.7.

(c) A Greek version

28. Herodotus' account

Herodotus I, 177–8; 188–92.1.

Harpagus then devastated Lower Asia, and Cyrus himself subdued all the peoples of Upper Asia without exception. I shall pass over most of these: the ones who gave him most trouble and are most worthy of description, those are the ones I shall mention.

(178) When Cyrus had all the mainland under his power, he attacked the Assyrians. There are many other great cities in Assyria, but the most famous and strongest was Babylon;¹ it was here that the royal dwelling had been set up after the destruction of Nineveh.

(I, 178–87 contains a description of Babylon.)²

(188) So Cyrus marched against this woman's son, who had the same name as his father Labynetos and ruled over Assyria.³ (. . .)

(189) En route to Babylon, Cyrus came to the river Gyndes,⁴ which rises in the Matieni mountains,⁵ flows through the Dardanian country⁶ into another river, the Tigris, which flows past the city of Opis,⁷ and ends in the Red Sea.⁸ Now when Cyrus tried to cross this Gyndes river (it is navigable at this point), one of the sacred white horses ran headlong into the stream in an attempt to get across, but the deep current overwhelmed it and swept it off.⁹ Cyrus was furious with the river's insolence and threatened that he would make

it so feeble that in future women would be able to cross it easily without getting their knees wet. Following up his threat, he stopped his march against Babylon, divided the army in two, and drew lines marking out 180 channels running in all directions from each bank of the Gyndes. Then he drew up his army and told them to dig. Because a large number were at it, the work proceeded quickly – but they still took the whole summer to complete it.

(190) When Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by dividing it into 360 channels, he finally marched against Babylon at the start of the second spring. The Babylonians came forth to await him. When he got close to the city in his march, the Babylonians engaged him in battle, but were defeated and driven into the town. Because they already knew that Cyrus was ambitious and had seen him attacking all nations alike, they had stored food enough for many years and did not care about the siege. Cyrus did not know what to do, as the time dragged on and no progress was made.

(191) Now whether somebody suggested something in this impasse or whether he worked it out himself, this is what he did. He stationed his troops where the river¹⁰ enters the city, another section where it leaves the city, and ordered them to enter the city when they saw that the stream had become fordable. When they were in position and had received this command, he himself withdrew with the non-combatant troops to the lake.¹¹ And when he got there he did with it and the river just what the Babylonian queen had done: he drained the river via a canal into the lake which had until then been a swamp, which caused the river level to sink and its former channel to become fordable. When this happened the Persians, who had been stationed for this purpose, entered Babylon along the Euphrates bed, which had sunk to around the level of the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known in advance or realised what Cyrus was doing, they could have let the Persians into the city and then destroyed them completely. They could have closed all the gates giving onto the river, got up onto the walls running along the river banks, and caught them as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians fell upon them unexpectedly. And (according to the inhabitants) because of the city's size, the Babylonians living on its periphery were taken without those in the centre being aware of it. In fact, they were celebrating a festival, dancing jigs and generally enjoying themselves, until the reality dawned on them all too clearly.

(192) So that is how Babylon was taken the first time around.¹²

Notes

1. Herodotus visualises Babylonia as a province of Assyria, see Kuhrt 1982; 2002a.
2. For a critical discussion of Herodotus' description of Babylon, see Rollinger 1993.
3. Herodotus' history of Babylonia fits uneasily with Babylonian realities: he devotes considerable space to discussing the building of Babylon by Queen Nitocris, entirely unattested in the dense Babylonian sources (cf. Kuhrt 1982). Labynetis is fairly certainly a rendering of the name Nabonidus, Cyrus' opponent. But, as can be seen from **3, nos.24–5**, as well as Nabonidus' own inscriptions, he was unrelated to his predecessors and usurped the throne in a palace coup.
4. This is the Diyala, the main eastern tributary of the Tigris, which it joins just south of Baghdad.
5. Herodotus elsewhere places them east of Armenia; presumably he means the Zagros mountains here (which more or less fits his geography).
6. This is enigmatic, as the Dardani are located in Thrace and Asia Minor, but not associated with Herodotus' 'Upper Asia'.
7. Opis was almost certainly at Mujaili'at, on the east bank of the old course of the Tigris, which ran

some 15 km further east than the modern one. Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562) seems to have constructed a complex system for controlling Babylonia's water supply, running cross-country from Sippar to a little north of Opis, part of which has been discovered, see Black et al. 1987.

8. Herodotus calls the Indian Ocean the 'Red Sea', and what we call the Red Sea is for him the 'Arabian Gulf'. Here he is referring to the modern Persian Gulf.
9. This may refer to a Persian horse sacrifice; see **3, no.29; 11, nos.22, 47, 57**; Briant 1996a: 108 [2002b: 96].
10. Babylon lies on the Euphrates.
11. At I, 186, Herodotus described Nitocris' diversion of the Euphrates into a basin she had created in order to construct a stone bridge across the dry river bed. This is the lake to which Cyrus moved.
12. Babylon's second capture by the Persians occurred in the reign of Darius I; see Hdt. III, 150–8 (and cf. **5, no.1**, paras.20; 50).

F. Pasargadae, the city of Cyrus

29. The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae

Arrian, *Anabasis* VI, 29.4–7.¹

The tomb of the famous Cyrus was in the royal park in Pasargadae;² a grove had been planted round it with all sorts of trees and irrigated, and thick grass had grown in the meadow;³ the tomb itself in the lower parts was built of stones cut square and was rectangular in form. Above, there was a stone chamber with a stone roof and a door leading into it so narrow that it was hard and caused much distress for a single man of low stature to get through.⁴ In the chamber lay a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus' body had been buried; a couch stood by its side with feet of wrought gold; a Babylonian tapestry served as a coverlet and purple rugs as a carpet. There was placed on it a sleeved coat⁵ and other garments of Babylonian workmanship. According to Aristobulus, Median trousers and robes dyed blue lay there, some dark, some of other varying shades, with necklaces, daggers⁶ and earrings with stones set in gold, and a table stood there. It was between the table and the couch that the sarcophagus containing Cyrus' body was placed. Within the enclosure and by the ascent to the tomb itself there was a small building put up for the magi,⁷ who used to guard Cyrus' tomb, from as long ago as Cambyases, son of Cyrus, an office transmitted from father to son. The king used to give them a sheep a day, a fixed amount of flour and wine, and a horse each month to sacrifice to Cyrus.⁸ There was an inscription on the tomb in Persian writing; it meant this in Persian: 'O man! I am Cyrus, the son of Cambyases, who founded the Persian empire and ruled Asia. So do not begrudge me this monument.'⁹

Notes

1. The description of Cyrus' tomb and the cult he received stems from Aristobulus of Cassandreia, one of Alexander the Great's officers, who accompanied him on his invasion of Persia. Around the end of the fourth century, he wrote a history of Alexander's reign, which is only preserved as citations in later writers. Arrian of Nicomedia (second century AD) used him extensively for his own history of Alexander's campaign, the *Anabasis of Alexander*.

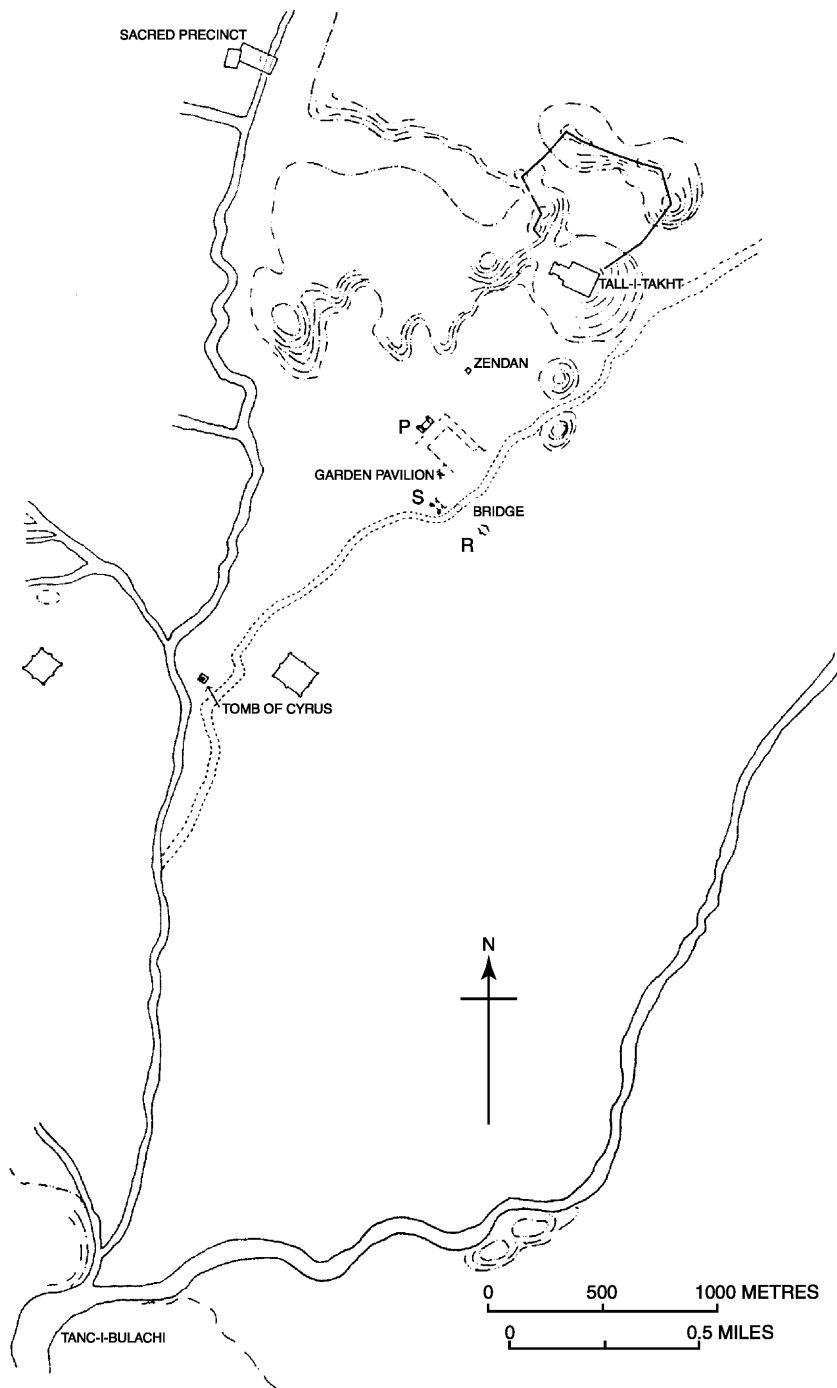


Figure 3.5 Plan of Pasargadae.

(a) Pasargadae, north of Persepolis, was founded by Cyrus the Great. The principal visible remains are of stone and distributed over an area of 3×2 km. Recent research has revealed the presence of many more building remains of mud-brick below the surface, see Boucharlat 2003b; Boucharlat and Benech 2002. Both Darius I and Xerxes are known to have done some building at the site. The Persepolis texts and references by Graeco-Roman writers attest to its continued use throughout the Achaemenid period, as does the find of artefacts and a few inscriptions by some later rulers. Excavation has further shown that certainly part of the site was occupied down to the second century. For reconstructions of the Sacred Precinct and Zendan, see **figs.11.19; 11.50**; for Cyrus' tomb, see **fig.3.8** and **3, no.29**. (After Nylander 1970.)

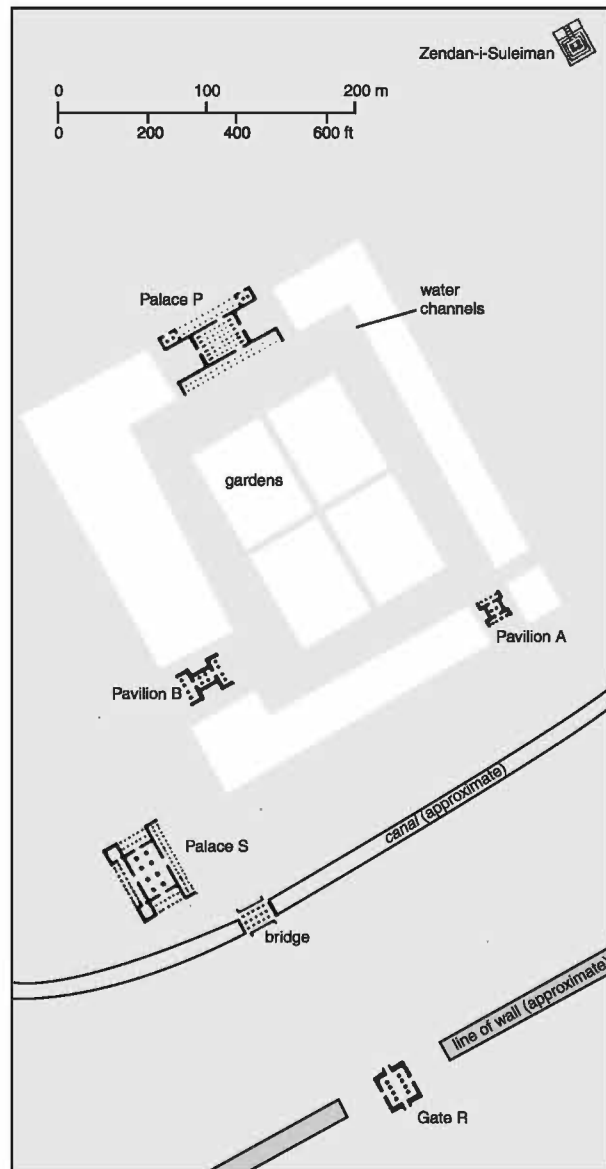


Figure 3.5 Plan of Pasargadae.

(b) Plan of the palace area, showing the irrigated garden, columned pavilions and monumental gatehouse. The columns had fine black and white bases and were surmounted by addorsed animal figures, like those at later Persepolis and Susa. A treasure of fine gold and silver Achaemenid jewellery, dating to the late fifth to mid-fourth centuries, was found in the south-west corner of Pavilion B, see Stronach 1978: 168–77, pls. 146–60. Boucharlat and Benech's recent survey (2002) indicates that the landscaped garden area was probably much larger than the formal garden excavated by Stronach. (After Roaf 1990.)



Figure 3.6 Relief from left jamb of south-east gateway of Palace S, Pasargadae. The lower part of a bull-man and a figure dressed in a fish-cloak have survived. This (and other sculpted remains) indicate that, while the masonry techniques used in Pasargadae originated in western Asia Minor, much of the iconography was derived from the Assyrian sphere. (Photograph courtesy of M.S. Drower.)

2. Gr. *paradeisos*; for the *paradeisoi* of the Persians, see 11, no.21; 16, nos.43–7. For further discussion, see Henkelman 2006, para.5.7.3.
3. Cf. the garden laid out in the palace area, fig.3.5(b).
4. See fig.3.8.
5. Gr. *kandys*; for Persian dress, in particular the royal robes, see 11, no.28; fig.11.25.
6. Gr. *akinakes*; for Persian ornament, which included this type of dagger, see figs.11.20; 11.26–11.28.
7. On the magi, see further in 11, nos.45–50.
8. Royal issues of provisions of precisely this kind to cult-personnel for sacrifices and sustenance are attested by the Persepolis texts (11, nos.39–45, and especially 11, no.68). For Persian horse sacrifices, cf. 3, no.28, n.9; 11, no.22(24).
9. No inscription is preserved on the tomb. For the function and historical value of Greek citations of Persian inscriptions, see Schmitt 1988.



Figure 3.7 Four-winged guardian figure, facing into Palace R, wearing an Egyptian triple atef-crown and Elamite dress; the wings recall Assyrian winged gateway figures. For discussion of this as an expression of Cyrus' imperial vision, see Root 1979: 300–3. The figure faces into the building. Inscription CMA, written in the name of Cyrus but put up by Darius I (5, no. 19(i)), was originally positioned above the figure's head. (After Stronach 1978.)



Figure 3.8 The tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae, matches well with the description given by Arrian (see 3, no.29). The stepped platform on which the small, gabled chamber stands is 6.5 m high; the total height from ground level to the top of the roof is 12 m. Above the entrance, traces of a delicately carved rosette were found. Although the building bears no inscription, the masonry technique helps to date it to the reign of Cyrus. For the possible Elamite antecedents of this structure, see the references at Henkelman 2003b: 189, n.28. (Photograph courtesy of M.S. Drower.)

G. Legends of Cyrus

(a) Family, birth, childhood and rise to power

30. Herodotus' story of Cyrus' origins and birth

Herodotus I, 95; 107–13.

At this point in our story we need to enquire who this Cyrus was who brought down Croesus' empire, and by what means the Persians became the leaders in Asia. I shall write the version told by those Persians, who do not want to exaggerate what Cyrus did, but to tell the real story. There are three other tales I could recount.¹

(107) Now Astyages² had a daughter called Mandane. Astyages had a dream about her, in which she urinated so much that his entire city was filled and flooded the whole of Asia. He communicated the dream to those magi,³ who interpret dreams, and was terrified when he heard what they had to tell. When Mandane got to the age to marry, he was so frightened by the vision that he would not give her as wife to any Mede of suitable rank; instead he gave

her to a Persian called Cambyses, a man of good family and with a quiet manner, because he thought him greatly inferior to even a middle-ranking Mede.

(108) When Cambyses and Mandane were still in the first year of their marriage, Astyages had another dream: a vine seemed to grow from his daughter's genitals, and this vine covered all of Asia. After this dream and consultation with the dream-interpreters, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, who was about to give birth. When she arrived, he placed her under guard because he wanted to destroy whatever she might bring forth. And the reason was that those magi, who interpret dreams, had explained the dream as signifying that his daughter's offspring would be king in his stead. To prevent this, Astyages, once Cyrus was born, summoned Harpagus, a member of his household, the most loyal among the Medes and steward of all his property, and said to him: 'On no account mishandle this business I am putting in your hands, Harpagus; and don't leave me for others, because it will be the ruin of you later. Take the child Mandane has given birth to, carry him to your house and kill him; then bury him however you want.' Harpagus replied: 'Never have you seen any trace of what is untoward in me, oh king; and I shall be most careful not to offend you, now or in the future. If this is what you wish, then I must duly serve you.'

(109) That was Harpagus' answer; and he was given the child, adorned for death, and went home weeping. When he came in, he told his wife the whole story Astyages had told him. She said to him: 'So what are you going to do?' And he replied: 'I shall not do what Astyages has ordered; even if he loses his senses completely and becomes even more of a madman than he is now, I still would not agree to carry out this murder for him. There are all sorts of reasons why: because the baby is related to me; because Astyages is old and has no male offspring. If, after his death, power should devolve on his daughter, whose son I am supposed to kill, then shall I not be left exposed to the gravest danger? In the interest of my own safety, I must make sure the boy dies, but he must be murdered by one of Astyages' men, not mine.'

(110) After he had said this, he sent a messenger to one of Astyages' cowherds, who (as he knew) grazed his animals in a most appropriate pasture, where the mountains were infested by wild animals. His name was Mitradataes; his wife, a slave like him, had the name 'Cyno' in Greek and 'Spaka' in Median (because the Median word for 'dog' is 'spax').⁴ The foothills of the mountains, where the cowherd pastured the cattle, are north of Ecbatana in the direction of the Black Sea. (. . .) The cowherd responded with all speed to the summons, and Harpagus said: 'Astyages commands you to take this baby and place it in the most desolate spot in the mountains, so that he will perish as soon as possible. And he has also commanded me to say that if you do not kill it, but preserve it in whatever way, you will suffer the most terrible of deaths. I have been ordered to see that it is exposed.'

(111) When he had listened to this, the cowherd took the baby and went back the same way until he got to his hut. Now his wife was close to giving birth all day, and as god would somehow have it, she had the child while the cowherd was in the city. Each was anxious about the other: he was worried about his wife's labour; the woman, because Harpagus had unexpectedly sent for her husband. When he got back, he faced her, and at the unexpected sight she asked why Harpagus had been so eager to summon him. 'Wife', he said, 'when I got to the town, I saw and heard things I wish I had never seen and had never happened to our masters. All of Harpagus' household was lamenting – I was amazed and went in. As soon as I entered, I saw a baby lying there, kicking and crying, dressed in gold and coloured clothes. When Harpagus saw me, he ordered me to pick up the child quickly, take it away and put it in the mountains most infested with wild beasts. He said that these were Astyages'

instructions to me, and threatened me if I did not carry them out. So I picked the baby up and took it away; I imagined it to be the child of someone in his household, because I could never have guessed whose he was. I did wonder, when I saw him decked out in gold and robes, and at the plain sounds of wailing in Harpagus' house. But very soon I got the whole story on the way home from a servant, who conducted me out of the town and handed me the baby – namely, that it is the child of Astyages' daughter, Mandane, and Cambyses, son of Cyrus,⁵ and that Astyages had told him to kill it. So, here he is!

(112) With that, the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. When his wife saw how big and handsome the child was, she burst into tears; she seized the man's knees and begged him not to expose him whatever he did. But he said he could not do anything else: Harpagus' spies would be coming to inspect, and he would die a most terrible death if he did not do as he was told. When the wife saw she could not move him, she said next: 'As I can't persuade you not to expose him, then, if it is absolutely necessary for them to see an exposed body, do this. I, too, had a child, but it was dead. Take it and expose it, and we will bring up the child of Astyages' daughter as our own. Like that, you won't be punished for disobeying the masters nor shall we have done anything bad. Because the dead child will have a royal funeral and the surviving one will not lose his life.'

(113) The cowherd thought that, given his predicament, his wife's advice was excellent, and he immediately carried it out. The one he had brought to kill he gave to his wife, took the corpse of his own child and placed it in the box in which he had brought the other one. He dressed the dead child with all the beautiful things belonging to the other, carried it to the most remote part of the mountains and placed it there. Three days after the exposure, the cowherd left one of his herdsmen to guard it, and went to the town; arrived at Harpagus' house, he said that he was ready to show him the child's dead body. Harpagus then sent the most trusted of his bodyguards, and through them saw and buried the cowherd's baby. So it was buried, and the cowherd's wife took and brought up the boy, who was later called Cyrus; but she did not call him Cyrus, but something else.

Notes

1. I, 96–107.1 covers the history of the Medes, see **2, nos.13–14**.
2. For Astyages, the last Median king, see **3, nos.1, 6–10**.
3. See **3, no.29**, n.7, and **11, Section H(d)**; according to Herodotus, they were a Median tribe (**2, no.13**).
4. *Kuon* (gen. *kunos*) is the Greek word for a dog or bitch. At I, 122, Herodotus says that this gave rise to another story about Cyrus, according to which he had been suckled by a bitch when exposed; cf. Justin I, 4.10–11, where the two stories seem to have been combined.
5. For the genealogy of Cyrus, see the Cyrus Cylinder, **3, no.21**, l.21.

31. Cyrus restored to his parents

Herodotus I, 114–23.1.

When the child was ten, this happened to him and revealed who he was. He was playing in the village where the herders lived, in the street with others of his age. In their game, the children chose as their king, the boy who was supposed to be the cowherd's son. He organised them – some to build houses, some to be bodyguards, one (I suppose) to be the 'king's eye',¹ another was given the job of bringing messages – each was assigned a task.

One of the children playing the game was the son of Artembares, a prominent Mede. Because he did not obey, Cyrus ordered the other children to seize him and, when they did so, he handled him roughly and flogged him. As soon as he was free, he was even angrier because he felt that he had not been treated in accordance with his rank; so he went down to his father in the city and complained at the way Cyrus, the son of Astyages' cowherd, had treated him (although he did not call him Cyrus because that was not yet his name). In his rage, Artembares went to Astyages, taking his son with him and told of the dreadful thing that had befallen him. 'King', he said, 'at the hands of the son of your slave, the cowherd, we have been insulted like this', and he displayed his son's shoulders.

(115) When Astyages heard and saw this, he wanted to avenge the boy because of Artembares' rank; so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both there, Astyages said, gazing at Cyrus: 'Is it you, the son of such a father, who has dared to inflict such injury on the son of my foremost courtiers?' But Cyrus replied: 'Lord, what I did was just. The children of the village, of whom he is one, made me king as part of a game – they thought I was the best suited for that role. The other children did what they were told, but he would not obey and ignored what I said, until he was punished. If it is right that I should suffer for this, then here I am.'

(116) While he was speaking, Astyages had the feeling that he recognised him; he felt that his facial features resembled his own; his answer was unusually free, and the time of the exposure seemed to agree with the age of the boy. He was startled by this and was silent for a while. With some difficulty he eventually got a grip on himself and said (because he wanted to get rid of Artembares so that he could question the cowherd on his own): 'Artembares, I shall act so that neither you nor your son will have anything to complain of.' He dismissed Artembares in this way, and had the servants take Cyrus inside. When the cowherd was quite alone, Astyages asked him, from where he had got the boy and from whom. The cowherd said that he was his own son and the woman who bore him was still with him. Astyages told him that he was not well advised to court extreme danger. As he spoke, he signalled to the bodyguards to arrest him. Desperate, the cowherd told the real story. Beginning at the beginning, he told the whole truth, and then entreated the king to pardon him.

(117) When the truth had been revealed to Astyages by the cowherd, he took rather less notice of him; he was furious with Harpagus and ordered the bodyguards to summon him. When Harpagus came, Astyages asked him: 'Harpagus, how exactly did you treat the child, my daughter's son, whom I handed to you?' When Harpagus saw the cowherd there, he did not bother to tell lies, which would only ensnare and confute him, but said: 'King, when I took the child, I thought hard how I might both do your bidding and not commit an offence against you, and not be regarded as a murderer either by your daughter or you. What I did was this: I summoned this cowherd, gave him the child and told him that you had ordered it to be killed. And when I said that, I wasn't lying! That is what you ordered. Anyway, I gave him the child with the instruction to place it on a desolate mountainside and to stay there and watch until it was dead. I threatened him with all manner of punishments, if he did not do this. When he had done what he had been ordered to do and the child was dead, I sent the most trustworthy of my eunuchs and, through their agency, saw and buried it. That is how the business was done and the end of the boy.'

(118) So Harpagus told the story straight. Astyages hid the anger he bore him on account of this. First, he told him what he had heard from the cowherd, repeating it to Harpagus; and when everything had been gone over twice, he finished by saying that the

boy had survived and the matter had turned out well. 'What had been done to the boy', he declared, 'upset me a great deal, and that my daughter accused me was hard to bear. But now luck has turned out well, so send your own son to the newcomer – for I want to sacrifice to the gods, who deserve the honour, for saving the boy – and come to dinner with me.'

(119) When Harpagus heard this, he bowed low and went home; he was very pleased that his offence had turned out to be just the right thing, and that he was invited to dinner for such a fortunate occasion. When he came in, he told his only son (a boy of about thirteen) to go to Astyages' palace and do whatever the latter commanded. He himself was so delighted that he told his wife what had happened. But when Harpagus' son arrived, Astyages cut his throat, tore him limb from limb and roasted some of the flesh, while boiling other bits; when it was done, he held it in readiness. When the dinner-hour arrived, Harpagus was there; the other invited guests and Astyages were served with dishes of mutton, but Harpagus was served with his son's flesh, all except the head, hands and feet, which lay covered in a basket to one side. When Astyages thought that Harpagus had eaten enough, he asked him if he had enjoyed the banquet, and Harpagus responded that he had enjoyed it enormously. Then those instructed to do so brought the covered up head, hands and feet of the boy; they faced Harpagus and demanded that he take the cover off and take what he wanted. Harpagus responded by removing the cover and saw the remains of his son – he saw, but did not break down and remained in command of himself. Astyages asked him whether he knew what animal's meat he had eaten. He knew, he said, and everything the king did was pleasing. With that reply, he took the leftover meat and went home; I suppose he wanted to collect and bury it all.

(120) That is how Astyages punished Harpagus. To decide what do about Cyrus, he called those magi² who had interpreted his earlier dream. He asked them, when they arrived, how they interpreted his vision. They said the same as before, i.e. that the boy would definitely have become king had he lived and not died first. 'The boy lives and survives. When he was living in the country, the village children made him king. And he really did all the things kings do: he gave them all jobs, such as bodyguards, porters, messengers and the rest. Now what do you think this indicates?' The magi answered: 'If the boy has survived and became king by chance, take courage and be of good cheer! Because he will not rule a second time. Some, even of our prophecies, turn out to be quite trivial matters, and the fulfilment of dreams can be quite a minor thing.' 'I am very much of that opinion, too, magi', Astyages said, 'when the boy was called king then the dream was fulfilled, and I have nothing more to fear from him. But still, think carefully and tell me what course is safest for my house and for you.'³ 'Well, king', the magi replied, 'we, too, are most anxious that you stay in power. For, otherwise, it will devolve on this boy who is a Persian, and we, as Medes and foreigners, will be enslaved and count for nothing with the Persians. But as long as you, our countryman, are king, we have our share of power and are held in considerable esteem by you. So, it behoves us to take all possible care of you and your power. So if we saw any danger, we would have told you everything. But the dream has turned out to have a trifling outcome, and we are confident and suggest you be the same. As for the boy, send him away to Persia and to his parents.'

(121) Astyages was pleased when he heard this; he called Cyrus and said: 'Child, because of a dream vision, that meant nothing, I did you wrong, but through your own destiny you survived. So, off you go to the Persians and farewell; I shall send an escort with you. When you get there, you will find a father and mother quite different from Mitrdates, the cowherd, and his wife.'

(122) With these words, Astyages sent Cyrus off. When he arrived home, at Cambyses' house, he was received by his parents. When they discovered who he was, they welcomed him with joy, because they had thought that he had died long ago, and they asked him how he had survived. So he told them that, until now, he had not known anything and been completely deceived, but on the way he had learned all about his misfortune. He had thought he was the son of Astyages' cowherd, but on the journey thither, he had heard the whole story from the escort. He told them that he had been brought up by the cowherd's wife; he was full of praise for her and his story was full of Cyno. When his parents heard this name, they put a story about that, when Cyrus was exposed a bitch had suckled him, because they thought the Persians would find this story of his survival more of a miracle.⁴

(123) So this is how the tale developed.

Notes

1. This Achaemenid 'institution' is mentioned by several classical writers, but not clearly attested otherwise. See **12, no.18**, n.2, for references, and cf. **13, no.27**.
2. See **3, no.7** & n.2.
3. Astyages is implicitly threatening the magi: if their advice turns out to end in disaster for the king, then their lives will be forfeit.
4. See **3, no.30** & n.4.

32. Cyrus' family and youth according to Ctesias

Ctesias, *Persica* (ap. Nicolaus of Damascus) = FGrH 90 F66(1–7); Lenfant, 93–5 (F8d*(1–7)).¹

In Asia, <Astibaras> died, and was succeeded by his son Astyages, the most noble after Arbaces, the story goes. During his reign the great change took place by which power was transferred from the Medes to the Persians, in the following way. There was a custom among the Medes that, in order to receive support, a poor man could go to an affluent one and give himself into his hands, in order to be fed and clothed; he would then, in accordance with the custom, be his slave; but if his patron failed to provide for him, he could go to someone else. So along came a lad called Cyrus, a Mardian,² to a royal attendant, in charge of beautifying the palace. This was Cyrus, son of Atrodates,³ who, because of his poverty, was a brigand; his wife was called Argoste, Cyrus' mother, and she herded goats. So, for his upbringing, Cyrus attached himself to the man and worked on the palace and was very diligent. So the supervisor gave him better clothes and transferred him from the outdoor to the domestic staff, close to the king, and commended him to the superintendent of the household. But he was a harsh man and often had Cyrus flogged. So he left him for the lantern-bearer, who liked him and got him even closer to the king because he was now part of the (bevy of) lantern-bearers. As he gained a good reputation in this work, he changed over to Artembares, the chief cup-bearer, who himself presented the cup for the king to drink from. Artembares made him welcome and told him to serve the king's dinner guests with wine. In a short space of time, Artembares saw him serving well and attentively and presenting the cup with considerable elegance, and informed the king from where the young man hailed, who poured his drink so well. He said: 'Oh Lord, your slave is of the Persian tribe of the Mardians; he attached himself to me to be cared for.' Now Artembares was an old man; one time when he had a fever he asked the king whether he might stay at home because of his health. 'In my place', he said, 'that young man (meaning Cyrus), who

pleases you, will pour your wine. And I shall adopt him, as I am a eunuch, if it please your lordship to have him as cup-bearer.' Astyages agreed, and Artembares released Cyrus and treated him kindly as though he were his son. So Cyrus attended on the king, giving him his cup and pouring his wine, night and day, in modest and manly fashion. Artembares, however, died from his illness after adopting Cyrus. Astyages gave him, as befits a son, all Artembares' goods and many other presents, so that he became a great and renowned man.⁴

Notes

1. Nicolaus of Damascus (first century) was the court-historian of the Judaeen king, Herod the Great. He was tutor to Antony and Cleopatra's children, and later acted for Herod on embassies. He wrote a history of the world down to his own time, only preserved in extracts in other works. He certainly used Ctesias as one of his main sources for Persian history. His account of Cyrus' rise at the Median court fits Photius' remark (3, no.8) that Ctesias denied any blood-tie between Astyages and Cyrus. It is, therefore, virtually certain that this passage from Nicolaus is derived from Ctesias; see further, Drews 1974b, and note Lenfant's inclusion of it in the new edition of Ctesias' fragments.
2. For the Persian tribe of the Mardi, see 3, no.5.
3. According to Strabo XV, 3.6, Cyrus was originally called Agradates.
4. Nicolaus' account continues (Lenfant, F8d* (8–46)), with Cyrus' installation of his father as satrap of Persia, his mother's dream of his future fate (similar to that of Astyages about Mandane, see 3, no.30), and his eventual rebellion against Astyages; after a series of major battles, he emerges victorious.

33. Cyrus' family according to Xenophon

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* I, 2.1–3.2.¹

Cyrus' father is said to have been Cambyses, king of the Persians. This Cambyses belonged to the tribe of the Persidae, and the Persidae are named after Perseus.² His mother is generally agreed to have been Mandane, and this Mandane was the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. Even today, the barbarians recount in tales and songs how Cyrus was the most handsome, most generous-spirited, most devoted to learning and most ambitious, so that he endured all kinds of hardships and submitted to all sorts of danger in order to be praised.

(2.2) This is the physical and spiritual nature he is reputed to have had; and he was educated in the Persian manner. (. . .)³

(3.1) Until he was twelve, or a little older, this is how Cyrus was educated. He showed himself to be better than all others of his age, both in learning all that was required and in carrying out each task efficiently and with courage. At this point in his life, Astyages sent for his daughter and her son, because he was keen to see him, having heard that he was a handsome and noble child. So Mandane went to her father with her son Cyrus.

(3.2) As soon as she arrived and Cyrus realised that Astyages was his mother's father, being by nature an affectionate child, he immediately kissed him, just as one would kiss someone with whom one had been long familiar and loved.

Notes

1. In his discursive biographical novel, *The Education of Cyrus*, Xenophon seems to have drawn both on Greek historians and on some popular Persian stories of his time. As discussed earlier (pp.8; 46, n.1), the historical reliability of the text is debated and not rated very high. What is interesting in

this context is that it provides yet another image of Cyrus' childhood and, in the next section (3, no.36), of his death.

2. Xenophon is repeating a Greek notion, found in more expanded form in Herodotus (VII, 61), whereby all peoples of the world were descended from Greek heroes. The story in Herodotus is that Perseus, son of Zeus and Danaë, married Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, son of Belus, king in Upper Asia. They begot Perses, who inherited his grandfather's realm because Cepheus had no sons. (Cf. Hdt. VII, 62, for a similar story about the Medes being descended from Medea.)
3. I, 2.2–2.16 is a description of Persian education, which has similarities to that practised in Sparta, a state much admired by Xenophon. For Persian education, see 13, nos.8–10.

(b) The death of Cyrus

34. Herodotus' moralising tale of Cyrus' death among the nomads

Herodotus I, 201; 205–6; 208; 211–14.

When Cyrus had subjected these people,¹ he wished to conquer the Massagetae. They are reputed to be great and strong, living eastwards towards sunrise, beyond the Araxes river,² opposite the Issedonae. Some say that they are a Scythian people.

(I, 203–4 is a discussion of the Araxes and the Caspian Sea.)

(205) The king of the Massagetae had died, so they were ruled by his wife, a queen, called Tomyris. Cyrus sent a message to her, to woo her verbally to be his wife. But Tomyris knew that he was not wooing her, but the kingdom of the Massagetae, and rejected his advances. When this trick did not work, Cyrus marched to the Araxes and made unmistakable preparations for a campaign against the Massagetae. He built bridges over the river so the army could cross, and towers on the boats that were going to carry it over.

(206) While he was engaged with this work, Tomyris sent a herald with the following message: 'King of the Medes,³ stop the work you are doing so eagerly! You do not know if, once finished, it will be of any advantage. Stop – be king over what is yours, and tolerate the sight of us ruling what we rule! But you do not want to follow this advice; you would do anything rather than remain at peace! Well, if you have such an overriding desire to make trial of the Massagetae, cease your present labour of bridging the river, and let us withdraw three days journey from the river, then cross into our land. If you would rather welcome us in your own country, then you withdraw the same distance on your side.' When Cyrus heard this, he gathered the foremost Persians together and put the matter to them so that they might advise him what to do. They all expressed the same opinion, and urged him to let Tomyris and her army into their country.

(I, 207: Croesus, the deposed Lydian king, advises Cyrus to the contrary, because it would look like cowardice. Instead he suggests luring the Massagetae into a trap by laying out a feast for them; Cyrus adopts Croesus' plan.)

(208) So, he (sc. Cyrus) told Tomyris to withdraw as he was going to cross to attack her; and she withdrew as she had said she would. Cyrus entrusted Croesus to his son Cambyses, to whom he was giving the kingdom, with the charge to honour him and treat him well, if something should go wrong with the crossing against the Massagetae. When he had given this order, he sent them back to Persia, while he crossed the river with his army.⁴

(211) Cyrus advanced one day's journey from the Araxes and did what Croesus had suggested. Then Cyrus and the fit part of the army marched back to the Araxes, leaving the useless behind. Then one third of the Massagetan army attacked Cyrus' abandoned troops, and massacred them although they resisted. When they had defeated their opponents, they

saw the spread, so they stretched out and feasted; and when they were full of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them, killed many of them and took even more alive, among them being the son of Tomyris; he was called Spargapises and was the general of the Massagetae.

(212) When Tomyris heard what had happened to the army and her son, she sent a herald to Cyrus with this message: 'Bloodthirsty Cyrus, do not be uplifted by this business; namely, that with the fruit of the vine, with which you all fill yourselves to the point of madness, so that the wine flowing down into the body makes vile words rise up, that with such a drug you have triumphed over my son, by trickery not in a battle of strengths. Now, take this piece of good advice from me: return my son and depart this land unpunished; you have done enough insolence to a third of the forces of the Massagetae. If you don't, I swear by the sun, lord of the Massagetae, that for all your insatiability of blood, I shall give you your fill of it.'

(213) The message was brought to Cyrus, but he took no notice of it. Queen Tomyris' son, Spargapises, when he came round from the wine and realised the calamity which had befallen, begged Cyrus to release him from his fetters, and was successful. As soon as he was free and could use his hands, he killed himself.

(214) And that is how he died. When Cyrus took no notice of Tomyris, she collected her entire force and fought with him. In my opinion, this was the toughest battle ever fought by barbarians; and I gather that this really was the case. The story goes that, first, they shot arrows at each other from a distance; when all the missiles were spent, they fell upon each other and fought at close quarters with spears and daggers. For a long time they persisted with the fight, neither side yielding. But eventually the Massagetae got the upper hand. Most of the Persian army perished and Cyrus himself fell, after a reign of thirty years less one.⁵ Tomyris filled a skin with human blood and searched among the Persians for Cyrus' corpse. When she found it, she put his head into the skin, and abused the dead man with these words: 'Although I am alive and have gained a victory over you in battle, you have destroyed me, because you took my son by trickery. Now I shall do just as I threatened and give you your fill of blood.' Many stories are told about the death of Cyrus, but I think this one is the most convincing.⁶

Notes

1. The story of Cyrus' last campaign follows immediately upon the conquest of Babylon (**3 no.28**).
2. The Jaxartes river, modern Syr Darya.
3. The Persians were, in some contexts, referred to as 'Medes'. For discussion, see Graf 1984; Tuplin 1994.
4. Hdt. I, 209–10 describes a dream of Cyrus prophesying Darius I's future elevation to the Persian throne; see **5, no.12**.
5. This and Ctesias (**3, no.35**) provide the only indications of Cyrus' length of reign. Babylonian documents date by Cyrus only after his defeat of Nabonidus; the last text dated in Cyrus' reign is 12 August 530 and the earliest dated by Cambyses is 31 August 530. Berossus, too, counts Cyrus' regnal years only from his assumption of the Babylonian throne (FGrH 680 F11). Accepting Herodotus' figure of twenty-nine years (almost the same as Ctesias' thirty), Cyrus' accession to the 'Persian' (Anshanite) throne was 559.
6. See below **3, nos.35–6**; note, too, the brief and only slightly divergent notices in Berossus (FGrH 680 F10) and Diodorus (II, 44.2), which also place Cyrus' death in Central Asia.

35. Cyrus' death in the east according to Ctesias

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F9(7–8); Lenfant, 112–13.

Cyrus also campaigned against the Derbicae,¹ who were ruled by Amoraioi. The Derbicae had elephants emerge from an ambush, and they put Cyrus' cavalry to flight; Cyrus himself fell from his horse, and an Indian man (for the Indians were fighting with the Derbicae; it was from them they got the elephants) – this Indian, when Cyrus had fallen, drove a javelin below the hipjoint into the upper part of his thigh, and this caused his death. But while still alive, his friends and relatives bore him away and withdrew to the camp. Many Persians died in the battle, and as many Derbicae; 10,000 in fact.

When Amorges² heard about Cyrus, he came very quickly accompanied by 20,000 Sacae horsemen, and the Persians and Derbicae clashed together in war with the Persian and Saca army victorious. Amoraioi himself, the king of the Derbicae, was killed, and his two sons; 30,000 Derbicae died, 9,000 Persians, and the country submitted to Cyrus.

On the point of death, Cyrus appointed his eldest son to the kingship. Tanyoxarkes,³ the younger brother, he installed as lord of the Bactrians and their lands, Choramnians,⁴ Parthians and Carmanians; and Cyrus ordained that he was to hold them free of tribute.⁵ As for the sons of Spitamas,⁶ he appointed Spitakes satrap of the Derbicae, Megabernes of the Barcanians.⁷ He urged them to obey their mother in all things; he had them seal a pact of friendship with Amorges and each other with the right hand.⁸ He pronounced blessings on them, if they maintained good will towards each other, and curses, if they acted unjustly. After this speech, he died on the third day after he had received his wound; he had reigned thirty years.⁹

Notes

1. The precise location of the Derbicae is not clear from ancient geographers, some placing them near the mouth of the Oxus (mod. Amu Darya), others to the south, in Hyrcania.
2. King of the Sacae (**3, no.8**) and ally of Cyrus (**3, no.18**).
3. Xenophon (*Cyrop.* VIII, 7.12; 16) calls Cyrus' younger son Tanaoxares, presumably an alternative form of Tanyoxarkes. Darius I at Bisitun and Herodotus both call him Bardiya (= Hdt. 'Smerdis'), see **5, nos.1; 3–4; 7**. On the possible significance of the name, see Wiesehöfer 1978: 47; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 85–7 (cf. **5, no.5**, n.2).
4. This is probably identical to Chorasmia, see Hdt. III, 93. Its name may be linked with modern Khorasan.
5. For the implications of Gr. *ateleia* ('free of tribute'), see Briant 1985a. Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII, 7.12 has Cyrus giving Tanaoxares control over Media, Armenia and the Cadusians.
6. Spitamas was the previous husband of Astyages' daughter, Amytis; see **3, no.8**.
7. See **3, no.10**, n.2 for their location.
8. Cf. Xenophon's account of Cyrus' death (**3, no.36**), where Cyrus shakes hands with everyone before dying. The (Gr.) *dexia* 'right hand' symbolised peace and goodwill (cf. Xen. *Anab.* II, 4.1; Polyb. V, 54.8), and could be represented concretely by a 'hand token', see Sherwin-White 1978.
9. Herodotus (**3, no.34**(214)), gives Cyrus twenty-nine years, which is generally preferred, but see Lenfant, LXVI. For comparisons of this scene of farewell with later Iranian epic, see Lenfant, LXIV (with references).

36. Xenophon's picture: Cyrus dies at home surrounded by his family and officials

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 7.¹

When his life had far advanced in this way and Cyrus was an old man, he returned to Persia for the seventh time in the course of his reign. His father and mother had long since died, as was to be expected. Cyrus performed the usual ritual and led the Persians in their national dance, and handed out presents to everyone as before.²

(7.2) When he was asleep in the palace, he had this vision: a figure, more grandiose than mortals, appeared to him and spoke, 'Prepare, Cyrus, for very soon you shall depart for the gods.' When the vision had gone, he awoke, and it seemed almost as though he knew that the end of his life was near.

(7.3) Straightaway, therefore, he took sacrificial victims and sacrificed to ancestral Zeus, the Sun and all the gods on the mountain-summits, as is the Persian sacrificial practice.³ And he prayed: 'Ancestral Zeus and the Sun and all the gods, accept these as a thank-offering for many glorious deeds achieved. The omens you have given me, in the course of sacrificing, with signs from heaven and from birds, and through prophecies, have shown me what I must and must not do. I thank you profoundly that I have always recognised your concern and have never, when successful, exceeded mortal bounds in my thoughts. And now I implore you to grant a blessed prosperity to children, wife and country; and may you bestow on me an end in keeping with the life you granted me.'

(7.4) When he had done this, he went home; the idea of resting seemed pleasant so he lay down. At the appropriate time, those whose duty it was came and asked him to bathe. But he said he was having a pleasant rest. Again, those whose duty it was to set dinner before him came at the appropriate time, but his soul did not desire food; however, he seemed thirsty and drank with pleasure.

(7.5) When the same thing happened the following day and the day after, he called for his children (they had, as it happened, accompanied him and were with him in Persia); he also summoned his friends and the Persian governors. When they were all present, he began to speak. (. . .)⁴

(7.28) At the end of this speech, he gave his right hand to everyone, covered himself, and so died.⁵

Notes

1. Xenophon's portrayal of Cyrus' death diverges sharply from those of Herodotus (**3, no.34**) and Ctesias (**3, no.35**). Some have compared it to royal deathbed scenes in Ferdowsi's great medieval Iranian epic, the *Shah-Nama* or *Book of Kings* (Christensen 1936: 122–35). For a discussion of the dying king's speeches (not included here, see n.4) possibly representing Achaemenid royal virtues and ideals, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1985. Where or how Cyrus actually died is not known, although his tomb at Pasargadae and the cult performed in his honour are well attested, see **3, no.29; fig.3.8**.
2. For discussion, see Briant 1996a: 253–4 [2002b: 241–2]; cf. **11, no.58**.
3. For Persian gods and cults, see **11, Section H**.
4. VIII, 7.6–28 contains Cyrus' moral, political, religious and philosophical ruminations and instructions to his officials and sons, exhortations to his successor, Cambyses, and his younger son, Tanaoxares, and directions for his burial.
5. For the symbolic significance of Gr. *dexia* = 'right hand', see **3, no.35**, n.8.

37. Cyrus' reputation

Herodotus III, 160.

No man has ever surpassed Zopyrus¹ in the ranks of Persian Benefactors² – that, at least, was Darius' judgement – neither among men of former times nor later, with the exception of Cyrus himself; for no Persian would dream of comparing himself with Cyrus.

Notes

1. According to the story, which Herodotus may have heard from a descendent (cf. **8, no.15**), Zopyrus mutilated himself in order to gain admittance to Babylon under siege by Darius I, and then betrayed it.
2. For the 'king's benefactors', see **13, Section B(b)**.

THE REIGN OF CAMBYSES

Introduction

Trying to present a balanced assessment of the reign of Cambyses is a difficult task, because of the nature of the evidence at our disposal. It is dominated by Herodotus' extremely biased account of the Persian conquest of Egypt, which has created an influential image of Cambyses as an ever more crazed despot.¹ There is very little from elsewhere in the empire to set against this. In Iran, we can, with some likelihood, attribute the institution of a cult in honour of Cyrus at the site of his tomb to Cambyses (**3, no.29**; cf. **4, no.2**). An incomplete structure near Persepolis (Takht-i Rostam), which was clearly intended to be a copy of Cyrus' tomb at Pasargadae, has been attributed to Cambyses. The measurements are identical, the mason's marks resemble those at Pasargadae, while other building features are only attested on the Persepolis Terrace begun by Darius I. This suggests (a) that it was intended to be a royal tomb, and (b) that, chronologically, its construction is later than the time of Cyrus and precedes the reign of Darius I. A logical candidate for the tomb's builder, therefore, has been thought to be Cambyses (Stronach 1978: 302–4). But evidence from the Persepolis Fortification archive (**11, no.68(ii)**) indicates that Cambyses' completed tomb was in the region of modern Niriz, some way to the south-east of Persepolis (see **fig.16.5**), where it received a royally supplied cult. Thus his brother, Bardiya, who succeeded him briefly before being murdered and was labelled as an impostor (**5, nos.1–6**), is more likely to have been the intended occupant, which could explain its unfinished state.

Despite the essentially negative picture painted by Herodotus, his story includes many perfectly credible elements. He is the only surviving writer to provide what seems to be a fairly reliable account of the progress of the Persian conquest of Egypt. So, although his narrative structuring presents problems, most scholars accept Herodotus' account in outline.² There is also Egyptian material which provides valuable insights that contrast with Herodotus' picture of events.

Cambyses inherited an immense territory, only very recently acquired, so that Persian control of it was as yet fragile. The coastal regions of the Levant and the Aegean, in particular, were vulnerable. Egypt presented the most serious threat: its king, Amasis (570–526), was allied with Polycrates, the ambitious tyrant of Samos – a thorn in the side of the Persians – and had strengthened his power vis-à-vis the Levant by his conquest of Cyprus (cf. **4, no.3, n.1**).³ To tackle this difficult situation and secure Persian power, it was imperative to gain control of the seaboard and bring Egypt to heel, all of which Cambyses achieved. Although it is his conquest of Egypt that dominates the historiographical picture, his claims to fame in

Persian eyes are said to have resided in the fact that he had added not only Egypt to the Persian realm, but ‘the sea’ as well (**4, no.21**).

Polycrates seems to have found himself in a precarious position quite early in Cambyses’ reign: relations with Egypt had broken down and the Persian authorities in western Turkey were on their guard against him. He tried to protect himself by sending ships to swell the Persian naval forces (**4, no.7(iii)**), but was nevertheless eventually executed by Oroites, the satrap of Lydia (**4, no.16**). Precisely when this happened is uncertain, but it was certainly before Cambyses’ death in 522. Herodotus’ many references to Samian opposition to Polycrates’ rule (see, e.g., **4, no.7(iii)**) suggest that the Persian governor exploited such internal dissensions to bring about Polycrates’ downfall and so root Achaemenid power more firmly along the western coastline.

At what point the Phoenician cities, followed by Cyprus, with their large fleets surrendered to the Persians is uncertain (**4, no.7(iv)**). But one result of that surrender was that, in the wake of the collapse of the Samian alliance, it left Egypt isolated and seriously reduced its naval strength in the east Mediterranean. Benefiting from this, the Persians developed their own navy – an essential support for the planned invasion of Egypt (Wallinga 1993). Simultaneously, they made use of strategic information provided by Egyptian deserters (**4, no.7(i)**) and negotiated an agreement with the Arabs, which was crucial to the logistics (water supplies and routes) of getting an army across the Sinai desert successfully (cf. Eph’al 1982).

For the Persian conquest of Egypt, Herodotus provides a basic, not at all improbable framework, into which he has woven a series of powerful moralising stories. If these are set aside (cf. Lloyd 1988a), then it is possible to disengage a fairly convincing course for the conquest: the Persians defeated the Egyptian army at Pelusium (**4, no.8(10.1)**); the successful Persian siege of Memphis, the capital, was followed by the surrender of Egypt’s western neighbours (**4, no.8(13)**); Cambyses then initiated campaigns to the south (Nubia) and south-west (Siwa oasis) in order to consolidate the Persian hold of Egypt’s frontiers (**4, no.10(i–iii)**). In Herodotus’ scheme, both campaigns were tragic fiascos serving to illustrate and explain Cambyses’ increasingly irrational behaviour and mounting madness (see **4, nos.17–22**). Two later writers (**4, no.10(ii & iii)**) and archaeological evidence (see **4, no.10(i)**, n.1) suggest that the moves to establish Persian power along Egypt’s borders and ensure control of essential routes in these areas were successful.

The Egyptian evidence (**4, nos.11–15**) is limited and does not include historical narrative. It does, however, offer precious insights into some of the elements deployed by Cambyses to rally support from Egypt’s élites (**4, no.11**), accommodate himself to the demands of Egyptian royal ceremonial (**4, nos.12–13**), manage the vast resources commanded by Egypt’s temples (**4, no.14**) and make use of existing administrative structures (**4, no.15**). Most valuable is the contrast this material creates to Herodotus’ bleak picture of Cambyses’ sacrilegious behaviour with respect to Egyptian cults (**4, nos.17–19**). Although the Egyptian evidence is not always entirely unambiguous (see **4, nos.13**, n.1 & **14(c)**), the overall impression we are left with is that, however devastating the initial impact of the Persian conquest may have been, a sustainable working relationship between conquerors and local powerholders was achieved relatively swiftly (see particularly **4, no.11**). That Cambyses acted, and was accepted, as a legitimate Egyptian pharaoh by important segments of the population is shown both by his regular use of traditional royal titles (**4, nos.11–13, 15**) and by the later Egyptian story in Herodotus, according to which Cambyses was the grandson of Pharaoh Apries (589–570; **4, no.4**).⁴

Cambyses' reputation has been blackened by the problems at the end of his reign (**5, nos.1–6**) and the negative press he received from Herodotus and others, which ultimately stems from Darius I (**5, no.1**, paras.10–11).⁵ If we leave this to one side, Cambyses appears to have been a ruler who not only maintained Persian control of his father's immense conquests, but also extended and consolidated them in crucial areas. The methods he deployed for legitimising his assumption of power in Egypt echo those used by Cyrus earlier (cf. **3, nos.21–3**). Even though we are forced to view him through the distorting web spun by his later detractors, we can catch glimpses of a man, perhaps harsh, but also an effective and just monarch (**4, nos.21 & 23**).⁶

Notes

1. In as much as it is possible to reconstruct Ctesias' narrative, he seems to have presented a very different picture of Cambyses, see Lenfant, LXXIV–LXXV.
2. Useful discussions of how his narrative can and cannot be used, are Lloyd 1988a; Briant 1996a: 61–6 [2002b: 50–5].
3. The reasons given by Herodotus and Ctesias (**4, nos.3–6**) for the invasion all hinge on the idea of a marriage between the Persian king (Cyrus or Cambyses) and a daughter of Apries, who was deposed by Amasis. Although such a marriage is not in itself unthinkable, this is part of later traditions, connected with the legitimisation of Persian rule of Egypt.
4. Note also Pliny NH 6.163; 181, according to whom Cambyses founded cities in Egypt.
5. But note the good evidence for a tomb of Cambyses, supplied with offerings from the royal storehouses, in the reign of Darius I (see above, p.104). Darius' account of Cambyses' murder of his brother, as well as his death, is curiously neutral.
6. The Ptolemaic period demotic graffito in the Satet temple in Elephantine (Lüddeckens 1971), which has been used to support arguments that the Persian invasion was accompanied by destruction of Egyptian shrines, has now been shown to reflect Egyptian attitudes to Antiochus IV's invasion of Egypt in 168 (see Briant 2003c: 182–3, with references). For a recent reassessment of Cambyses in Egypt, see Cruz-Urbe 2003.

A. The accession of Cambyses

1. Cambyses' parentage

Herodotus II, 1.

When Cyrus was dead, Cambyses inherited the kingdom. He was the son of Cyrus and Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes.¹ She died before Cyrus, and he mourned her greatly and bade all his subjects mourn her as well.² Cambyses was the son of this woman and Cyrus. He thought of the Ionians and Aeolians as slaves belonging to his patrimony, and he mounted a campaign against Egypt; along with other subjects, he took with him the Greeks he ruled over.

Notes

1. It is possible, but not certain, that this Pharnaspes was the father of Otanes, who, according to Herodotus III, 68, initiated the plot to unmask the 'False Smerdis'; see **5, nos.7, 9 & n.1, 11**. For further discussion, see Waters 2004.
2. Cassandane's death may well be the passing away of the king's wife, referred to in the Nabonidus Chronicle (**3, no.1**, iii, 23), which also notes a public mourning period of six days. If so, then she died in March 538.

2. Cambyses' accession and his courtiers

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(9); Lenfant, 117.

Book 12 begins with the reign of Cambyses: This king sent his father's corpse to Persia for burial,¹ accompanied by Bagapates, the eunuch; he settled the other matters in accordance with his father's wishes. Most highly regarded by him were the Hyrcanian Artasyras, and, among the eunuchs, Izabates, Aspadates and Bagapates; the latter had been the most favoured by his father, after the death of Petesacas.²

Notes

1. As in many societies, burial of the dead king was the first act of his successor and served to proclaim his legitimacy; see further Briant 1991b.
2. For the fate of Petesacas, see **3, no.10**. Ctesias regularly names the chief courtiers of each king, separating them into a 'regular' group and a 'eunuch/body servant' group; cf. the way the royal entourage was classified at the Assyrian court into 'bearded' (Akk. *ša ziqni*) and 'officials'/'eunuchs' (Akk. *ša reši*), see Kuhrt 1995a: 530. On the question of eunuchs at the Persian court and in government, see Briant 1996a: 279–88 [2002b: 268–77]; further, **12, Section B**.

B. Explanations for Cambyses' Egyptian campaign

3. A Persian story

Herodotus III, 1.

It was against this Amasis¹ that Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, made war, taking with him other subjects and, of the Greeks, Ionians and Aeolians. He did it for this reason: Cambyses had sent a herald to Egypt demanding the daughter of Amasis. He asked this on the advice of an Egyptian, who had a grudge against Amasis, because, out of all the doctors in Egypt, he had picked him out, tearing him away from his wife and children, and packed him off to Persia, when Cyrus had sent a request to Amasis for the best Egyptian eye-doctor.² Because of this grudge, the Egyptian advised Cambyses to demand a daughter from Amasis – if he gave her, he would be hurt, if not, Cambyses would be his enemy.³ Amasis was nervous about Persian power, and so afraid that he did not know how to give her or refuse. He was quite certain that Cambyses did not want her to be his wife, but his concubine. Having thought it all out, this is what he did. The previous king, Apries,⁴ had a very well-grown and beautiful daughter, the sole survivor of his family, called Nitetis. Amasis got this girl up in beautiful garments and gold, and sent her to Persia as his daughter. But after a while, when he (Cambyses) greeted her with the name of her father, she said to him: 'King! You don't know how you have been deceived by Amasis, when he sent me all dressed up to you, pretending to be giving his daughter in marriage! In reality I am the daughter of Apries, who was his master and whom he killed when he rebelled with the Egyptians.' That is what she said and that was the reason that led Cambyses, son of Cyrus, in great rage, to attack Egypt. That is the story the Persians tell.

Notes

1. Amasis (Dynasty XXVI, 570–526) had been discussed by Herodotus in Book II, 162–3; 169; 172–82. He died just before the Persian attack (Hdt. III, 10) and was succeeded by his son, Psammetichus III (reigned summer 526 to early January 525; see Beckerath 2002). Amasis conquered Cyprus at some point in his reign. It has been argued that the conquest was achieved soon after Cyrus' defeat of the Babylonians in order to counter Persia's growing power (Wallinga 1987; 1993). Amasis had also been allied to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had made trouble for the Persians after their conquest of Lydia and built up a substantial hegemony in the Aegean (see **4, no.16**). In other words, he presented a considerable problem for the Persians, that had to be tackled. Crucial for the confrontation (and, indeed, successful control of Egypt) was the creation of a navy by the Persians. Cambyses was able to make use of Persia's maritime subjects, such as Phoenicians and Ionians, to provide crews for the fleet (Hdt. III, 13; 19). Persian success in developing a formidable naval strength is signalled, first, by Polycrates' break with Amasis, at some point after Cambyses' accession, and his offer of Samian ships for the Persian king's Egyptian expedition (Hdt. III, 43–5); secondly, by the voluntary surrender of Cyprus to the Persians (Hdt. III, 19), which effectively left Egypt isolated to face a Persian force superior on both land and water.
2. Royal requests to send specialists, such as doctors, sculptors, exorcists, from diplomatically linked courts is a practice extremely well attested in the earlier history of the Near East; see Zaccagnini 1983.
3. Interdynastic marriages, which serve to symbolise and underpin friendly relations between powers (hence the danger implicit in a refusal, envisaged here too), are widely attested at all periods and in all places, including the earlier Near East. However, the clearest evidence for its role in interstate power politics in the Near East (from fourteenth-century Egypt, cf. Moran 1987/1992) suggests that Egyptian royal ideology forbade the marriage of the pharaoh's daughter to a foreign ruler (Moran 1987/1992: EA 4, cf. S.A. Meier 2000, esp. p.171). It is possible that such ideas were still operative, in which case Amasis' accession to Cambyses' request would signal Egypt's subservience to Persia; such a quandary for the Egyptian king is perhaps suggested by the next sentence.
4. Apries ruled 589–570 and was deposed by Amasis, who had to deal with considerable resistance to his usurpation of the throne (Leahy 1988; for a brief outline of the situation, see Kuhrt 1995a: 644–5).

4. The Egyptian version

Herodotus III, 2.

But the Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own, saying that he was the offspring of Apries' daughter; because it was Cyrus who sent to Amasis for his daughter, not Cambyses. But those who say that are not getting things right. They know perfectly well – and nobody understands Persian customs better than the Egyptians – that, first of all, it is not possible for a bastard to become king when there is a legitimate son,¹ and, secondly, that Cambyses was an Achaemenid,² the son of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, and not the son of the Egyptian woman. They have twisted the story in order to turn Cyrus' family into kinsfolk.³

Notes

1. For the royal succession, see **7, nos.1–3; 8, no.20; 11, nos.61–2**.
2. On the significance of the king being an Achaemenid, see **5, Introduction**; Waters 2004.
3. For the practice of transforming foreign conquerors retrospectively into Egyptians, see Lloyd 1982b, and cf. **9, no.77**, n.7 (with respect to Alexander).

5. A variant of the Persian story

Herodotus III, 3.¹

There is another story, which does not seem very reliable to me, of how a Persian lady was visiting Cyrus' wives. When she saw Cassandane's handsome, tall children standing there, she heaped admiration and praise on them. But Cassandane, Cyrus' wife, said: 'Although I am the mother of these children, Cyrus scorns me, and has placed this creature from Egypt above me in esteem.' She said this because she loathed Nitetis. Then Cambyes, her eldest, said: 'When I am grown up, mother, I will turn the top of Egypt to the bottom and the bottom to the top.' He is supposed to have said this when he was ten years old, and the women were amazed by him. But he remembered the words when he grew up and became king, and so made war on Egypt.

Note

1. Herodotus does not attribute a source to this version.

6. Further variants on the story

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13a (Athenaeus XIII, 10); Lenfant, 127–8.

Cambyes' campaign against Egypt, according to what Ctesias says, happened because of a woman. Cambyes had heard that Egyptian women excelled all in amorous pursuits. So he asked Amasis, the king of Egypt, for one of his daughters in marriage. Amasis did not accede to the request, because he suspected that he would not give her the status of a wife, but rather of a concubine. He sent Neitetis, the daughter of Aprias. But Aprias had been driven out of Egypt because he was defeated by the Cyreneans¹ and killed by Amasis. Cambyes, entranced by Neitetis and very much in love with her, heard the whole story from her, and, wanting to avenge Aprias' death, he made war on the Egyptians. Deinon in his *Persica*² and Lyceas of Naucratis³ in the third book of his *Aegyptiaca* say that Neitetis was sent to Cyrus by Amasis, that Cambyes was born from this union, and, in order to avenge his mother, he campaigned against Egypt.

Notes

1. Cyrene was a Greek colony on the Libyan coast. On the relations between Aprias, Amasis and Cyrene, and Aprias' disastrous war against the colony, see Hdt. II, 161–9; cf. Lloyd 1975–88, iii, ad loc.
2. The citation comes from Athenaeus (XIII, 10), which explains the reference to several other writers, aside from Ctesias (**Chapter 1**); for Deinon, see **Chapter 1**.
3. Lyceas of Naucratis is a very scantily known Greek historian, who may also have lived in the fourth century. According to this citation, he clearly wrote a work on Egypt in at least three books, see FGrH 613.

C. The conquest of Egypt: the Greek accounts

7. The Persian preparations

(i) Obtaining inside information

Herodotus III, 4.

Something else happened, which was favourable for this expedition. Among Amasis' bodyguard was a man from Halicarnassus, called Phanes. He had sound judgement and was a good soldier. Now this Phanes had some kind of grudge against Amasis, so he ran away by boat from Egypt, because he wanted to go and speak with Cambyses. As he had a considerable standing among the bodyguard and was very accurately informed about Egypt, Amasis was most anxious to catch him and pursued him. The person sent in pursuit (in a trireme) was the most trusted of the eunuchs. The eunuch caught up with him in Lycia – but he did not take him back to Egypt, although he captured him, because Phanes cleverly got the better of him: he got the guards drunk and disappeared off to Persia. Cambyses was keen to campaign against Egypt but at a loss about the march, namely, how to cross the desert. Phanes came and told him all about Amasis, and also explained about the march. He put it to him that he should send to the king of the Arabs to ask for a safe passage.¹

(ii) Planning the crossing of the Sinai desert

Herodotus III, 9.

As soon as the Arab had given the pledges² to Cambyses' messengers, he devised this: he filled camel-skins with water and loaded them on live camels; then he drove them into the desert and awaited Cambyses' army.³ That is the most believable story told, but there is one less so – but since people tell it, it should be told. There is a large river in Arabia called Corys, which flows into what is called the Red Sea. They say that the Arab king drew off an immense pipe, made of cowhide and the skins of other animals, from this river into the desert and conducted water through it; in the desert he dug great cisterns to receive the water and store it. It is a twelve-day journey from the river to the desert. He brought the water through three pipelines to three places.

(iii) Gathering individual ships

Herodotus III, 44.

Polycrates,⁴ in secret from the Samians, sent a herald to Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, who was collecting an army against Egypt, asking him to send a request to him in Samos for help with the campaign. When Cambyses heard this, he immediately sent to Samos and asked Polycrates to despatch a fleet for the Egyptian expedition. Polycrates selected those citizens he most suspected of planning a rebellion and sent them off in forty triremes, demanding that Cambyses not send them home again.⁵

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT: THE GREEK ACCOUNTS

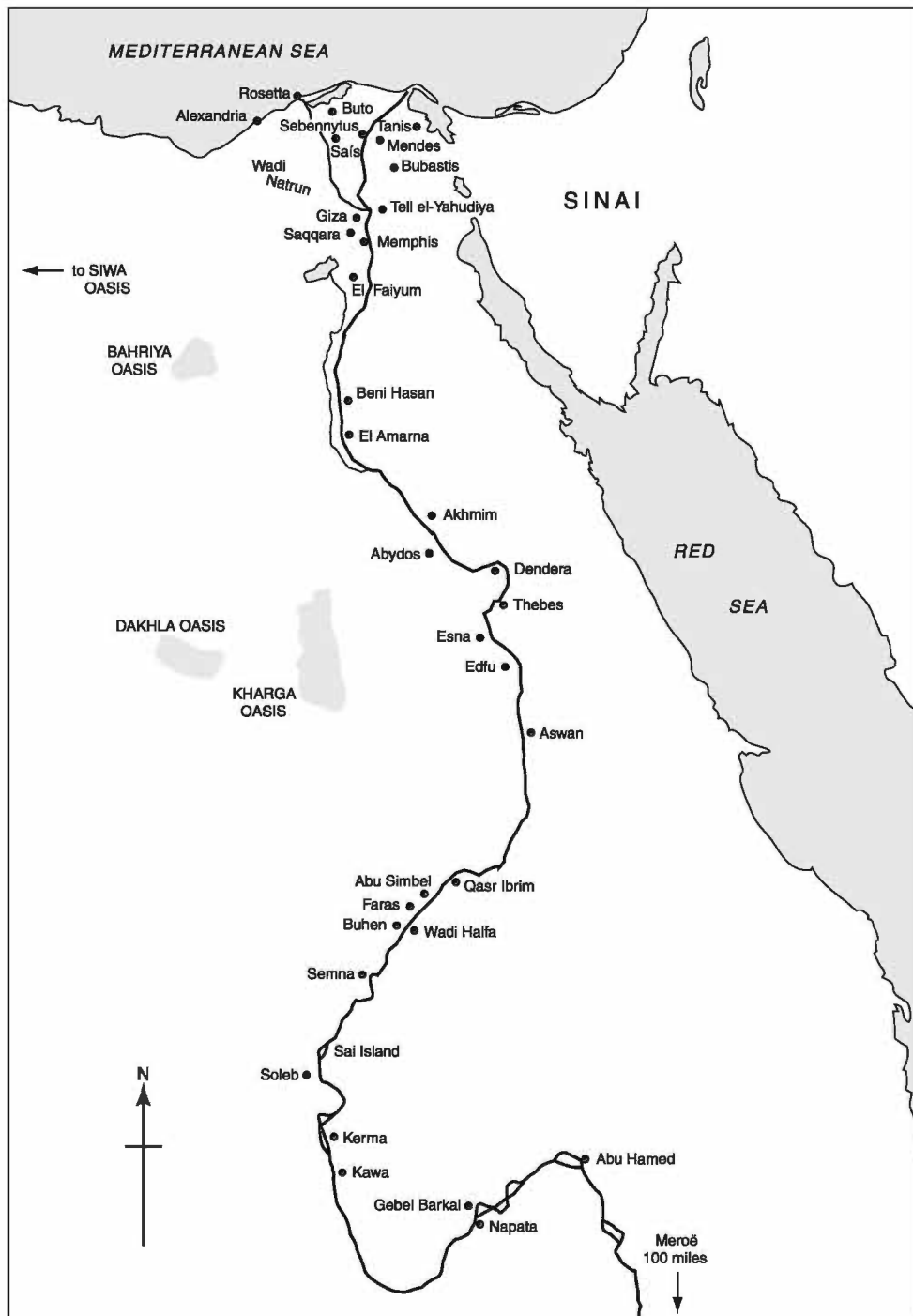


Figure 4.1 Sketchmap of Egypt and Nubia. (After T.G.H. James (ed.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egypt*, London, 1979.)

(iv) Manning the fleet

Herodotus III, 19.3.

Cambyses refused to use force on the Phoenicians (sc. to fight against Carthage) because they had surrendered voluntarily to the Persians⁶ and the whole fleet depended on them. The Cypriots, too, had surrendered of their own volition to the Persians and were part of the army against Egypt.⁷

Notes

1. There are some echoes of the Phanes story in an extremely garbled Ctesias passage (FGrH 688 F13(10)), according to which a highly trusted eunuch of the Egyptian king betrayed Egypt's strategic locations to the Persians. How reliable Herodotus' story about Phanes the informer is, is also open to question (it must be significant that Phanes shares Herodotus' birthplace). What should not be doubted, however, is that the Phanes episode is an illustration of the fact that Cambyses will have made use of fugitives from Egypt to obtain crucial strategic information.
2. Herodotus explains in the preceding passage the way in which the Arabs contract pledges.
3. An identical agreement was made between the Assyrian king, Esarhaddon (681–669), and the Arabs to enable the Assyrian army to cross the Sinai desert for the invasion of Egypt in 671 (see Borger 1956, para.76: 'I had camels brought from all the kings of Arabia and had them carry skins'). For analogous arrangements between the Seleucid kings and Arabs, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 56.
4. For the dissolution of Polycrates' alliance with Amasis, see Hdt. III, 40–3, and cf. **4, no.3**, n.1.
5. Polycrates' support of the Persian king's expedition is described in the context of Herodotus' lengthy discussion of Polycrates' rise to power, expansion in the Aegean (which provoked an attack on him by the Spartans) and the opposition he faced in Samos itself.
6. When this was is not known. The Phoenician cities were part of the Babylonian empire, so will, technically, have come under Persian control with Cyrus' defeat of Nabonidus in 539 (see **3, no.21**, n.19). But the process of consolidation of Persian authority in the Levant is opaque, cf. Briant 1996a: 55–9 [2002b: 44–9].
7. For Amasis' earlier conquest of Cyprus to counteract Persian expansion, see **4, no.3**, n.1.

8. The fall of Egypt

Herodotus III, 10.1; 11.1; 11.3; 13.

In what is called the Pelusiatic mouth of the Nile,¹ Psammenitus,² the son of Amasis, was in camp and awaited Cambyses. (. . .) (11.1) When the Persians had crossed the desert, they encamped near the Egyptians for battle. (. . .) (11.3) The battle was fierce and many had fallen on both sides when the Egyptians were defeated.

(13) When the Egyptians were defeated in the battle, they fled in disarray. They shut themselves up in Memphis, and Cambyses sent a Mytilenean ship upstream with a herald (a Persian) on board to invite the Egyptians to reach an agreement by these means. But when the Egyptians saw the boat approaching Memphis, they poured in a mass out of the fortress, destroyed the boat, butchered the men and carried them into the stronghold. After this, the Egyptians were besieged and eventually submitted. The neighbouring Libyans, terrified by what had happened in Egypt, surrendered without a battle, paid tribute and sent gifts. The people of Cyrene and Barca, similarly frightened, did the same.³ Cambyses received the gifts from Libya most graciously, but found fault with those from Cyrene. I think it was too little

– the Cyreneans sent five hundred minas of silver⁴ – because Cambyses grasped them in his hand and scattered them among the army.

Notes

1. The easternmost branch of the Nile Delta, near the terminus of the overland route from Palestine through Sinai to Egypt (see **fig.15.4**).
2. I.e. Psammetichus III, who ruled from summer 526 to the beginning of January 525, see Beckerath (2002), who dates Cambyses' conquest between January and March 525.
3. The peoples of Libya, as well as the inhabitants of the Greek colonies on the north Libyan coast, were closely linked to Egypt, politically and economically. Their surrender must be understood against that background. B. Mitchell (1966) argues that the rulers of Cyrene had to find an accommodation with the Persians to strengthen their hand in an internal struggle with the nobility. The situation was not finally resolved, and the Persian hold on the territory firmly established, until the reign of Darius I (**6, no.4**).
4. About 250 kg.

9. The fate of the Egyptian king

(i) Herodotus' story

Herodotus III, 14–15.

On the tenth day after Cambyses had captured the fort at Memphis, he put the Egyptian king Psammenitus, who had ruled six months, in the outer part of the city to insult him. He put him there with other Egyptians to test his soul. This is what he did: he dressed his daughter in slave costume and sent her to get water with a water jar; along with her he sent other girls, chosen from among the noblest Egyptians, dressed just like the king's daughter. As the girls passed before the eyes of their fathers they screamed and wailed, and they all responded with screams and wails when they saw their children so disgraced. But Psammenitus looked straight ahead, took in the scene and bowed to the ground. When the watercarriers had passed, Cambyses sent his son, along with two thousand other Egyptians of the same age, with ropes round their necks and bridles in their mouths. They were led along to pay the penalty for the Mytileneans who had been killed when they came to Memphis on the ship.¹ For the royal judges² had ruled that, for each man, ten Egyptian nobles should be killed in retaliation. Psammenitus saw them go by and realised his son was being led to his death. While the other Egyptians sitting around him lamented and were distressed, he behaved as he had done in the case of his daughter. When they had gone, an elderly man, a former drinking companion of his, happened to pass by Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and the Egyptians who had been placed at the edge of the city. He had lost his property and had nothing but what a beggar might have and was, in fact, begging from the army. When Psammenitus saw him, he burst loudly into tears, calling his companion by name and beating his head. Now there were guards with him, who reported how he reacted on each occasion to Cambyses. Cambyses was astounded at his behaviour and sent a messenger to question him, like this: 'Lord Cambyses asks you, Psammenitus, why, when you saw your daughter humiliated and your son going to his death, you neither cried out nor wept; but when the beggar, who is, according to others, not related to you, you honour him?' That was the question, and he gave this answer: 'Son of Cyrus, my own troubles were too terrible to cry about, but this friend's sorrow deserves tears; from great wealth and happiness he has,

on the threshold of old age, descended to beggary.’ When this was reported to Cambyses, say the Egyptians, it was thought well said. Croesus, who had followed Cambyses to Egypt, wept as did the Persians present. Even Cambyses was affected by a certain pity. He immediately ordered that the son should be saved from those to be executed and that Psammenitus be brought from the city’s outskirts where he was.

(15) But those who went for the boy found him no longer alive, as he had been the first to be executed. But Psammenitus was brought before Cambyses, and from then on he lived with him and was not subject to any violence. And if he had only understood that he should not intrigue, it might have been his lot to become governor of Egypt. Because the Persians usually honour the offspring of kings. Even in the case of those who revolt against them, they tend to give control back to the children. There are many other pointers to this being their usual way, especially the case of Inaros, the son of Thannyra, who got back the power his father had had; and Pausiris, the son of Amyrtaeus, he, too, received back his father’s power. Yet Inaros and Amyrtaeus have done more harm to the Persians than anybody.³ But now Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward: he was caught fomenting revolt among the Egyptians, and, when he was detected by Cambyses, he drank bull’s blood and died instantly.⁴ That is how he died.⁵

(ii) Ctesias’ version

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(10); Lenfant, 117–18.

He (sc. Cambyses)⁶ took Amyrtaeus⁷ prisoner, but did not harm him in any way. He only compelled him to emigrate to Susa together with six thousand Egyptians of his choice.⁸ And he reigned over all of Egypt.

Notes

1. See **4, no.8**.
2. For the problem of royal judges, see Briant 1996a: 141–2 [2002b: 129]; for aspects of legal administration in the empire, see **17, Section C(a)**.
3. Inaros and Amyrtaeus were dynasts located in the western Delta who were involved in serious revolts against Persian power (464/3–454), cf. Briant 1996a: 591–4 [2002b: 573–7]; **8, Section A(b)**. Herodotus’ notion that Psammetichus might have been appointed governor of Egypt is scarcely credible. Neither the Greek stories about Astyages (**3, nos.8–10**), or Croesus (**3, nos.16, n.4; 19 & n.1**), nor Babylonian traditions about Nabonidus (**3, nos.24–5**) bear out this idea. But the notion of generous treatment of defeated royal enemies fits (see below **(ii)** & n.8).
4. Bull’s blood was considered to be highly poisonous. Ctesias (**5, no.5**) says that Cambyses murdered his brother by making him drink bull’s blood. According to Plutarch, *Them.* 31, Themistocles committed suicide by drinking bull’s blood.
5. Cambyses’ arrangements for the government of Egypt are not very well attested. A Babylonian text (Camb. 344) could refer to a governor of Egypt under Cambyses, but no name is preserved (see Kuhrt 1992; see MacGinnis 1994 for a different interpretation). In the context of the early reign of Darius I, Herodotus names Aryandes as Cambyses’ appointee to the government of Egypt (**5, no.17; 6, no.4**).
6. Ctesias’ account of Cambyses’ Egyptian campaign has survived in a very abbreviated and bowdlerised form only. According to this, the country was betrayed by Combaphis, a high Egyptian official, who was subsequently appointed Egypt’s governor.
7. Amyrtaeus was ruler of Egypt’s secessionist Dynasty XXVIII at the end of the fifth century (**9, nos.57, 59–60**). Whether this error was in Ctesias’ original work or is the result of later excerption and conflation is not known.

8. This reported Persian action, if it has any historical value, echoes Cyrus' treatment of the defeated Median, Lydian and Babylonian kings (cf. above, n.3 for references).

10. Campaigns to consolidate frontiers

(i) Nubia and the western desert

Herodotus III, 17.1; 20.1; 21.1; 25–6.¹

After this, Cambyses planned three campaigns, against the Carthaginians,² against the Ammonians³ and against the long-lived Ethiopians, who live in Libya near the southern sea.⁴

(20) When the Fisheaters⁵ came to Cambyses from Elephantine,⁶ he sent them to Ethiopia, with instructions about what they should say and carrying gifts, including a purple cloak, a gold necklace made of twisted gold, bracelets, an alabaster casket of myrrh and a jar of wine.⁷ (. . .)

(21) When the Fisheaters got to the Ethiopians, they presented the gifts to their king and said: 'Cambyses, king of the Persians, wishes to become your friend and guest-friend;⁸ therefore he has sent us and commanded us to speak with you and give you these gifts, which are such as give him great pleasure.'

(III, 21.2–24 contains the contemptuous rejection of these overtures by the Ethiopian king and a description of Ethiopia's fabulous wealth; the embassy (perceived as spies by the Ethiopian king) is sent back with a huge bow, and the challenge that, when Cambyses can draw it, he will be fit to encounter the Ethiopians.)⁹

(25) When the spies had seen everything, they went off home. When they reported the message, Cambyses flew into a rage and immediately set out to make war on the Ethiopians, without giving any orders for the provision of food, nor considering the fact that he was planning to campaign to the ends of the earth. In fact, he was mad, and had become insane as soon as he had heard the report of the Fisheaters; and so, off he marched, ordering the Greeks who were with him to stay, but taking the whole infantry with him. When he reached Thebes¹⁰ on his march, he divided off five thousand from the army and ordered them to enslave the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zeus, while he went on with the rest of the army against the Ethiopians. Before the army had gone a fifth of the way, they had used up all the food they had with them; then they ate the baggage animals until that supply ran out. Even then, if Cambyses had realised, given it up and led the army back, he would have been a wise man despite the mistake made at the outset. But he took no notice and marched ever onwards. While the soldiers were still able to take something from the land, they ate grass and survived; but when they reached the sandy desert, some of them did a terrible thing: they picked one man out of every ten by lot and ate him. When Cambyses realised this, he was frightened by the cannibalism, and turned back from the Ethiopian expedition. By the time he got back to Thebes, many of the army had perished. From Thebes he went to Memphis and had the Greeks sail away.

(26) So that is how the Ethiopian expedition went. Those who had been sent to fight against the Ammonians, set out from Thebes and travelled with guides. They were seen to reach Oasis City, in which Samians from the so-called Aeschrionian tribe live. They are seven days' journey from Thebes through the desert and this place is called in Greek the Isle of the Blessed. They say that the army arrived here; and after that, nobody can say anything about them, except the Ammonians and those who have heard their story. Because they never got to the Ammonians, nor did they return home! The Ammonians tell this tale about them: when they set out from Oasis to cross the desert, and had got to the halfway point

between them and Oasis, a terrific south wind started to blow suddenly while they were breakfasting, bringing with it piles of sand and buried them, and that is how they vanished. That is what the Ammonians say happened to this army.

(ii) Cambyes reaches Meroë

Strabo XVII, 1.5.

Moreover, when Cambyes conquered Egypt, he advanced with the Egyptians as far as Meroë;¹¹ in fact, it is said, the name was given by him to both the island¹² and the city, because his sister, Meroë (his wife according to some),¹³ died there.

(iii) Cambyes introduces Nubian fruit-trees to Egypt

Diodorus Siculus I, 34.7.

There are also (sc. in Egypt) many kinds of trees, of which that called *persea*, which was introduced from Ethiopia by the Persians when Cambyes conquered these regions, has an unusually sweet fruit (. . .).

Notes

1. Both the campaigns (Nubia and Siwa oasis), described by Herodotus, form part of his portrayal of Cambyes as increasingly insane (see **4, Section F**). The aims of both fit perfectly with the policy of the earlier Saïtes, who worked to establish control of the western oases and were repeatedly in conflict with the Napatan kings of Nubia. Moreover, evidence from the Kharga oasis in the reign of Darius I (Cruz-Uribe 1988; 2005), and a re-examination of the archaeological remains at Dorginarti in the area of the Second Cataract (Heidorn 1991; cf. Morkot 1991), show that the Persians were successful in imposing their control in both areas; note also **4, no.10(ii) & (iii)**, both of which associate Cambyes with a successful campaign into Nubia. This contradicts Herodotus' bleak picture of Cambyes' setbacks, which has been shaped by later history and the narrative techniques demanded by his story; for an analysis of this 'Herodotean processing', see Lloyd 1988a.
2. The expedition against Carthage was aborted because of the refusal of the Phoenicians to fight their kin, according to Hdt. III, 19; whether it was ever a historical reality is doubtful.
3. This is the southern oasis of Siwa, where there was an important temple of the Egyptian god, Amun-Re. For further discussion of Cambyes' campaign, see Leclant 1930; cf. generally on Siwa, Aufrère, Govin and Goyon 1994: 143–66.
4. Herodotus' (and other classical writers') 'Ethiopia' is Nubia, the territory south of Aswan, today divided between Egypt and Sudan. It is large and diverse, occupied by a host of peoples speaking a variety of languages and with different modes of life. In the sixth century, Upper Nubia (roughly Third to Sixth Cataracts) was included in the substantial kingdom of Kush, ruled by kings centred on the city of Napata. At the turn of the eighth to seventh centuries, they had been powerful enough to impose their control over the whole of Egypt. After they lost power in Egypt, the territory of Lower Nubia (First to Second Cataracts) was disputed between the Saïtes and Napatans. Nubia was famous for its great mineral resources, especially gold. Its perceived remoteness and fabled wealth led to it playing the role of a mythical land in Greek ideas of the world. Herodotus mentions various Nubian groups in a rather confused fashion, and seems to place the 'long-lived' Nubians (Gr. *makrobioi*) on the earth's southernmost rim. See further, Tuplin 1991: 261–4.
5. At III, 19.1, Herodotus described the Fisheaters as people who knew the Nubian language and could, therefore, be sent to the 'Ethiopian' kingdom as spies.

6. Elephantine is an island in the Nile opposite the modern city of Aswan, in the area of the Nile's First Cataract. It was traditionally Egypt's southern frontier.
7. This is frequently translated as 'a jar of Phoenician wine', but Herodotus is simply using an Aramaic/Phoenician loanword for the container (*kados*), not describing the wine (see **14, no.10**, n.14).
8. On the Greek concept of guest-friendship (*xenia*) and the mutual obligations it entailed, see Herman 1987.
9. The ability to draw a mighty bow was associated with concepts of perfect kingship in Egypt, see, e.g., the hymn in praise of Sesostri I in 'The Story of Sinuhe', Parkinson 1997: 30 (B60); cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980.
10. The important southern capital of Thebes, one of the chief centres of the cult of Amun-Re, served as the headquarters for Cambyses' expeditions to Siwa and Nubia. Strabo (XVII, 1.46) and Diodorus (I, 46.4; 49.5), in an elaboration of Herodotus' hostile picture of Cambyses, attribute extensive pillaging of Thebes to Cambyses, cf. Briant 1996a: 66 [2002b: 56].
11. Meroë is located on the Nile, between the Fifth and Sixth cataracts, in modern Sudan. It was an important centre of the Napatan kingdom, and became the dominant one in the period between c.270 BC and AD 320. The region in which it lies has important resources of gold, precious stones, copper and iron (see further, Welsby 1996).
12. The region of Meroë is called the 'Island of Meroë' because it is surrounded on three sides by the Nile.
13. D.S. I, 33, referring to the same tradition, says that Meroë was Cambyses' mother.

D. Cambyses' conquest of Egypt: the Egyptian evidence

11. The autobiography of Udjahorresne(t)

Egyptian hieroglyphic text inscribed on the statue of Udjahorresne(t), Sais: Vatican Museum no.158. Posener 1936, no.1 (**fig.4.2**).¹

Translations: Otto 1954: 169–73, no.30; TUAT I/6: 603–8; Lichtheim 1980: 36–41; Lloyd 1982a; Brosius 2000, nos.20 & 54.

- (a) An offering for the dead which Osiris of Hemag² brings: thousands of loaves of bread, beer, bulls, poultry and all good, pure things for the *kā* of the chief physician³ Udjahorresne(t), honoured by the gods of Sais.

An offering for the dead which Osiris, who is in front of the 'Palace',⁴ brings: an offering of bread, beer, bulls, poultry, robes, incense, ointment and all good things for the *kā* of the chief physician, Udjahorresne(t), honoured by all the gods.

Oh Osiris, Lord of Eternity! The chief physician, Udjahorresne(t), has placed his arms protectively around you.⁵ May your *kā* command that everything useful be done for him, as he protects your chapel forever!

- (b) The one honoured by Neith-the-Great,⁶ the mother of god, and by the gods of Sais, the prince, count, royal seal bearer, sole companion, true beloved, King's friend, the scribe, inspector of council scribes, chief scribe of the great outer hall, administrator of the palace, overseer of the royal *kbnwt* vessels⁷ under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khnemibre (Amasis), overseer of the royal *kbnwt* vessels under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ankhare (Psammetichus III), Udjahorresne(t); engendered by the administrator of the chapels (of the red crown), chief-of-Pe priest, *mp*-priest, priest of the Horus Eye, prophet of Neith who presides over the nome of Sais, Peftuaneith; he says:

- (c) The Great Chief of all foreign lands,⁸ Cambyses came to Egypt, the foreign peoples of every foreign land being with him.⁹ He gained majesty of this land in its entirety. They established themselves in it, and he was Great Ruler of Egypt and Great Chief of all foreign lands.

His majesty assigned to me the office of chief physician. He made me live at his side as 'friend'¹⁰ and 'administrator of the palace'. I composed his titulary in his name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesutire ('offspring of Re').¹¹

- (d) I caused his majesty to recognise the greatness of Sais, that it is the seat of Neith-the-Great, the mother who bore Re and inaugurated birth when birth had not yet been; and the nature of the greatness of the temple of Neith, that it is heaven in its every aspect; and the nature of the greatness of the chapels of Neith, and of all the gods and goddesses who are there; and the nature of the greatness of the 'Palace', that it is the seat of the Sovereign, the Lord of Heaven; and the nature of the greatness of the Resenet and Mehenet sanctuaries;¹² and of the House of Re and the House of Atum, the mystery of the gods.

- (e) Honoured by his city-god and all the gods (followed by all the titles in section (b), above), Udjahorresne(t), born of Atumirdais;¹³ he says:

I asked the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Cambyses, on account of all the foreigners who had set themselves down in the temple of Neith, that they should be expelled therefrom in order to cause that the temple of Neith should be once more in all its splendour as it had been earlier. Then his majesty commanded to expel all the foreigners who dwelt in the temple of Neith, to tear down their houses and their entire refuse which was in the temple. Then they brought (all their things) themselves outside the wall of this temple. His majesty commanded to purify the temple of Neith and to restore to it all its people [. . .] and the hourly-priests of the temple. His majesty commanded that offerings should be given to Neith, the great one, the mother of god, and to the great gods who are in Sais, as it was earlier in it. His majesty commanded that all her festivals should be organised and her feasts of manifestation, as was done earlier. This did his majesty do because I caused his majesty to recognise the importance of Sais. It is the city of all gods, who shall remain therein upon their thrones for ever.

- (f) The one honoured by the gods of Sais, the chief physician, Udjahorresne(t); he says:

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt came to Sais. His majesty betook himself to the temple of Neith. He touched the ground before her very great majesty as every king had done. He organised a great feast of all good things for Neith, the great one, the mother of god, and the great gods who are in Sais, as every excellent king had done. This his majesty did because I had caused him to know the importance of her majesty; for she is the mother of Re himself.

- (g) The one honoured by Osiris of Hemag, the chief physician, Udjahorresne(t); he says:

His majesty completed all that is useful in the temple of Neith. He established the libation for the Lord of Eternity in the temple of Neith as every king did earlier. That did his majesty do, because I had caused him to recognise how everything useful had been

fulfilled in this temple by every king, because of the importance of this temple; for it is the place of all the gods, who live eternally.

- (h) The one honoured by the gods of Sais, the chief physician, Udjahorresne(t); he says:
 I established the divine offering of Neith, the great one, the mother of god, on the command of his majesty, for the duration of eternity. I erected the monuments for Neith, the mistress of Sais, with all good things, as an excellent servant does for his lord. I was an orderly man in his city. I saved its people from the very great disaster, which befell in the entire land.¹⁴ There was not its like in this land. I protected the weak from the strong. I saved the fearful on the day of his misfortune. I did for them everything useful, when the time came to do it.

- (i) The one honoured by his city-god, the chief physician, Udjahorresne(t); he says:
 I was one honoured of his father, one praised of his mother, beloved of his brothers. I made for them the office of prophet. I gave them good fields at the command of his majesty for the duration of eternity. I prepared a beauteous burial for him who had none. I maintained all their children in livelihood. I caused all their houses to endure. I did for them everything useful as a father does for his son, when the disaster befell in this nome, at the time of the very great disaster which fell out in this entire land.

- (j) Count and Duke, sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend, prophet, who lives amongst them, chief physician, Udjahorresne(t), born of Atumirdais; he says:
 The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Darius (may he live eternally) commanded me to journey to Egypt, when his majesty was in Elam¹⁵ and when he was great king of all foreign lands and great ruler of Egypt, in order to set to rights the office of the House of Life¹⁶ [. . .] and of the physicians, after it had collapsed. The foreigners brought me from land to land and caused me to come safely to Egypt at the command of the Lord of the Two Lands.¹⁷ I carried out the command of his majesty. I furnished them with their personnel, each the son of a (notable) man; the son of a wretch was not among them. I placed a scholar at their head [. . .] for all their work. His majesty ordered that they be given all good things, so that they could carry out their work. I equipped them with all that was useful, supplied all their needs, as it was written, just as it was earlier. His majesty did this because he knew the usefulness of this art, for preserving the life of all the sick, for preserving the names of all the gods and their temples, their offerings and their rituals forever.

- (k) The chief physician, Udjahorresne(t); he says:
 I was a learned man for all lords; my character was judged good by them. They gave me golden ornaments;¹⁸ they did everything needful for me.

- (l) Learned in Neith is he who will say: Oh you great gods, who are in Sais! Remember all the useful things the chief physician, Udjahorresne(t), did! May you do all that is needful for him! May you let his name endure in this land for ever!

Notes

1. The inscribed statue shows the deceased holding a small shrine (Gr. *naos*) containing a figure of Osiris, the Egyptian lord of the dead. This type of Egyptian statue is hence called 'naophorous' (**fig.4.2**). It was set up at Sais, the Dynastic centre in the Western Delta of the Dynasty XXVI kings of Egypt. It commemorates the life of the courtier, naval commander, scholar and priest, Udjahorresne(t). He served under the last two kings of Dynasty XXVI, Amasis (570–526) and Psammetichus III (526–525). He witnessed the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 526/5 and the Persian occupation of the country (sections (c)–(g)) and was at Darius I's court (section (j)). The text contains prime evidence for the mechanisms deployed by the Persian conquerors to make their rule of Egypt acceptable and legitimate, as well as illustrating how some of the local élites accommodated to Persian control. The tomb of Udjahorresne(t) was excavated recently at Abusir (Bareš 1992; 1999). It is possible that another naophorous statue of Udjahorresne(t), bearing an almost identical text, now lost, existed, cf. Posener 1936: 26–9 (no.2); see Bareš 1999: 38 for other sources on Udjahorresne(t). Interestingly, Udjahorresne(t) was venerated in the Memphite area in the late fourth century, almost certainly in the reign of Artaxerxes III, cf. Anthes 1965: 98–100, no.38; Bresciani 1985; Burkard 1994; **9, no.78(ii)**. For some recent discussions of the statue and text, see Lloyd 1982a; Holm-Rasmussen 1988; Baines 1996.
2. A special form of Osiris, the Egyptian god of the realm of the dead.
3. A title held by the high-priests of Bubastis in the Delta. The *ka* (cf. also **fig.4.3**) was thought to be a potent aspect of the person, to which offerings were made after death.
4. A sanctuary in Sais.
5. The reference is to the pose of the statue, see above n.1 and **fig.4.2**.
6. The chief deity of Sais.
7. The royal *kbwt* vessels have usually been understood as specifying the ships making up the Egyptian war fleet, a view challenged by Darnell (1992), who argues that the term was used for any kind of sea-going ship.
8. Eg. wr '3 n *h3st nb*(t) is a traditional Egyptian way of describing foreign rulers.
9. A reference to the contingents drawn from subjects; cf. **4, nos.1, 7(iii), 8, 10** for Greek contingents, including ships, from the Aegean coast and islands, and **4, nos.7(iv) & 10** for the presence of Phoenician sailors and Cypriots in the Persian forces.
10. Eg. *smr*, an honorary court-rank.
11. All Egyptian kings had ceremonial names in addition to their personal ones, indicating their close relationship to the Egyptian gods. The procedure shows Cambyses joining the long line of recognised, legitimate Egyptian rulers.
12. Sanctuaries in Sais.
13. Udjahorresne(t)'s mother. Egyptians often identify themselves through their mother in funerary and magical/medical texts.
14. The very great disaster Udjahorresne(t) refers to here, and in the following section (i), is usually taken to be a reference to the Persian invasion, cf. Posener 1936: 169. But it should be noted that the phrase occurs in the recital of conventional pious acts and civic virtues normally evoked in commemorative autobiographies of this type, so that it may be wrong to assign it a specific meaning. However, Lloyd (1982a: 176–8) argues that the term used of the disaster, *nšn*, has a core meaning of 'destructive power', which points to the fact that initially Cambyses was a hostile foreigner ('Great Chief of every foreign land'), hence a creator of chaos, who was transfigured by his performance of traditional royal rituals and worship of gods into a legitimate and worthy Egyptian king. If this subtle interpretation is accepted, then Udjahorresne(t)'s reference here is to his personal role in enabling Cambyses to achieve the transformation from demonic threat to beneficent ruler.
15. This may refer to Udjahorresnet's presence in Susa, technically in Elam, which would suggest that Darius was using Susa as a royal residence by the time Udjahorresne(t) returned to Egypt – although there is, of course, no exact date for this; possibly 519, see Posener 1936: 175–6; Briant 1993b, n.7. Another possibility is that the term is used more generally to designate 'Persia'. For Darius' building at Susa, see **11, nos.12–13**.
16. This term describes all the learning, study, copying and teaching of the corpus of ancient



Figure 4.2 Hard green stone naophorous statue of Udjahorresne(t), 0.70 m high, now in the Vatican. It is thought to have formed part of the Roman emperor Hadrian's Egyptian collection at his villa in Tivoli. The autobiographical inscription (4, no.11) covers the whole figure. Note the Persian-style bracelets on the figure's wrists (left arm restored). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

knowledge and wisdom, activities connected to Egyptian temples and cults; whether it was actually located in a specific 'house' is uncertain (Gardiner 1938; Wilson 1997: xviii–xxxiii). Udjahorresne(t)'s position in the House of Life was that of scholarly expert in religion and science (including medicine); cf. further, Holm-Rasmussen 1988: 37.

17. It is possible that this refers to the Persian system of travel, whereby local officials were authorised to issue provisions to travellers bearing special, sealed permits (see **15, nos. 1, 4**). But note that a similar phrase appears in the Egyptian 'Story of Sinuhe' (see Parkinson 1997: 35, B186 for translation) from the Middle Kingdom (c.2040–c.1730); even closer is King Pepy II's letter to Harkhuuf (c.2180), who was coming from Nubia to Memphis, which refers to the issue of royal orders that all supervisors of depots and town chiefs supply him on his journey (see Kuhrt 1995a: 137–8, for a translation with references). It is, indeed, very likely that a similar system of provisioning for official travel existed in Egypt from early on.
18. The wrists on Udjahorresne(t)'s statue are decorated with fine Persian-style bracelets (**fig. 4.2**); for the bestowal of gold ornaments by the Persian king as marks of royal favour, see **13, nos. 21–2**.

12. Epitaph of Apis bull¹ from Cambyses' sixth year

Egyptian hieroglyphic stela, Serapaeum, Saqqara. Posener 1936, no.3 & pl.II (**fig. 4.3**).

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.21 & fig 3.

Year 6,² 3rd month of Harvest,³ day 10(?), of his majesty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Mesu]tire – may he live forever – the god was taken peacefully to the West⁴ and was placed at rest in the necropolis, in] his [place], which is the place prepared for him by his majesty, [after] all [the ceremonies] of the embalming room [had been carried out for him.] [Offerings] were made for him, clothing, [his amulets and all his gold ornaments] and every kind of semiprecious stone . . . temple of Ptah, which is inside the Hemag⁵ . . . towards Memphis saying: 'Take . . .' All was done in accordance with the words of his majesty . . . in year 27⁶ . . . [Camby]ses – may he live . . .

Notes

1. The Apis bull was regarded by the Egyptians as a physical manifestation of the god Ptah of Memphis (one of the god's *bas*, a divine emanation or power). Because Ptah was an important creator deity and linked to Egypt's age-old royal capital, Memphis, the Apis cult was closely connected with the king. It is attested in the very earliest phases of Egyptian history, but became particularly prominent in the Late and Ptolemaic periods. It is from that time that the Serapaeum at Saqqara dates, where the mummified Apis bulls were ceremonially buried after death. Because of the links of the Apis with kingship, the Egyptian ruler played a prominent role in selecting the right animal, providing for it and organising its burial. Each dead Apis was commemorated with a stela and, of course, an inscribed sarcophagus. Many of these have survived, among them this one provided by Cambyses, showing that Herodotus' story (**4, no. 18**) of Cambyses' mockery of the cult cannot be taken entirely at face value (but see Devauchelle 1998 and below, n.2). For a fine description of the elaborate obsequies conducted for the Apis bull, see Thompson 1988.
2. The date is generally thought to be in accordance with Cambyses' regnal years in Persia, from his accession in 530, not from his conquest of Egypt; so the stela dates to 524. For Egyptian dating of Achaemenid kings, see Depuydt 1995a. Recently, Devauchelle (1998) has put forward the hypothesis that Cambyses' first year in Egypt was 525, and that the Egyptian administration continued to date documents according to Cambyses for four years after his death (down to 518), because of the confusion created by Bardiya's revolt, Darius' accession and the massive revolts against him (see **Chapter 5**). Cambyses' 6th year would then be 520, so that the stela would not reflect his personal involvement in the Apis cult.

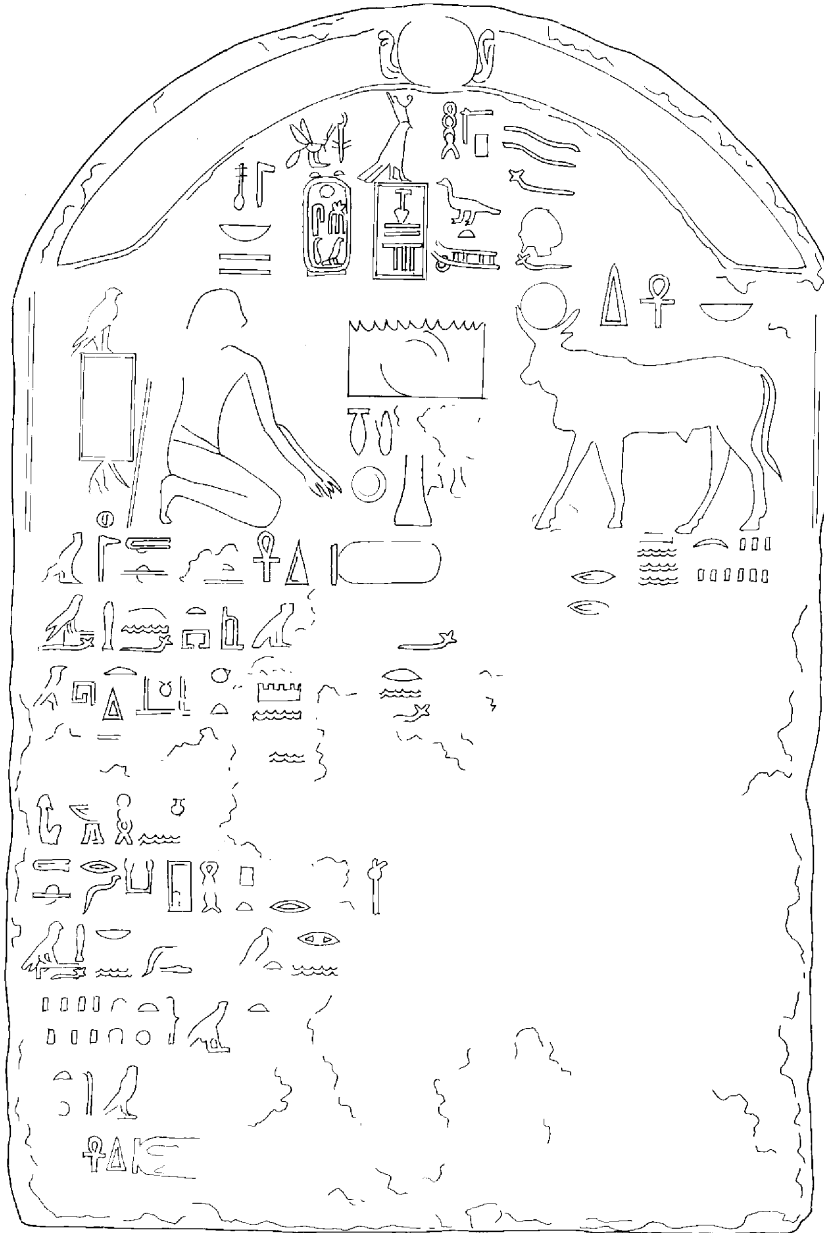


Figure 4.3 Limestone stela (0.66 m high) from the Serapaeum in Memphis, commemorating Cambyzes' burial of the sacred Apis bull in his sixth regnal year (see **4, no.12**); now in the Louvre, Paris. At the top of the stela is a winged sun-disc with cobras; below it, an offering table. To the right of the table, the Apis bull is depicted, with a solar disc and uraeus between his horns; above him, the caption: 'Apis-Atum, who has horns on his head, may he grant all life.' To the left, Cambyzes (depicted in standard Egyptian royal form) kneels; above him, the caption: 'Horus Smatowy ((alt. Somtu) 'Uniter of the two lands'), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesutire ('Offspring of Re', cf. **4, no.11(c)**), the perfect god, lord of the two lands (= Cambyzes' Egyptian names and titles).' Behind him, his ka bears his Horus name. Below is the text, partly destroyed. See **4 no.12**. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

3. The Egyptian year was divided into three seasons dictated by the annual flooding of the Nile; in this period (and using the conventional translation), they are 'cultivation' (January–April); 'harvest' (May–August); 'inundation' (September–December); cf. **Table 4(b)**. So the burial took place around July 524 (according to the conventional view).
4. The west was associated by the Egyptians with the realm of the dead.
5. See **4, no.11**, n.2.
6. This almost certainly refers to the date of the birth of the Apis bull in year 27 of Amasis, i.e. 543.

13. Cambyses' inscription on the Apis sarcophagus

Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription on granite sarcophagus, Serapaeum, Saqqara. Posener 1936, no.4.¹

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.22.

The Horus Smatowy,² King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesutire, son of Re, Cambyses – may he live forever! He has made a fine monument for his father Apis-Osiris with a great granite sarcophagus, dedicated by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesutire, son of Re, Cambyses – may he live forever, in perpetuity and prosperity, full of health and joy, appearing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt eternally!

Notes

1. The sarcophagus encases the mummy of the Apis buried (probably) in Cambyses' reign (**4, no.12** & n.2). The sarcophagus is large and very fine, indicating that the full obsequies for the burial of the Apis bull were performed by Cambyses. This raises a problem, because another Apis stela (Posener 1936, no.5) commemorates the death and burial in the reign of Darius I (year 4 = 518) of an Apis bull, born in Cambyses' 5th regnal year, i.e. one year before Cambyses buried his predecessor. This is unusual, as normally the Apis bulls were thought to succeed each other. Attempts to resolve this problem range from trying to harmonise it with the sacrilegious behaviour attributed to Cambyses (including murder of an Apis bull) by Herodotus (**4, no.18**) to the suggestion that the elaborate funeral ceremonies in 524 were conducted for the Apis bull who had died in 525 at the very moment of the Persian conquest. In the resulting confusion, the burial was delayed, see Posener 1936: 172–5; but cf. the discussions by Devauchelle (1995a) and Depuydt (1995b), both arguing for a Cambyses more in keeping with Herodotus' image. See also Briant (1996a: 916 [2002b: 887–8]), who suggests the possibility of two stages and/or aspects of Persian policy in Egypt, i.e. initial repression, followed by mutual accommodation and/or different attitudes evinced in relation to different temples depending on individual responses. (For a presentation of all the inscriptions of the Serapaeum stelae in the Louvre, see Devauchelle 1994b.)
2. I.e. Cambyses' Horus name, 'Uniter of the Two Lands (= Upper and Lower Egypt)'.

14. Regulations on the verso of the Demotic Chronicle

Demotic papyrus, Egypt: Bibliothèque Nationale 215. Spiegelberg 1914.¹

Translations: Devauchelle 1995a; Brosius 2000, nos.24 & 55.

- (a) Regulations for ill priests
(column B, the first on the verso, almost totally destroyed.)
(C, 1–5) If a *wab*-priest² engaged in the cult of the gods falls ill, it is then not appropriate that he should continue his work. He must not be allowed to continue. One should act

in accordance with the regulations given. If he is ill and wants something to drink or eat to be prepared for him, a *wab*-priest in a state of purity may not do it. He must not be allowed to go to his work. If a treatment for his illness is made for him, a *wab*-priest engaged in the cult must not do it [. . .]. He must not be allowed to go to his work. If he abandons his priestly (work), a *wab*-priest of the temple may not be requisitioned [in his stead because of that]. He must not be allowed to go to his work.

(b) Order of Darius I

(C, 6–16) The matters that occurred following what was written in the book of decrees from Year 44 of the Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health³ – Amasis – life, prosperity, health –, until Cambyses was in command of Egypt; he died . . . (?) before regaining his country.⁴

Darius made [the chiefs?] of the whole earth obey him because of his greatness of heart. He wrote (to) his satrap in Egypt in Year 3, saying: 'Have them bring to me the scholars [. . .] among the soldiers, priests and scribes of Egypt [. . .]. They are to write the law of Egypt from olden days until Year 44 of Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health – Amasis – life, prosperity, health!

The law . . . [. . .] of the temples and the people, have them brought here . . . (?) a papyrus until Year 19 [. . .] Egypt. They were . . . [. . .] (in) Year 27. He wrote matters [. . .] in the manner(?) of the law of Egypt. They wrote a copy on papyrus in Assyrian writing and in documentary writing.⁵ It was completed before him. They wrote in his presence; nothing was left out.⁶

(c) Cambyses' decree concerning the incomes of Egyptian temples

(D, 1–17) The matters which are ordered with respect to the law of the sanctuaries which is in the house of justice.

Building wood, firewood, flax and shrubs, which used to be given to the sanctuaries of the gods, in the time of Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health – Amasis – life, prosperity, health –, – with the exception of the temple of Memphis, temple of *Wn-khm*⁷ and temple of Perapis⁸ . . . (?) those sanctuaries – Cambyses ordered the following: 'Do not permit that one gives them as much as (?) . . . They should be given a place in the copse of the Southern Land⁹ and it shall be permitted that building wood and firewood come from there and that they bring it to the gods!' The copse of the three sanctuaries above, Cambyses ordered this, i.e.: 'They shall receive this as before.'

The cattle, which used to be given to the sanctuaries of the gods, in the time of Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health – Amasis – life, prosperity, health –, – with the exception of the three sanctuaries above – Cambyses ordered the following: 'Their share is what they are given.'¹⁰ What was given to them, (i.e.) the three sanctuaries above, this was ordered: 'It shall continue to be given to them.'

The birds, which used to be given to the sanctuaries of the gods, in the time of Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health – Amasis – life, prosperity, health –, – with the exception of the three sanctuaries above – Cambyses ordered the following: 'They shall not be given them! The priests will obtain them (for the sanctuaries) and they will give them to the gods.'

The silver, cattle, birds, cereal (and) all the other things which used to be given to the sanctuaries of the gods, in the time of Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health – Amasis – life, prosperity, health –, – with the exception of the three sanctuaries above – Cambyses

ordered the following: 'Do not give them to the gods: the value of the goods registered at 160,532 pieces(?) . . .(?); cereal 170,210; [. . .] 6,000; or 376,400 . . .

Aromatics, firewood, shrubs(?), papyrus, building wood; copy of . . . another papyrus. Building wood; copy . . .¹¹

Notes

1. The Demotic Chronicle, as its name indicates, is a Late Period papyrus written in demotic Egyptian. Its find spot is not known, but assumed to be Memphis or Heracleopolis. It is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (no.215). The recto of the document contains (in palimpsest) a series of oracles, interpreted in relation to rulers of Egypt from Dynasty XXVIII (404–399) into the Ptolemaic period, with some allusions to the initial period of Achaemenid rule of Egypt (Dynasty XXVII = 525–400). The date of composition is unknown: the palaeography indicates the later half of the third century, as do references to Macedonian rule. The text seems to be a kind of treatise on good kingship (Johnson 1974; 1984), and expresses some sentiments hostile to the Persians (cf. Devauchelle 1994a: 18–19; 1995a: 73; see **9, nos.60; 65; 79**). It is possible that several, originally disparate, oracles (hence, of different dates) have been arranged together to yield a coherent treatment of the subject. It is important to be clear on these points in order to try to evaluate the material on the verso of the text, which includes decrees of Cambyses and Darius I (b and c, here). Several aspects should be noted: (1) Presumably, the texts on the back of the papyrus must be later than the main text on the front. How much later is not known, but clearly they cannot predate the second half of the third century. (2) The handwriting on the back is different from that on the front, and may reflect three different hands. However, the text now regarded as the last one of the back (Spiegelberg's col. 'a', cf. Devauchelle 1995a: 74) seems to be in the same hand as the front. So the verso is probably close in date to the recto. (3) The decrees of Cambyses and Darius I seem to be linked (palaeographically and contextually) to a preceding set of regulations concerning the conduct of *wab*-priests, who have fallen ill (see section a, here). That implies that the royal decrees may similarly have been of particular concern to priestly, i.e. temple, matters, rather than being concerned with Persian government in Egypt in general (although, note Darius' edict, which seems to have wider application). A final important observation is that the text is very hard to read and understand; in particular, the implications for understanding Cambyses' actions in relation to Egyptian temples remain uncertain (cf. Bresciani 1983; 1989: 31–2).
2. 'Pure', see **9, no.78**, n.2.
3. Sometimes abbreviated in translations to 'lph', the regular good wishes accompanying the naming of the king.
4. This sentence is very unclear, and almost impossible to make sense of. Bresciani (1981b: 217–18) proposed a translation, according to which Cambyses was punished by the gods, for his sacrileges in Egypt, with death and failure to regain his own country. Examination of the text (with the help of Professor John Tait, UCL) shows that the only certain phrase is 'regain his country'; everything else is obscure. Deriving Egyptian sentiments about Cambyses from this is hazardous, although the subsequent sentence, favourable to Darius, could imply that he was contrasted with the preceding ruler.
5. 'Assyrian writing' is Aramaic; 'documentary' is demotic Egyptian.
6. Note the hellenistic tradition making Darius a significant Egyptian law-giver (**17, no.25**), cf. Redford 2001. For discussion of the precise meaning of Darius' act of collecting Egypt's laws, see Briant 1996a: 490, 972–3 [2002b: 510–11, 956–7]; for its possible relationship to later demotic 'lawcodes', cf. Bresciani 1981a; Allam 1993.
7. Possibly Letopolis, see Bresciani 1983; 1989: 32.
8. Bresciani (1983; 1989: 32) suggests Nilopolis here; Perapis is the rendering of Devauchelle 1995a: 75.
9. I.e. Upper Egypt.
10. It is possible that this means they are to receive half of their earlier income, cf. Bresciani 1989: 32.
11. The precise implications of Cambyses' orders about temple incomes are unclear. For some items, alternative sources for provision are specified, while the quantities of others are restricted. What

the impact of this would have been, whether it could explain the hostility towards Cambyses reflected in Herodotus' horror stories about his behaviour in Egypt (see **4, nos.17–19**), remains uncertain. For attractive arguments in favour of a positive evaluation of Cambyses' measures, see the article in preparation by D. Agut-Labordère (*Transeuphratène*) (forthcoming).

15. Seal from the Egyptian administration under Cambyses

Stamp seal inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs: Collection Golénischeff, no.992 (I.1a 4431). Hodjache and Berlev 1977.¹

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.19.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt,² Cambyses,³ beloved of Wadjet,⁴ Queen of Imet,⁵ Great Eye of the Sun,⁶ Queen of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods,⁷ to whom is given life as to the sun.⁸

Notes

1. The stamp seal is a prism of calcareous clay. The hieroglyphic inscription, picked out in black ink, is cut into the base. It is part of the Golénischeff Collection now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow.
2. The sky symbol above the title indicates that Cambyses, as Pharaoh of Egypt, is being identified with the Sun God.
3. There are traces indicating that Cambyses' name has been cut over an erasure. This suggests that the seal had previously been used by an official of Amasis and/or Psammetichus III, who continued to function under Cambyses.
4. Cobra goddess of the city of Buto in the Western Delta, and one of the two traditional guardians of the Egyptian king.
5. Imet was the ancient capital of the Lower Prince nome in the Eastern Delta, the modern site of Tell Fara'un. Its importance waned with the development of the large royal cities of Pi-Ramesse and Tanis (in the thirteenth and eleventh centuries respectively), but it retained a legendary importance and was regarded as a source of fine wine (cf. Kees 1961: 16).
6. An epithet applied to several female deities.
7. The gods here are visualised as the stars over whom the sun reigns.
8. A seal-impression on a clay bulla (traces of the string which had attached it to a document still visible) has a virtually identical inscription, although its disposition shows that it was not made by this seal (Coll. Golénischeff, no.993 (I.1a. 4006)). The impression is illustrated, alongside it, in Hodjache and Berlev 1977: 38.

E. The north-western frontier in Cambyses' reign

16. The Persians curtail the power of Samos

Herodotus III, 120–5.¹

This is what happened around the time Cambyses fell ill.² Cyrus had appointed as governor³ of Sardis Oroites, a Persian. This man wanted to do a dreadful thing. He had been neither harmed nor insulted by Polycrates of Samos – he had not even seen him – but he longed to take and destroy him. This, as most say, was the reason: Oroites was sitting at the king's gate with another Persian, called Mitrobates, who governed in Dascylium.⁴ From talking they fell to taunting each other and arguing about their respective merits, when Mitrobates accused Oroites: 'Well, you don't belong on the list of real men! You have not added the island of Samos to the king, although it lies close to your province. And it was so easy to conquer, that

a local man with fifteen soldiers rose and took it and is now its master.⁵ They say that, when Oroites heard this, he was stung by the taunt and resolved not so much to take revenge on the one who had uttered it, as to achieve the total destruction of Polycrates, who was the cause of him having to listen to insults.

(121) Rather fewer people say that Oroites sent a herald to Samos demanding something (we are not told what), and that Polycrates happened to be lying in the dining room, and Anacreon of Teos was with him.⁶ Now either he deliberately ignored Oroites' business, or it just happened like that. In any case, Oroites' herald came forward and addressed him, but Polycrates (who happened to be lying with his face to the wall) neither turned round nor answered.

(122) Two reasons are given for Polycrates' death, and you may believe whichever you like. When Oroites had taken up residence in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander,⁷ he sent Myrsus, the son of Gyges, a Lydian,⁸ to Samos with a message, because he had learnt Polycrates' plan. Because Polycrates was the first of the Greeks we know of, who made plans to gain control of the sea, except for Minos of Knossos and others who may have ruled the sea before him. Among ordinary mortals, Polycrates was the first, and he had high hopes of controlling Ionia and the islands. So when Oroites discovered this, he sent a message with these words: 'Oroites says this to Polycrates. I understand that you are planning great things, but that you lack adequate funds. Now do what I suggest, and you will gain what you need and save me, too. King Cambyses wants me dead – on this I am reliably informed. So take me away and my money; you can have some of it, and I shall keep the rest. With the money you can rule all of Greece. If you distrust me on the matter of the money, send someone you trust implicitly and I will show it to him.'

(123) Polycrates was delighted when he heard this, and willing to do it. He really was very fond of money, and he sent first, to investigate, Maeandrius, the son of Maeandrius, a fellow citizen, who was his secretary. This was the person who, a little later, dedicated all the fine items (they were remarkable) from Polycrates' dining room in the Heraeum.⁹ And this is what Oroites did, when he learnt that the spy was expected. He filled eight chests with stones, except for a small bit near the rim; he put gold on top of the stones, tied up the chests and had them ready. So Maeandrius came, looked at them and told Polycrates, (124) who then set out himself, although many prophecies warned against it and many of his friends urged him not to. Even his daughter had this vision as she slept: her father seemed to be up in the air, being washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun. When she had had this vision, she did everything so that Polycrates should not leave to go to Oroites. Even when he was already boarding the penteconter, she was still uttering words of ill omen. But he threatened her that, once back safe and sound, she would remain an unmarried girl for a very long time. But she prayed that this might really happen. She would rather remain unmarried for a long time, than be deprived of her father.

(125) Polycrates took no notice of all the advice and sailed to Oroites, taking many other companions with him. One of them was Democedes, son of Calliphon, a man from Croton; he was a doctor, the best in his profession at that time.¹⁰ Polycrates arrived in Magnesia and died a miserable death, unworthy of himself and his great plans. Because, apart from the tyrants of Syracuse, none of the other Greek tyrants is worthy of comparison with Polycrates for magnificence. Oroites killed him in a manner not fit to relate and then crucified him. Those of his retinue who were Samians, he dismissed, telling them to be grateful to him for their freedom; the foreigners and slaves who had come with Polycrates, he counted as slaves. Polycrates, then, hung there and fulfilled his daughter's vision: whenever it rained, he was

washed by Zeus, and he was anointed by the sun, as he gave up the moisture from his body. That is how Polycrates' many successes ended.

Notes

1. Although Polycrates acted as a Persian ally in sending troops and ships to support Cambyses' invasion of Egypt (see **4, no.7(iii)**), his dominance in the Aegean posed a threat to Persian control of western Asia Minor: he had plans to extend his power (see section 122, in this passage) and he provided a refuge for Lydian nobles disaffected with Persian rule (D.S. X, 16.4). Oroites' action to curb this threat illustrates the role Persian satraps played in maintaining and consolidating Persia's grip on the conquered territories.
2. The date is imprecise, but certainly implies that it occurred before Cambyses' death.
3. Herodotus uses the Greek term *hyparchos* here.
4. Dascylium became the satrapal centre of Hellespontine Phrygia some time in the reign of Xerxes (**7, no.81**); its precise status within the evolving provincial system at this point is not certain.
5. This refers to Polycrates' seizure of power, described by Herodotus at III, 39.
6. The *andron* was the main reception room in Greek houses, where men usually gathered to dine, drink, converse and be entertained; see S. Walker 1983; Jameson 1990. Herodotus' mention of the lyric poet Anacreon here may relate to the widespread idea that he had lived at Polycrates' court, although none of the surviving fragments of his poetry refers to Samos.
7. This implies that Magnesia was a satrapal residence, additional to Sardis. Note the Anacreon fragment (D. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, 348), which seems to praise Magnesia, even perhaps its Persian rulers.
8. The name suggests kinship with the former Lydian royal family, whose founder was Gyges (cf. Hdt. I, 7–15).
9. The sanctuary of Hera on Samos.
10. The tale of Democedes of Croton at Darius' court, and his eventual escape, is recounted at Hdt. III, 129–37. For analysis of the story-pattern, see Griffiths 1987 (cf. **13, no.38**).

F. Cambyses' reputation

(a) Offences against Egyptian traditions and cults

17. The maltreatment of Amasis' mummy

Herodotus III, 16.

Cambyses left Memphis and went to the city of Sais, in order to do what he did. As soon as he had entered Amasis' palace, he ordered Amasis' corpse to be taken out of its grave. When that had been done, he ordered his men to whip it, pull its hair out and stab it, and generally to insult it in various ways.¹ After they were exhausted from doing this (because the corpse had been embalmed it held out and did not break), Cambyses commanded them to burn it. This was a sacrilegious order, because the Persians think fire is a god.² In fact burning corpses is contrary to the practice of both peoples – for the Persians, because of what I said (they say it is quite wrong to give a man's corpse to a god); for the Egyptians, because they think fire is a living beast, which devours everything it seizes, and dies along with its prey when sated with its food. It is not their custom to give a dead body to beasts, which is why they embalm it, so that it will not lie around to be eaten by worms. So what Cambyses ordered to be done was against the customs of both peoples. The way the Egyptians tell the story, it was not Amasis who suffered in this way, but another Egyptian of about the same age, and when the Persians were insulting him they thought they were doing it to Amasis.

They say that Amasis knew from a prophecy what would happen after his death, and to prevent what was coming he buried the dead man, who was later whipped, at the doors in his own tomb; and he ordered his son to place him in the tomb's innermost recess. Now I do not believe that these orders of Amasis, about his burial and the other man, were ever given – the Egyptians just want to glorify him.³

Notes

1. For a discussion of the symbolic humiliation represented by the plucking out of hair and flogging of a corpse, see Stolper 1997: 347–50 (this incident: 348–9).
2. Note that Herodotus did not remark on Cyrus' order to burn Croesus (**3, no.16**) as sacrilegious. The portrayal of Cambyses here fits with Herodotus' presentation of Cambyses' growing insanity.
3. The picture Herodotus presents of a public ritual of abuse and the fact that some Egyptians seem to have tried to argue that it was not Amasis' body which was destroyed, suggests that it was part of a calculated attempt to blacken Amasis' name as a usurper and cast Cambyses in the role of restorer of legitimate Egyptian kingship (cf. some of the stories about Cambyses' reasons for invading Egypt, **4, nos.3; 4; 6**). A study of crime and capital punishment in Egypt has shown clearly that from early on, and continuing into the Saite period, burning a corpse branded the dead person as a criminal at the terrestrial and divine level. His identity was effectively wiped out and he joined the ranks of the enemies of Re (Willem 1990, esp.37–8). Cambyses' burning of Amasis' mummy should almost certainly be understood in this context. For a comparison of some features of this Cambyses story (and others) with Herodotus' picture of the Spartan king Cleomenes, see Griffiths 1989: 70–2.

18. The affair of the Apis bull

Herodotus III, 27–9.

When Cambyses got to Memphis, Apis,¹ called Epaphos by the Greeks, appeared among the Egyptians. As soon as he appeared, the Egyptians put on their best clothes and started celebrating. When Cambyses saw the Egyptians behaving like this, he was quite convinced that they were revelling in his misfortunes.² So he called for the men in charge of Memphis. When they had come into his presence, he asked them why the Egyptians had not done anything like this when he had been in Memphis previously, but only now when he had lost most of his army. They explained how the god only appeared at rare intervals, but that when he did appear, all Egyptians rejoiced and feasted. When Cambyses heard this, he called them liars and had them put to death for lying.

(28) So he executed them and then called the priests to him. When they told him the same story, he said: 'How is it that some kind of tame god came to the Egyptians without my noticing it?' With those words, he ordered the priests to bring the Apis. They went to get him. This Apis-Epaphos is born as a calf from a cow, which can no longer conceive. The Egyptians say that a bolt of lightning strikes the cow and the Apis is born from that. The calf known as the Apis has these marks: he is black with a white triangle on the forehead and something resembling an eagle on his back, double hairs on the tail and a knot under the tongue.

(29) When the priests brought the Apis, Cambyses, now half insane, drew his dagger intending to stab the Apis in the belly, but struck his thigh. Laughing, he said to the priests: 'You miserable lot, is that what your gods are – of blood and flesh and not resistant to iron? Such a god is surely worthy of the Egyptians! However, you shall not rejoice in my ridicule.'

When he finished, he ordered those whose job it was to flog the priests, and to kill any other Egyptians found merrymaking. So the Egyptian festival was broken up, the priests punished, and Apis, wounded in the thigh, expired on the floor of the shrine. After he had died of his wound, the priests buried him in secret from Cambyses.³

Notes

1. For the cult of the Apis bull, see **4, no.12**, n.1.
2. The story follows the description of the supposedly disastrous Nubian and Siwa campaigns (**4, no.10**).
3. For the Egyptian evidence, which seems to counter this story, and Cambyses' burial of the Apis bull, see **4, nos.12–13 & fig.4.3**.

19. More sacrileges against Egyptian cults

Herodotus III, 37.

He (sc. Cambyses) stayed in Memphis, opening old tombs and gazing at the corpses. Similarly, he went to the temple of Hephaestus¹ and laughed the cult-statue to scorn. There is a cult image of Hephaestus very similar to the Phoenician Pataeci,² which the Phoenicians carry on the prows of their triremes. For the benefit of those who have not seen them, I shall describe them: they have the likeness of a dwarf. He also entered the shrine of the Cabiri,³ although nobody apart from the priest is allowed to enter it. He even burnt their images, with much mocking. They are similar to the image of Hephaestus, and are said to be his children.

Notes

1. The Greek name given to Ptah, a creator god and chief deity of Memphis.
2. The Pataeci must have been, from what follows, miniature protective deities. Presumably it was Ptah's dwarf-like stature which, supposedly, provoked Cambyses' mockery.
3. The cult of the Cabiri is very poorly understood, but it seems to have been associated with worship of an ithyphallic deity (several are attested in Egypt, as well as in Greece). For discussion of the complexities, see Lloyd 1975–88, II, 227–9; 241–2.

(b) Cambyses' cruel treatment of his wife, courtiers and officials

20. Cambyses kills his sister

Herodotus III, 32.¹

There are two stories about her (sc. Cambyses' sister-wife's) death, just as there are about Smerdis. The Greeks say that Cambyses had a lion cub and a puppy fight each other, and this woman watched it. When the puppy was losing, its brother (another puppy) broke his chain, and the two of them beat the cub. Cambyses was pleased watching them, but the woman at his side cried. When Cambyses noticed this, he asked her why she was crying; and she replied that when she saw the puppy helping its brother she cried, because it reminded her of Smerdis² and made her realise that he, Cambyses, had no one to help him. The Greeks say that it was because of this that Cambyses murdered her. But the Egyptians say

that as they were sitting at table, the woman took a lettuce and stripped it. When she asked her husband which he thought was nicer, the stripped lettuce or one with its leaves, and he said the one with leaves, she said: 'But you have stripped the house of Cyrus and made it like this lettuce!' Cambyzes flew into a rage and jumped on her; she was pregnant, miscarried and died.

Notes

1. The passage is prefaced by a story of how Cambyzes married two of his full sisters, one of whom followed him to Egypt; neither is named, although Herodotus says later that Cyrus' daughter, Atossa, had been one of Cambyzes' wives (**5, nos.7; 14**). For marriage between close relatives within the Persian royal family, see **12, Introduction; no.38(i)** (23); **13, no.31(iv)**.
2. For the various stories of Cambyzes' alleged murder of his brother, Bardiya (i.e. Herodotus' Smerdis), see **5, nos.1–5**; Herodotus' story is **5, no.3**.

21. Cambyzes' murder of a Persian courtier's son

Herodotus III, 34–5.

He (sc. Cambyzes) perpetrated mad acts against the other Persians. The story goes that he said to Prexaspes – whom he honoured highly and who carried messages for him, and whose son was Cambyzes' cup-bearer, a considerable distinction – he is said to have spoken to him as follows: 'Prexaspes, what sort of a man do the Persians think me to be and what stories do they tell about me?' Prexaspes replied: 'My lord, they praise you highly in all respects, except that they say you are too fond of wine.' That is what he said about the Persians, at which Cambyzes flew into a rage and responded: 'So now the Persians say that I am fond of wine and have gone mad and lost my senses! Their previous statement about me was untrue, as well!' For earlier, when some Persians, as well as Croesus, had been sitting with him, Cambyzes asked them what they thought of him as a man in comparison to his father, Cyrus. They replied that he was better than his father, because he had all the latter's possessions, and had added to them Egypt and the sea. That is what the Persians said, but Croesus, who was there and did not like this answer, said this to Cambyzes: 'I, son of Cyrus, do not think you are your father's equal. For you have no son such as he left in you.' Cambyzes was pleased with that response, and praised Croesus' reply.

(35) That is what he remembered, when he said furiously to Prexaspes: 'Now, you see for yourself whether the Persians are telling the truth or whether the ones who say that have not themselves taken leave of their senses. Your son shall stand in the doorway; if I shoot and hit the middle of his heart, the Persians are obviously wrong. If I miss, then the Persians may be telling the truth, and I am not in my right senses.' That is what he said, drew the bow and hit the child; when the boy fell, he ordered him to be cut open and his wound examined. When the arrow was found to be in his heart, he said to the boy's father, laughing and pleased: 'So, Prexaspes, I am not mad and the Persians are – it is perfectly clear! Now tell me, do you know anybody else in the world, who can hit the bull's eye like that?' Prexaspes saw that the man was out of his mind and, terrified for himself, said: 'I don't think, my lord, that even the god himself could hit the mark so well.' That is what Cambyzes did then.

22. Cambyses abuses Persian nobles and turns against Croesus

Herodotus III, 35.5–36.

Another time, he (sc. Cambyses) took twelve of the most prominent Persians and, for no significant reason, buried them alive up to their heads.

(36) That is what he was doing, when Croesus the Lydian thought to admonish him with these words: 'Your majesty, do not always act according to your youth and mood. Hold and restrain yourself! It is good to have some forethought, prudence is wise! You are killing men who are your own citizens, seizing them for a trifling reason, and you are killing children.¹ If you do many things like that, watch out that the Persians do not rebel against you! Your father Cyrus commanded me to warn you and make suggestions about what I find good.' Croesus' good intention was obvious when he gave this counsel, but Cambyses replied: 'You dare to advise me, you who governed your own country so wonderfully? You, who gave my father the excellent advice to cross the Araxes river and enter the territory of the Massagetae, when they were prepared to cross into ours?² You destroyed your own country by bad management and Cyrus by your persuasiveness! I have long wanted a pretext to catch you!' With these words he took his bow as though to shoot him, but Croesus leapt up and ran outside. When Cambyses failed to shoot him, he ordered his servants to seize him and put him to death. But the servants knew his ways and hid Croesus. They calculated that if Cambyses changed his mind and missed Croesus, they could bring him out and get rewards for keeping Croesus alive; if he did not change his mind and miss him, then they would kill him. In fact, Cambyses did miss him not long after, and when the servants realised this they informed him that he was alive. Cambyses said he was glad that Croesus had survived,³ but those who had kept him alive were not to go unpunished but be killed. And that is what he did.

Notes

1. See **4, no.21**.
2. Cf. **3, no.34**.
3. The story uses the well-known and widespread motif of the sage royal counsellor: his wise advice enrages the despot he so faithfully serves, who condemns him, only to repent his hastiness later; cf. Griffiths 1987: 41.

(c) A harsh but just ruler**23. Cambyses' punishment of a corrupt judge**

Herodotus V, 25.

His¹ father had been Sisamnes, one of the royal judges. Because he had given an unjust judgement for a bribe, King Cambyses had his throat cut and pulled off all his skin. Then he cut the flayed-off skin into thongs and stretched them over the chair on which Sisamnes had sat to deliver judgement. Having made this seat, Cambyses appointed as judge in place of Sisamnes, whom he had killed and flayed, Sisamnes' son, exhorting him to remember on what chair he was sitting when he gave judgement.²

Notes

1. I.e. Otanes, appointed general of the Aegean seaboard by Darius I (**6, no.20**).
2. This story does not form part of Herodotus' account of Cambyses' growing madness. It illustrates, rather, the Persian ruler taking the notion of absolute justice to extremes. (For the Persian king as upholder of justice, see **11, nos.17–19**.)

FROM CAMBYSES TO DARIUS I

Introduction

It is plain, from **Chapters 3 and 4**, that the Achaemenid empire was created in the space of less than thirty years. By 522, it stretched from the First Cataract in Egypt's south and the Aegean coast to Central Asia. This very rapid acquisition of empire created internal problems in Persia, involving (probably) a revolt by Cambyses' younger brother, Bardiya, during the former's absence in Egypt. Cambyses himself, according to Herodotus, died trying to get back to Persia, leaving no male offspring (**5, no.4**). The serious nature of the internal Persian conflict is strikingly illustrated by the fact that, despite being a legitimate son of Cyrus, founder of the empire, Bardiya was rapidly eliminated by a small group of Persian nobles. As Bardiya had no surviving sons, one of his assassins then acceded to the throne, claiming relationship with Cyrus' family. This was Darius I (522–486), and the turmoil unleashed by this major crisis is known from the massive, in some cases repeated, revolts against his seizure of the throne, which affected the whole Iranian plateau as well as Babylonia, Armenia, Egypt and Elam (see **Appendix**). Most striking is the fact that Fars itself was involved in the resistance to Darius (**5, no.1**, paras.16–54; see Dandamaev 1976; Kuhrt 1995a: 664–7; Briant 1996a: 109–35 [2002b: 97–122]). But these revolts were efficiently and ruthlessly put down and Darius was able to consolidate control in northern Central Asia (**5, no.1**, para.74), add the Indus valley to his realm and begin to exploit the maritime routes between north India and the Persian gulf (**6, no.3**). He further strengthened his north-western frontier, by adding Thrace and several Aegean islands to his direct control, and creating close links with Macedon in northern Greece (Briant 1996a: 154–6 [2002b: 141–4]; **6, Sections B & C**). His son Xerxes' (486–465) attempt to consolidate this by extending Persia's hegemony in Greece in 480/79 was not successful, although the setback for the Persian empire in this region was, over all, slight (Kuhrt 1995a: 670–2; Briant 1996a: 545–59 [2002b: 528–42]) and proved ultimately to be temporary (see further **7, Sections C & D; 8, Sections A(d), B(b); 9, Section B**).

This is the broad outline of events based on evidence of very variable reliability. But one thing is clear, i.e. that Darius' reign forms a crucial turning point in the empire's existence. It is with him that the Persian empire stabilises and begins to acquire its mature form; that the concepts and ideals of Persian kingship and imperial rule receive their definitive, lasting shape; and that all the normative elements of Achaemenid administrative and political culture begin to be articulated, with a strong, reiterated emphasis on the Persian identity of the empire and its rulers – the 'Persian man' as the creator and guarantor of cosmic order (**11, Section A & nos.16–17**).

But the background to this was political turmoil, murder and war. Darius' successful emergence from the bloody chaos depended to a considerable extent on the convincing creation of an enemy threatening to destroy the fledgling empire, with himself as the counterpart – Persia's saviour. This was achieved by Darius presenting a lengthy and detailed account of how he had rescued Persia and its subjects from the forces of sin and corruption, and restored to it the moral purity and political integrity it had enjoyed in the heyday of Cyrus, the heroic imperial founder. Darius' story, accompanied by a relief illustration (**figs.5.2; 5.3**), was inscribed on the rockface at Bisitun, which overlooks the main road linking the western and eastern halves of the empire, and in a spot with sacred associations (see Henkelman 2006, for discussion and references). Copies of the inscription, written in some of the chief languages used in the empire, were circulated throughout the subject territories (**5, no.1**, n.1), as well as versions of the relief showing Darius victorious (**fig.5.4**). Darius' version of events became 'the true history'. It is echoed, broadly, by classical writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, as well as of the Roman empire, most influentially and elaborately by Herodotus (**5, nos.2–10**). Clearly, then, these versions are in some sense ultimately dependent on Darius' account – although there are some significant divergences, too, suggesting that there continued to be debates on details of individual roles and the precise course of events (see **5, nos.2, 5 & 6**, as against Herodotus, **5, nos.3 & 4**).

The problem the historian faces is that, while Darius' Bisitun inscription is the primary source for what happened, it is also profoundly and deliberately misleading. Yet the only possibility for making any headway is to look very closely at what Darius says. The first fifteen sections of the inscription contain a series of statements, which are central to the question:

- (a) In **5, no.1**, paras.1–4, Darius traces his genealogy and asserts the enduring royalty of his family; according to this, he stands at the end of an unbroken line of kings.
- (b) The subsequent section (**5, no.1**, paras.5–9) is framed by Darius' assertion that Auramazda, the great Iranian god, has bestowed rule of the empire on him. He is king of a multitude of obedient subjects, whom he governs with perfect justice.
- (c) In the next two paragraphs (**5, no.1**, paras.10–11), Darius describes a terrible story of fratricide and its consequences. King Cambyses had secretly murdered his brother Bardiya. The dastardly crime contaminated both Persians and subject peoples – although they did not know what had happened, they became disobedient, i.e. revolted. Gaumata, an unscrupulous magus, took advantage of this. He seized the kingship, pretending that he was Cambyses' brother, Bardiya. He received massive support and Cambyses died.
- (d) The picture evoked by Darius at this point (**5, no.1**, para.12) is of a disastrous rupture in the chain of dynastic legitimacy, resulting automatically in a perversion of monarchic rule. Many people were aware of the imposture (**5, no.1**, para.13), but were paralysed by fear and incapable of action. Only Darius was able to break through this impasse. With divine aid and a few men, he succeeded in killing the impostor and his associates and thus became king in his place.
- (e) With this act, the rightful royal line was re-established along with a restoration of social, political and cultic order (**5, no.1**, paras.14–15).

With very few exceptions, most scholars do not believe Darius' account. Why? The story is spiked with a whole string of oddities, inconsistencies and vagueness at crucial points,

which Darius' best efforts fail to hide. First of all, despite a constant harping on his family's right to rule, and thus his own, Darius is consistently vague about whence, precisely, this right derives. The only member of his family-line, who may have been a Persian king, is Teispes (**5, no.1**, para.2), whose name figures in Cyrus the Great's genealogy, where he appears as his great-grandfather and first king of Anshan (**3, no.21**, l.21). But, and this is significant, Cyrus made no mention of Achaemenes among his royal ancestors, so that many scholars suspect that Darius is here trying to forge (in both senses of the word) a link between his own family and that of Cyrus. Also odd, in the context of Darius' emphasis on his direct descent from the rightful royal family, is that he omits to name any of his royal predecessors (**5, no.1**, para.4). At best, the impression is that, while it is possible that Darius may have belonged to the extended Achaemenid clan to which Cyrus' dynasty also ultimately belonged (see **3, no.5**), the connection between Darius' lineage and Cyrus' family was a remote one.

Secondly, the whole story of Gaumata's imposture rings false. The secret murder of Bardiya by his brother, Cambyses, unknown to anyone but Darius (**5, no.1**, para.10), sounds like an elaborate contrivance, especially when set against the contradictory statement in **5, no.1**, para.13, that people did know of the imposture, but were too frightened to unmask the pretender. Even more peculiarities emerge when we look at the course of the impostor's supposed revolt (**5, no.1**, para.11). This is defined as consisting of two stages, each meticulously dated by Darius: on 11th March 522, Gaumata 'rebelled', and on 1st July 'he seized the kingship', after which 'King Cambyses died' – an event which, significantly, is not dated. The impression Darius creates with this sequential structuring of events is that Gaumata seized power while Cambyses was campaigning in Egypt and exercised power for nearly four months before Cambyses' death. But, in fact, we do not know the date of Cambyses' demise. Babylonian dated documents, which have survived in great density from this period, show a different pattern. They date business and legal transactions by Cambyses until 23rd April 522, and switch to dating by Bardiya on an, unfortunately, unspecified day in April. It is, therefore, possible (although at present uncertain) that, at least as far as the perception of the Babylonian population went, Cambyses was succeeded perfectly peacefully and legitimately, after his death, by Bardiya. There is no hint in this, admittedly limited, body of material, of a revolt in March of 522 or of a conflict among parties contending for the throne. The other, later and certainly not primary, sources, apart from Herodotus, too, all place Bardiya's reign as beginning after Cambyses' death (**5, nos.2, 5 & 6**). In other words, it is only Darius and Herodotus who describe an open revolt by Bardiya against Cambyses. Moreover, Darius, like several later writers, admits that Bardiya's accession was accepted and supported by everyone; he was, according to some accounts, a popular ruler (**5, no.1**, para.11; cf. **5, nos.2, 4** (67–8) & **6**). Moreover, it was subsequently possible for the Persian Vahyazdata to rally considerable support by claiming to be Bardiya (**5, no.1**, paras.40–4), which suggests that Darius did not succeed in convincing everyone of the imposture.

Another source of suspicion is Darius' account of the impostor's elimination, which is curiously brief (**5, no.1**, para.13). He presents himself, accompanied by a handful of men, killing the magus in a fortress in Media, after which he becomes king. In contrast to the many wars fought subsequently against local rebels, which end repeatedly with the public execution, mutilation and display of the defeated leader's corpse together with the bodies of his henchmen (**5, no.1**, paras.32, 33, 43, 50), there is no such public maltreatment and exposure in the case of Gaumata. The event is shrouded in secrecy, a secrecy echoed by

later writers who all present the magus assassinated in his bedchamber in the innermost recesses of the palace (**5, nos.9** (77–8) & **10**). All of which implies that it was crucially important for Darius' presentation of himself as Persia's saviour and rightful king that the identity of his opponent not be open to public scrutiny. In other words, it confirms a growing suspicion in the sceptical reader, that the person murdered by Darius and his friends was none other than Cyrus' son and Cambyzes' brother, Bardiya, who, despite perhaps representing a group disaffected with Cambyzes' rule, was the only legitimate successor to Persia's throne on Cambyzes' death; and that it is, therefore, Darius himself who is the true rebel.

If this understanding of the first fifteen paragraphs of Darius' inscription is correct, then the next question must be: why did Darius revolt against Bardiya? This is almost unanswerable and continues to be the subject of much speculation. It is clear that the key to understanding is contained in Darius' statement (**5, no.1**, para.14) concerning political, cultic and economic changes introduced by 'the magus', which he reversed; but trying to extract any clarity of what precisely they were remains very elusive (cf. Dandamaev 1976; Bickerman and Tadmor 1982; Briant 1996a: 109–18 [2002b: 97–106]). One thing that is plain, however, is that Darius did not act alone. He himself acknowledges the crucial support he received from other named Persian nobles in the course of fighting off the repeated challenges to his tenure of the throne (**5, no.1**, paras.25, 26, 29, 33, 35, 38, 41, 45, 50, 71) and, near the end of the inscription, he picks out six in particular, whose families he commends to the special care of his successors (**5, no.1**, paras.68–9). This, as well as, of course, Darius' ultimate triumph against the great forces ranged against him, shows that the empire was beset by serious problems, which affected not just the relatively recently conquered peoples, but more importantly the Persian nobility itself. It is a reasonable assumption that these problems were unleashed, at least in large part, by the astonishingly rapid growth of the empire and the tensions this created. Its dislocating impact on traditional social structures and power relations may be imagined, even if we cannot define them more closely. But it must have been in response to this violent demonstration of the realm's structural fragility and vulnerability that Persian kingship came to be, for the first time, fully defined: the whole idea of what the Persian empire was and what its imperial rule meant was now given distinctive and emphatic expression. The calamitous crisis was articulated as the stealthy usurpation of Cyrus' throne by an impostor, whose treachery had infected the body politic, so that evil and falsehood gained the upper hand, turning the proper order upside down.¹ Only Darius had the ability and courage, with god on his side, to put things right by cleansing Persia and its territories from this festering cancer. Moreover, as an Achaemenid, sprung from the royal clan, he was a representative of the legitimate ruling house. This claim was reinforced by the creation of what was henceforth known as the 'Achaemenid dynasty' – a tightly knit family group, from whom all subsequent Persian kings were selected (see **4, no.4**; **10, no.3** & n.6). So as part of the formulation of the new Persian royal identity, kingship was presented as having been in essence restored, returned to the bosom of Persia's ancient kingly family, when, in fact, this notion of a clearly defined royal line only begins with Darius himself.

Darius consolidated this claim by several means. Most important was his marriage of his predecessors' wives and female kin (**5, no.14**), which bound his line firmly to the family of Cyrus. He also eliminated an attempt by a Persian noble, who had helped in the murder of Bardiya, to challenge his position (**5, no.16**), and ensured the removal of existing provincial governors, whose allegiance to himself was suspect (**5, nos.15 & 17**). He

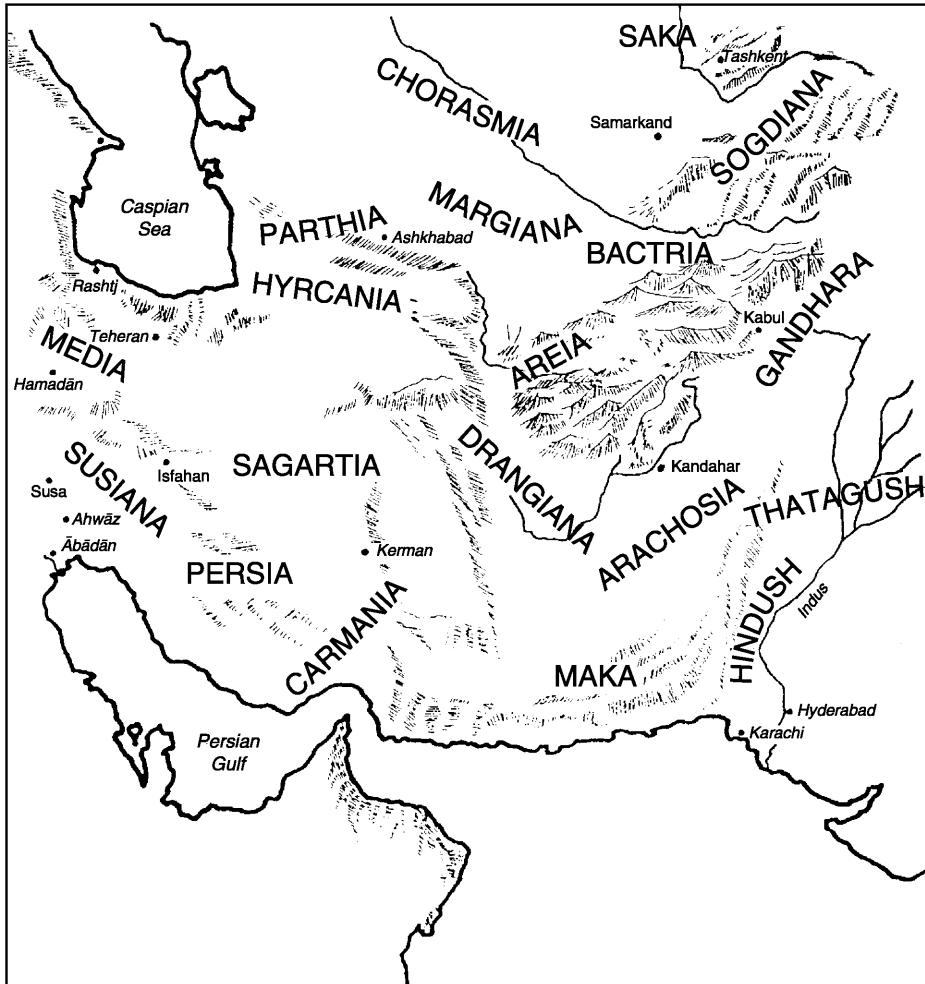


Figure 5.1 Sketchmap of Iranian plateau and Central Asia. (After Briant 1996a [2002b].)

further had monuments in Pasargadae inscribed with the statement that Cyrus was an Achaemenid, thus annexing the imperial founder for the new order of things (5, no.19; Stronach 1997a; 1997b; 2000: 685–92). Stories began to circulate, according to which Darius' accession had been foretold to Cyrus in a dream (5, no.12) and his claim was confirmed by a horse-oracle and celestial omens (5, no.13). It is also possible that around this time a legend about Achaemenes, the eponymous founder of the royal family, gained currency, presenting him as miraculously saved in infancy and divinely nurtured (5, no.18; Stronach 1990; 1997a; 1997b). Most significant is the fact that, simultaneously, a new script was created to give visible and unique shape to the language of the imperial rulers, along with a repeated stress on the Persian identity of the ruler, his family, his country and his empire.²

Notes

1. For the Old Persian term *drauga* and its meaning of ‘falsehood’, hence ‘chaos’, ‘rebellion’, see **5, no.1**, n.15.
2. Not everyone agrees; see the references to divergent views, **5, no.1**, n.1, and note the report of a lecture in Tehran challenging this view (see heritage.chn.it/en/news (6 July 2005)).

Appendix

Chronology of Darius I’s accession to the throne and the revolts against him (October 522 to November 521; 520 and 519)

29 September 522: Darius kills Gaumata

October 522: First revolt of Elam (*Acina*); taken and bound (**5, no.1**, paras.16 & 17)

by 3 October 522: First revolt of Babylonia; Darius not acknowledged king after Bardiya’s murder, but Nidintu-Bel (**5, no.1**, para.16); opposed by Darius (**5, no.1**, paras.16; 18–20)

13 December 522: First battle in Babylonia (**5, no.1**, para.18)

18 December 522: Final battle in Babylonia; Nidintu-Bel executed (**5, no.1**, paras.19–20).

December 522:

- (1) While Darius is in Babylonia, *Vahyazdata* revolts in Persia, claiming to be Bardiya; the Persian army with Darius joins the rebel (**5, no.1**, paras.40 & n.87);
- (2) (contemporary with Babylonian revolt): the Elamite *Martiya*, whose home is in Persia, declares himself king of Elam; he is seized and executed by the Elamites themselves (**5, no.1**, paras.22–3);
- (3) apud **5, no.1**, para.21: while Darius is in Babylonia, revolts break out in Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia. Of these, only Media (leader: *Fravartish*), Parthia (supporters of *Fravartish*) and Margiana (leader: *Frada*) revolts described.

29 December 522: Darius’ general, Vivana, defeats army of *Vahyazdata* in Arachosia (**5, no.1**, para.45)

31 December 522: Darius’ general, Vaumisa, fights rebellious Armenians in northern Assyria (**5, no.1**, para.29)

12 January 521: Darius’ general, Vidarna, fights against rebellious Medes in Media (**5, no.1**, para.25)

21 February 521: Darius’ general, Vivana, defeats *Vahyazdata*’s army a second time (**5, no.1**, para.46); ‘a little later’ Vivana captures *Vahyazdata*’s army commander and executes him in Arachosia (**5, no.1**, para.47)

8 March 521: Darius’ father, Hystaspes, governor of Parthia, fights against rebellious Parthians and Hyrcanians, supporters of the Median rebel *Fravartish* (**5, no.1**, paras.35–6).

7 May 521: Darius defeats the Median pretender *Fravartish* in Media (**5, no.1**, para.31); ‘later’, Darius executes *Fravartish*

21 May 521: Darius’ general, Dadarshi, fights a battle against rebellious Armenians (**5, no.1**, para.26)

24 May 521: Darius’ general, Artavardiya, inflicts defeat on *Vahyazdata* in Persia (**5, no.1**, para.41)

31 May 521: Darius’ general, Dadarshi, fights again against rebellious Armenians (**5, no.1**, para.27)

- 11 June 521:** Darius' general, Vaumisa, fights a second time against rebellious Armenians (5, no.1, para.29)
21 June 521: Darius' general, Dadarshi, fights third battle against rebellious Armenians (5, no.1, para.28)
12 July 521: Hystaspes defeats Fravartish's supporters in Parthia (5, no.1, para.36)
16 July 521: Darius' general, Artavardiya, inflicts final defeat on Vahyazdata. Executed, with his followers, by Darius (5, no.1, paras.42–3)
August 521: Second Babylonian revolt (5, no.1, para.49)
[12 October 521: Battle against Cicantakhma in Sagartia (5, no.1, para.33, n.72)]
27 November 521: Darius' general, Vindafarna, captures and executes Babylonian rebel (5, no.1, para.50)
10 December 521(?): Darius' general, Dadarshi, defeats the army of Frada in Margiana (5, no.1, para.38)
520: Third revolt of Elam (5, no.1, paras.71–2)
519: Campaign against Pointed Hat Scythians (5, no.1, paras.74–5)

A. The official Persian perspective

1. Darius' account of his seizure of the throne

DB. Trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian) inscription on the rockface of Bisitun (Behistun); text (with translation) of Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite versions: Weissbach 1911: 8–79; fragmentary Aramaic version: Greenfield and Porten 1982; TADAE III, C.2.1; Old Persian text: König 1938; Kent, DB; Schmitt 1991; Babylonian text: von Voigtlander 1978; Malbran-Labat 1994; Elamite version: Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt and Malbran-Labat 1993; **fig.5.2**.¹

Translations: Brosius 2000, no.44 (OP text); TUAT I/4: 419–50 (noting Elamite and Babylonian variants); Lecoq 1997: 187–217 (noting Elamite, Babylonian and Aramaic variants).

(col. I)

- §1 I am Darius, the great king, king of kings,² king in Persia, king of peoples/countries,³ son of Vishtaspa (Gr. Hystaspes), grandson of Arshama (Gr. Arsames), an Achaemenid.
 §2 Darius the king proclaims: My father is Vishtaspa; Vishtaspa's father is Arshama; Arshama's father is Ariaramna (Gr. Ariaramnes); Ariaramna's father is Cishpish (Gr. Teispes); Cishpish's father is Hakhaemanish (Gr. Achaemenes).
 §3 Darius the king proclaims: For this reason we are called Achaemenids. From long ago we are noble; from long ago we are royal.
 §4 Darius the king proclaims: Eight of our family were kings before; I am the ninth; nine kings are we in succession.⁴
 §5 Darius the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda,⁵ I am king; Auramazda bestowed kingship upon me.
 §6 Darius the king proclaims: These are the peoples/countries who obey me; by the favour of Auramazda, I was their king: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those of the sea,⁶ Lydia, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Areia, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia (Saca), Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka; in all twenty-three peoples/countries.

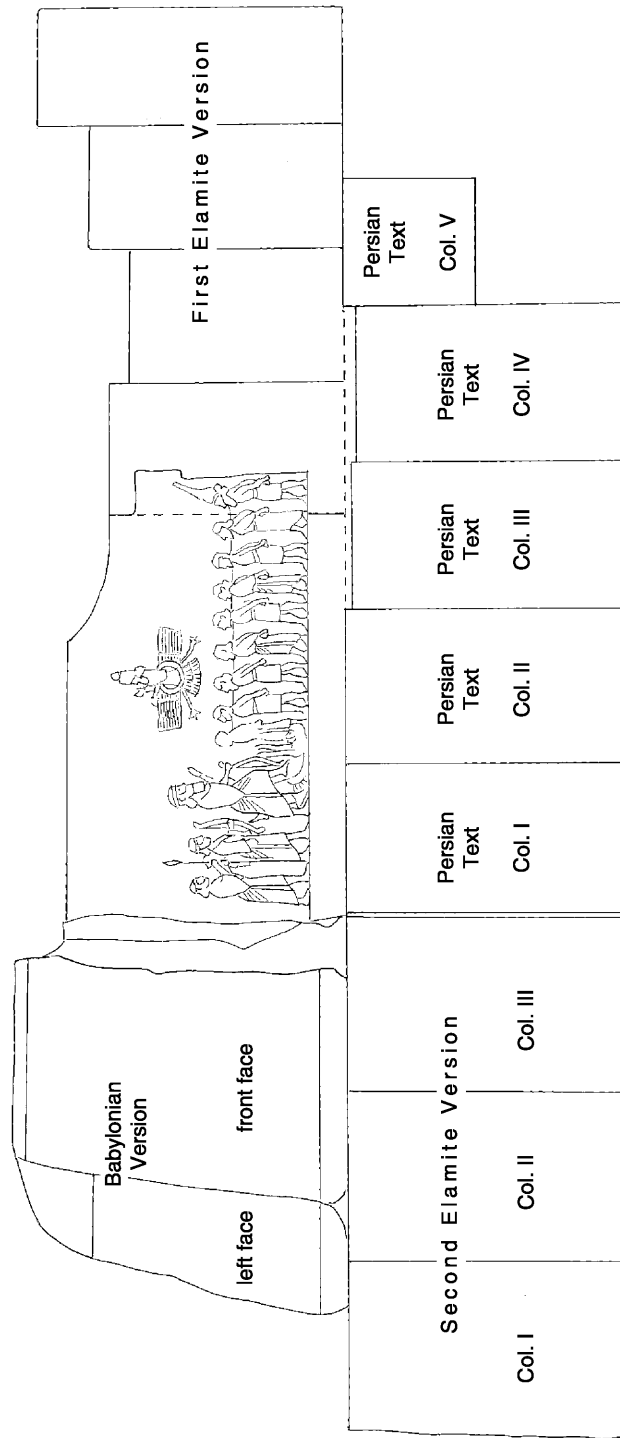


Figure 5.2 The position of the inscriptions on the rock at Bisitun. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

- §7 Darius the king proclaims: These are the peoples who obeyed me; by the favour of Auramazda, they were my faithful subjects;⁷ they brought me 'tribute';⁸ what was said to them by me, whether by night or by day, that they did.
- §8 Darius the king proclaims: Among these peoples, the man who was loyal, him I rewarded; he who was faithless,⁹ I punished; by the favour of Auramazda, these peoples respected my law;¹⁰ in accordance with what was said to them by me, they acted.
- §9 Darius the king proclaims: Auramazda bestowed this kingship on me; Auramazda gave me his help until I gained this kingship; by the favour of Auramazda, I possess this kingship.
- §10 Darius the king proclaims: This is what was done by me after I became king:¹¹ the son of Cyrus, by name Cambyses, of our family, he was king here; this Cambyses had a brother, by name Bardiya; he had the same mother, the same father as Cambyses;¹² then Cambyses killed that Bardiya; when Cambyses killed Bardiya, the people¹³ did not know that Bardiya had been killed; then, Cambyses went to Egypt. When Cambyses had gone to Egypt, then the people became disloyal;¹⁴ and the Lie¹⁵ grew among the people, both in Persia and Media¹⁶ and among the other peoples.
- §11 Darius the king proclaims: Then there was a man, a magus, Gaumata by name;¹⁷ he rebelled in Paishiyauvada.¹⁸ A mountain, by name Arakadri, from there – fourteen days of the month Viyakhna had gone (11 March 522), when he rebelled. He lied thus to the people: 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses.' Then all the people became rebellious against Cambyses; they went over to him, both Persia and Media, as well as the other peoples.¹⁹ He seized the kingship; nine days of the month Garmapada had gone (1 July 522), then he seized the kingship.²⁰ After that, Cambyses died his own death.²¹
- §12 Darius the king proclaims: This kingship, which Gaumata the magus took away from Cambyses, this kingship had belonged for a long time to our family. After that, Gaumata the magus took it away from Cambyses; he took to himself Persia, Media,²² as well as the other peoples/countries; he made them his own, he became king.
- §13 Darius the king proclaims: There was no man, neither a Persian, nor a Mede,²³ nor anyone of our family, who could take the kingship away from that Gaumata the magus. The people were very much afraid of him, (thinking that) he would kill many people who had known Bardiya previously. Here is the reason that he might have killed people: 'Lest they know that I am not Bardiya, son of Cyrus.' No one dared to say anything about Gaumata the magus, until I came. Then I invoked Auramazda; Auramazda brought me help. Ten days of the month Bagayadi were past (29 September 522), then I, with a few men, killed that Gaumata the magus,²⁴ and his foremost followers. A fortress, by name Sikayahuvati, a district by name Nisaya, in Media, that is where I killed him.²⁵ I took the kingship away from him; with the help of Auramazda, I became king; Auramazda granted me the kingship.
- §14 Darius the king proclaims: The kingdom which had been taken away from our family, I re-established it, I put it back in its place. In accordance with what had been previously, I made the cult-centres,²⁶ which Gaumata the magus destroyed.²⁷ I restored to the people, the pastures and herds, the household slaves and the houses/domains, which Gaumata the magus took away from them.²⁸ I re-established the people on its foundation, Persia, Media and the other peoples. In accordance with what had been previously, I brought back what had been taken away. By the favour of Auramazda, this is what I did. I strove until I had restored our house²⁹ to its legitimate place, as (it was)

- before; with the help of Auramazda, I strove in such a way that Gaumata the magus did not make our house destitute.
- §15 Darius the king proclaims: This is what I did after I became king.
- §16 Darius the king proclaims: After I had killed Gaumata the magus, a man called Acina, son of Upadarma,³⁰ rebelled in Elam. To the people, he declared this: 'I am king in Elam.' After that, the Elamites became rebellious; they went over to that Acina; he became king in Elam. And a man, a Babylonian, called Nadintabaira (Bab. Nidintu-Bel), son of Ainaira (Bab. Kin-zer),³¹ rebelled in Babylon; he lied³² to the people thus: 'I am Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus.'³³ Then all the Babylonian people went over to that Nadintabaira; Babylonia became rebellious; he seized the kingship in Babylon.³⁴
- §17 Darius the king proclaims: So then, I sent to Elam.³⁵ That Acina was led to me as a prisoner; I killed him.
- §18 Darius the king proclaims: After that, I went to Babylon, against that Nadintabaira, who called himself Nebuchadnezzar. The army of Nadintabaira held the Tigris. It took its stand there, and the water was not fordable.³⁶ So I placed my army on skins;³⁷ I placed one part on camels,³⁸ for others I brought horses. Auramazda gave me help; by the favour of Auramazda, we crossed the Tigris. There I utterly defeated the army of Nadintabaira: twenty-six days of the month Aciyadiya had gone (13 December 522), when we fought the battle.³⁹
- §19 Darius the king proclaims: After that, I went to (the city of) Babylon. But, when I had not yet reached Babylon, a town called Zazana, beside the Euphrates – there this Nadintabaira, who called himself Nebuchadnezzar, came with an army against me to offer battle. Then we fought a battle; Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, I utterly defeated the army of Nadintabaira. The remainder were thrown into the water. Two days of the month Anamaka had gone (18 December 522), when we fought that battle.⁴⁰

(col. II)

- §20 Darius the king proclaims: Then Nadintabaira fled with a few horsemen. He went to Babylon. Then I went to Babylon. By the favour of Auramazda, I captured both Babylon and Nadintabaira. After that, I killed that Nadintabaira in Babylon.⁴¹
- §21 Darius the king proclaims: While I was in Babylon, these are the people/countries who/which became rebellious against me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia (Saca).⁴²
- §22 Darius the king proclaims: A man called Martiya, son of Cincakhri – a town called Kuganaka,⁴³ in Persia, was his home. He rebelled in Elam; he declared to the people, 'I am Imanish,⁴⁴ king in Elam.'
- §23 Darius the king proclaims: At that time, I was near Elam. Then the Elamites were afraid of me; they seized that Martiya, who was their chief, and killed him.
- §24 Darius the king proclaims: A man called Fravartish, a Mede, rebelled in Media. He declared to the people, 'I am Khshathrita, of the family of Uvakhshtra.'⁴⁵ After that, the Median army, which was in the royal house,⁴⁶ rebelled against me. It went over to that Fravartish. He became king in Media.
- §25 Darius the king proclaims: The Persian and Median army which was with me, was a small (force). Then I sent out an army.⁴⁷ A Persian called Vidarna, my subject,⁴⁸ I made their chief. I spoke to them thus, 'Go, smite that Median army, which does not call itself mine.' Then that Vidarna went with his army. When he reached Media – a town

- called Maru,⁴⁹ in Media – there he fought with the Medes. He who was chief among the Medes was not there at that time. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that rebellious army. Twenty-seven days of the month Anamaka had gone by (12 January 521), then the battle was fought by them.⁵⁰ After that, my army – a district called Kampana, in Media⁵¹ – there it waited for me until I arrived in Media.
- §26 Darius the king proclaims: An Armenian called Dadarshi, my subject,⁵² I sent him to Armenia. I spoke to him thus, ‘Go! That rebellious army, which does not call itself mine, smite it!’ Then Dadarshi marched away. When he arrived in Armenia, the rebels gathered together (and) marched against Dadarshi to join battle. A village called Zuza, in Armenia⁵³ – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that rebel army. Eight days of the month Thuravahara had gone by (21 May 521); then they fought the battle.⁵⁴
- §27 Darius the king proclaims: For a second time the rebels gathered; they came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A fortress called Tigra, in Armenia⁵⁵ – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that rebellious army. Eighteen days of the month Thuravahara had gone by (31 May 521); then they fought the battle.⁵⁶
- §28 Darius the king proclaims: For a third time, the rebels gathered; they came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A fortress called Uyama, in Armenia⁵⁷ – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that rebellious army. Nine days of the month Thaigarci had gone by (21 June 521); then they fought the battle.⁵⁸ Afterwards, Dadarshi waited for me until I arrived in Media.
- §29 Darius the king proclaims: Afterwards a Persian called Vaumisa, my subject,⁵⁹ I sent him to Armenia. I spoke to him thus: ‘Go! This rebellious army, which does not call itself mine, smite it!’ Then Vaumisa marched away. When he arrived in Armenia, the rebels assembled; they came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A region called Izala, in Assyria⁶⁰ – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that rebellious army. Fifteen days of the month Anamaka had gone (31 December 522), then they fought the battle.
- §30 Darius the king proclaims: For a second time the rebels gathered; they came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A region called Autiyara, in Armenia⁶¹ – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that rebellious army. On the last day of the month Thuravahara (11 June 521) – then they fought the battle.⁶² Then Vaumisa waited for me in Armenia until I arrived in Media.
- §31 Darius the king proclaims: Then I left Babylon; I went to Media. When I arrived in Media, a town called Kunduru, in Media⁶³ – there this Fravartish, who called himself king in Media, came with his army against me to join battle. Then we joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, I utterly defeated the army of Fravartish. Twenty-five days of the month Adukanaisha had gone (7 May 521) – then we fought that battle.⁶⁴
- §32 Darius the king proclaims: Then this Fravartish fled with a few horsemen. A place called Raga, in Media⁶⁵ – he went there. Then I sent an army in pursuit. Fravartish was seized; he was brought before me.⁶⁶ I cut off his nose, ears and tongue, and tore out one eye.⁶⁷ He was held in fetters at my palace entrance; all the people saw him.⁶⁸ After

- that, I impaled him at Ecbatana; and the men who were his foremost followers, those I hanged at Ecbatana in the fortress.⁶⁹
- §33 Darius the king proclaims: A man called Cicantakhma, a Sagartian,⁷⁰ rebelled against me; he said to the people: 'I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Uvakhshtra.'⁷¹ Then I sent a Persian and Median army; a Mede called Takhmaspada, my subject – I made him their chief. I spoke to them thus: 'Go forth; the rebel army which will not call itself mine – defeat it!' Then Takhmaspada went off with the army; he joined battle with Cicantakhma. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army defeated that rebel army⁷² and took Cicantakhma prisoner, brought him to me. After that I cut off his nose, ears,⁷³ and tore out one eye. He was held in fetters at my palace entrance; all the people saw him. After that, I impaled him at Arbela.⁷⁴
- §34 Darius the king proclaims: This (is) what has been done by me in Media.
- §35 Darius the king proclaims: Parthia and Hyrcania⁷⁵ rebelled against me, called themselves (supporters) of Fravartish. Vishtaspa, my father, was in Parthia; the people abandoned him, became rebellious.⁷⁶ Then Vishtaspa went forth with the army which was faithful to him. A place called Vishpauzati,⁷⁷ in Parthia – there he joined battle with the Parthians. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, Vishtaspa utterly defeated that rebel army; twelve days of the month Viyakhna had gone (8 March 521); then the battle was fought by them.⁷⁸

(col. III)

- §36 Darius the king proclaims: After that, I sent a Persian army to Vishtaspa from Raga. When this army reached Vishtaspa, then Vishtaspa took that army (and) marched off. A place called Patigarbana,⁷⁹ in Parthia – there he joined battle with the rebels. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, Vishtaspa utterly defeated that rebel army. One day of the month Garmapada had gone (12 July 521), then they fought the battle.⁸⁰
- §37 Darius the king proclaims: After that the country/people became mine. This (is) what has been done by me in Parthia.
- §38 Darius the king proclaims: A country called Margiana⁸¹ rebelled against me. A man called Frada, a Margian, they made chief. Then I sent against him a Persian called Dadarshi, my subject, satrap in Bactria.⁸² I spoke to him thus: 'Go, defeat that army which does not call itself mine!' After that, Dadarshi marched out with the army; he joined battle with the Margians. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda my army utterly defeated that rebel army. Twenty-three days of the month Aciyadiya had gone (10 December 522, or 28 December 521),⁸³ then they fought the battle.⁸⁴
- §39 Darius the king proclaims: After that the country became mine. This (is) what has been done by me in Bactria.
- §40 Darius the king proclaims: A man called Vahyazdata – a place called Tarava, a region called Yutiya,⁸⁵ in Persia – there he lived. He revolted in Persia for the second time.⁸⁶ He spoke to the people thus: 'I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus.'⁸⁷ Then the Persian army, which (was) in the palace (and had been summoned) from Anshan⁸⁸ previously, became rebellious to me, joined that Vahyazdata; he became king in Persia.
- §41 Darius the king speaks thus: Then I sent forth the Persian and Median army which was with me.⁸⁹ A Persian called Artavardiya, my subject, I made their chief. The other Persian army went behind me to Media. After that, Artavardiya went with his army to Persia. When he arrived in Persia – a place called Rakha,⁹⁰ in Persia – there that

- Vahyazdata, who called himself Bardiya, came with an army against Artavardiya to join battle. After that they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that army of Vahyazdata. Twelve days of the month Thuravahara had gone (24 May 521), then they fought the battle.
- §42 Darius the king proclaims: After that, this Vahyazdata fled with a few horsemen; he went to Paishiyauvada.⁹¹ From there, he got an army; again he marched against Artavardiya to join battle. A mountain called Parga⁹² – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated this army of Vahyazdata; five days of the month Garmapada had gone by (16 July 521), then they fought the battle, and they took that Vahyazdata prisoner, and they took his foremost followers prisoner.⁹³
- §43 Darius the king proclaims: Then, that Vahyazdata and the men who were his foremost followers – a place called Huvadaicaya,⁹⁴ in Persia – there I impaled them.⁹⁵
- §44 Darius the king proclaims: This (is) what has been done by me in Persia.
- §45 Darius the king proclaims: That Vahyazdata, who called himself Bardiya, had sent an army to Arachosia⁹⁶ – a Persian called Vivana, my subject, satrap in Arachosia – against him; he had made one man their chief. He spoke to them thus: ‘Go, defeat Vivana and that army which calls itself (that) of Darius the king!’ After that, this army which Vahyazdata had sent, marched against Vivana to join battle. A fortress called Kapishkani⁹⁷ – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda my army utterly defeated that rebel army. Thirteen days of the month Anamaka had gone by (29 December 522), then they fought the battle.⁹⁸
- §46 Darius the king proclaims: Once more the rebels gathered, came out against Vivana to join battle. A district called Gandutava⁹⁹ – there they joined battle. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, my army utterly defeated that rebel army. Seven days of the month Viyakhna had gone by (21 February 521), then they joined battle.¹⁰⁰
- §47 Darius the king proclaims: Then that man who was the chief of that army, which Vahyazdata had sent against Vivana, fled with a small number of horsemen (and) went off. A fortress called Arshada, in Arachosia¹⁰¹ – he came there. After that, Vivana marched with an army in pursuit; there he took him prisoner and slew the men who were his foremost followers.¹⁰²
- §48 Darius the king proclaims: After that the region became mine.
- §49 Darius the king proclaims: While I was in Persia and Media, again a second time, Babylonia revolted against me. A man called Arakha, an Armenian, son of Haldita¹⁰³ – he rebelled in Babylon. A district called Dubala¹⁰⁴ – from there he lied to the people thus: ‘I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus.’¹⁰⁵ Then the Babylonians rebelled against me, went over to that Arakha. He seized Babylon; he became king in Babylon.
- §50 Darius the king proclaims: After that I sent an army to Babylon. A Persian called Vindafarna, my subject – him I made chief of them. I said to him thus: ‘Go! Defeat that Babylonian army, which does not call itself mine.’ Then Vindafarna went to Babylon with the army. Auramazda helped me; by the favour of Auramazda, Vindafarna defeated that army and (placed) them in fetters. Twenty-two days of the month Varkazana had gone by (27 November 521), then he took prisoner that Arakha who had lyingly called himself Nebuchadnezzar and the men who were his foremost followers. I gave the order: that Arakha and the men who were his foremost followers were impaled at Babylon.¹⁰⁶

(col. IV)

- §51 Darius the king proclaims: This (is) what has been done by me in Babylon.
- §52 Darius the king proclaims: This (is) what I have done, by the favour of Auramazda, in one and the same year, after I became king. I have fought nineteen battles. By the favour of Auramazda, I defeated them and took nine kings prisoner. One called Gaumata, a magus, lied, saying: 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus'; he made Persia rebellious. One called Acina, an Elamite, lied, saying: 'I am king in Elam'; he made Elam rebellious. One called Nadintabaira, a Babylonian, lied, saying: 'I am Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus'; he made Babylon rebellious. One called Martiya, a Persian, lied, saying: 'I am Imani, king in Elam'; he made Elam rebellious. One called Fravartish, a Mede, lied, saying: 'I am Khshathrita, of the family of Uvakhshtra'; he made Media rebellious. One called Cicantakhma, a Sagartian, lied, saying: 'I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Uvakhshtra'; he made Sagartia rebellious. One called Frada, a Margian, lied, saying: 'I am king in Margiana'; he made Margiana rebellious. One called Vahyazdata, a Persian, lied, saying: 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus'; he made Persia rebellious. One called Arakha, an Armenian, lied saying: 'I am Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus'; he made Babylonia rebellious.
- §53 Darius the king proclaims: These (are) the nine kings whom I took prisoner in these battles.
- §54 Darius the king proclaims: These (are) the countries which became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious, because these (men) lied to the people. After that Auramazda gave them into my hand; as was my desire, so I did unto them.
- §55 Darius the king proclaims: You, who shall be king hereafter, be firmly on your guard against the Lie; the man who shall be a follower of the Lie – punish him well, if you think: 'May my country be secure!'¹⁰⁷
- §56 Darius the king proclaims: This that I have done, by the favour of Auramazda, in one and the same year I did. You, who shall read this inscription hereafter, let what (has been) done by me convince you; do not think it a lie.
- §57 Darius the king proclaims: I will take Auramazda's anger upon myself,¹⁰⁸ that I did this truly, not falsely,¹⁰⁹ in one and the same year.
- §58 Darius the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, much else has also been done by me, that has not been written in this inscription; it has not been written down for this reason: for fear that, whoever should read this inscription hereafter, it should seem too much to him, (and so) it should not convince him, (but) he think it false.
- §59 Darius the king proclaims: Those who were kings before me – as long as they were – did not do as much as was done by me, by the favour of Auramazda, in one and the same year.
- §60 Now, let what (has been) done by me convince you; proclaim it thus to the people, do not conceal it! If you do not conceal this record, (but) proclaim (it) to the people, may Auramazda be a friend to you, may you have offspring in great number and may you live long!
- §61 Darius the king proclaims: If you conceal this record and do not proclaim it to the people, may Auramazda be your destroyer and may you have no offspring!
- §62 Darius the king proclaims: This that I did, by the favour of Auramazda, in one and the same year I did. Auramazda helped me, and the other gods who are.¹¹⁰
- §63 Darius the king proclaims: For this reason Auramazda helped me, and the other gods

who are: because I was not disloyal, I was not a follower of the Lie, I was not an evil-doer – neither I nor my family. I acted according to righteousness.¹¹¹ Neither to the powerless nor to the powerful did I do wrong. Him who strove for my house,¹¹² him I treated well; him who did harm, I punished well.

- §64 Darius the king proclaims: You, who shall be king hereafter – the man who shall be a follower of the Lie, or an evil-doer – to those, be not friendly, punish them well.
- §65 Darius the king proclaims: You who hereafter shall behold this inscription, which I have inscribed, or these sculptures, do not destroy (them); as long as you shall have strength, care for them!
- §66 Darius the king proclaims: If you shall behold this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall not destroy them and, as long as you have strength, care for them, may Auramazda be friendly to you, may you have offspring in great number, may you live long, and what you shall do, may Auramazda make it successful for you!
- §67 Darius the king proclaims: If you shall behold this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall destroy them and not, as long as you have strength, care for them, may Auramazda be your destroyer, may you have no offspring, and, whatever you shall do, may Auramazda let it go wrong for you!
- §68 Darius the king proclaims: These (are) the men who were there at that time, when I slew Gaumata the magus, who called himself Bardiya. At that time, these men strove as my followers: (one) called Vindafarna, son of Vahyasparuva, a Persian; (one) called Hutana, son of Thukhra, a Persian; (one) called Gaubaruva, son of Marduniya, a Persian;¹¹³ (one) called Vidarna, son of Bagabigna, a Persian; (one) called Bagabukhsha, son of Datavahya, a Persian; (one) called Ardumanish, son of Vahauka, a Persian.¹¹⁴
- §69 Darius the king proclaims: You, who shall be king hereafter, take good care of the family of these men.
- §70 Darius the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, this (is) the form of writing, which I have made, besides in Aryan.¹¹⁵ Both on clay tablets and on parchment it has been placed.¹¹⁶ Besides, I also made the signature (?);¹¹⁷ besides, I also made the lineage. And it was written down and read aloud before me. Afterwards, I sent off this form of writing everywhere into the countries. The people strove (to use it? abide by it?).¹¹⁸

(col. V)

- §71 Darius the king proclaims:¹¹⁹ This (is) what I have done in the second and third year, after I became king: a country called Elam became rebellious; a man called Athamaita, an Elamite¹²⁰ – him they made their chief. After that, I sent an army; a man called Gaubaruva, my servant – him I made its chief. Then Gaubaruva went to Elam with the army; he joined battle with the Elamites. Afterwards, Gaubaruva defeated the Elamites and decimated them; and he took their leader prisoner, brought him to me. After that I killed him. After that the country became mine.
- §72 Darius the king proclaims: Those Elamites were disloyal, and by them Auramazda was not worshipped. I worshipped Auramazda. By the favour of Auramazda, as (was) my desire, so I treated them.
- §73 Darius the king proclaims: Whosoever shall worship Auramazda, his shall be the prayer, both living and dead.¹²¹
- §74 Darius the king proclaims: Afterwards, I went off with an army against Scythia (Saca);

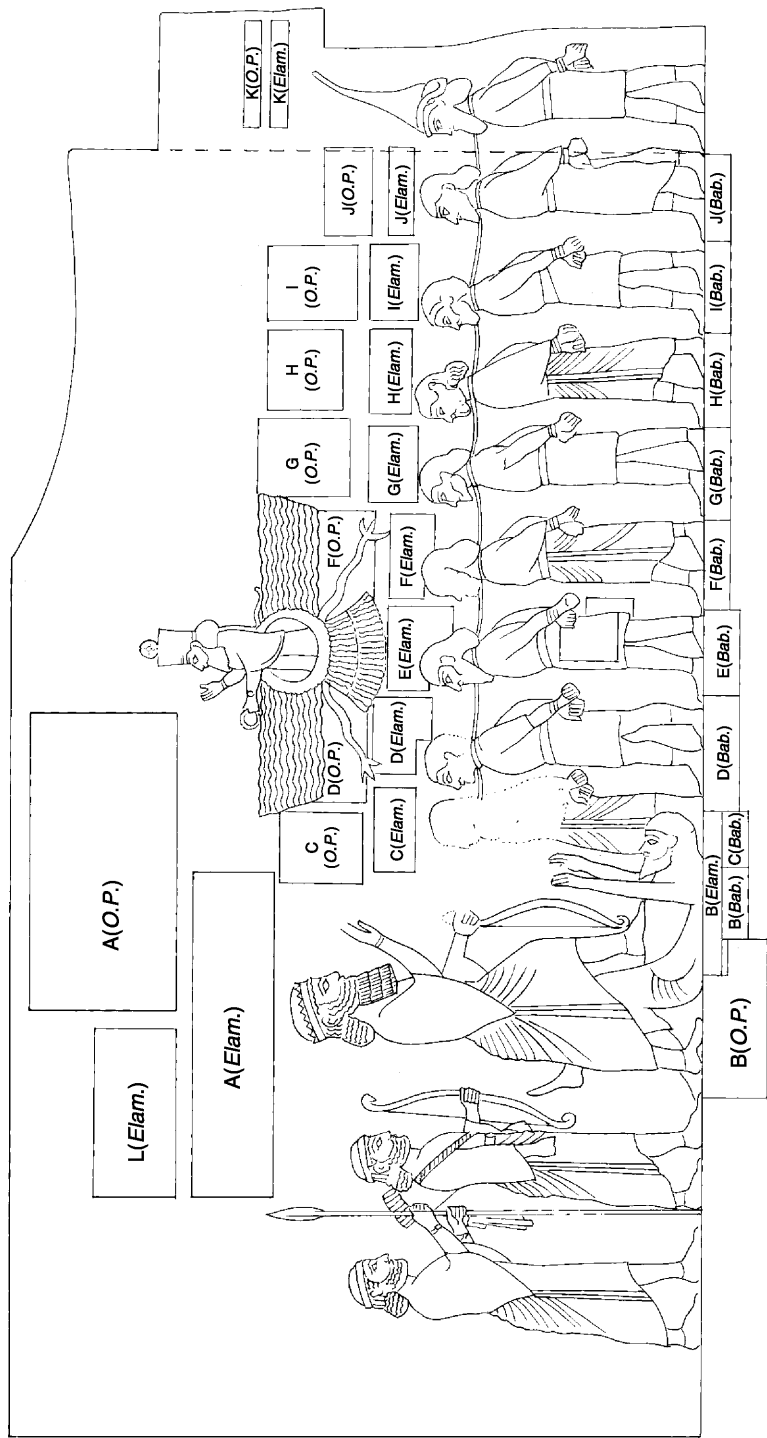


Figure 5.3 Detail of Darius' relief at Bisitun. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

after that, the Saca who wear the pointed hat came against me.¹²² When I had reached the sea, [by means of a tree-trunk?] with the whole army I crossed it. Afterwards, I defeated the Saca utterly; another (part) they took captive, which was led to me in fetters. And (he) who was their chief, called Skunkha – him they took prisoner, led to me in fetters. There I made another their chief, as was my desire. After that, the country became mine.

- §75 Darius the king proclaims: Those Saca were disloyal, and by them Auramazda was not worshipped. I worshipped Auramazda. By the favour of Auramazda, as (was) my desire, so I treated them.
- §76 Darius the king proclaims: Whosoever shall worship Auramazda, his shall be the prayer, both living and dead.

Notes

1. The text, inscribed on the rockface at Bisitun overlooking the main road from Babylonia to Media, is generally thought to be the earliest Old Persian inscription so far known (although not all agree; for discussion, see Borger and Hinz 1959; Diakonoff 1970; Lecoq 1974; Dandamaev 1976: 23–52; Mayrhofer 1989; Herrenschildt 1990; Schmitt 1990). Certainly it is the longest and the only one to discuss specific political events: it provides crucial and almost contemporary information on Cambyzes, the ‘revolt’ of Bardiya and Darius I’s accession, although translation of certain keywords and passages remains hotly debated.

Like virtually all other Old Persian inscriptions, there are renderings in Elamite and Babylonian (Akkadian), apart from paras.71–6. It thus provided the key for the decipherment of the Mesopotamian cuneiform script and was fundamental for understanding Elamite, as well as clarifying comprehension of Old Persian script, grammar and vocabulary (cf. Wiesehöfer 1993: 309–22). It is likely that Old Persian did not exist in a written form previously, and Darius seems to refer to the Old Persian script’s novelty in para.70, see Schmitt 1990: 56–60; cf. Lecoq 1997: 212–13, para.70, n.1. This view may be supported by the fact that detailed study of the chronology of sculpting and inscribing (Trümpelmann 1967; Luschey 1968) suggests that the Elamite version of the text (Elamite I on **fig.5.2**) was the earliest to be carved, while the Old Persian text was added last – an addition requiring some recarving of the monument. However, more recently, doubts have been cast on this conclusion, cf. Enclr IV, 289–305. For discussion of the form of the text and associated problems, with references to earlier literature, see Borger 1982; Herrenschildt 1989; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1999. For the archaeology of the area and monument, see Kleiss and Calmeyer 1996. Fragments of a Babylonian version(s) of the text, with a form of the relief, have been found in Babylon; it was (they were) erected on the palace wall, facing the processional street (**fig.5.4**). In every place where Darius refers to Auramazda at Bisitun, the Babylon version seems to have substituted the chief Babylonian god, Bel-Marduk (von Voigtlander 1978; Seidl 1976; 1999a; 1999b). An Aramaic copy in fine chancellery script, dating to the late fifth century and also containing part of one of Darius’ tomb inscriptions (DNb, **11, no.17**), was found at Elephantine (Greenfield and Porten 1982; TADAE III, C2.1). The record of memoranda, on the back of the (reused) papyrus, begins in 417, suggesting that the Bisitun text and tomb inscription were recopied close on 100 years after Darius I’s victory, perhaps to commemorate its centenary (TADAE III, 60). A further (or alternative) possibility is that the text was deliberately and paradigmatically recirculated around the time of Darius II’s triumph over his challengers to the throne (see **8, Introduction; nos.20; 22–3**).

The text can be broken down into a series of sections: (a) titles-genealogy (paras.1–5); (b) subject peoples (paras.6–8); (c) Darius’ accession (paras.9–14); (d)–(l) revolts in Elam, Babylonia, Media, Parthia, Margiana, Persia (Fars) (paras.15–51); (m) recapitulation, royal virtues, instructions to future generations, creation of text (paras.52–70); (n)–(o) revolts in Darius’ second and third regnal year (paras.71–6). The complex chronological order of events is discussed by Borger 1982 (cf. **5, Introduction, Appendix**).

2. This title is rarely used by earlier Mesopotamian rulers, but more frequently by kings of Urartu.

- For a brief overview of Urartian history, see Kuhrt 1995a, ch.10a; for a discussion of Urartian influence on the Achaemenids, see Seidl 1994.
3. The OP word is *dahyu-*, meaning both country and people (cf. Gr. *ethnos*). For discussion, see Cameron 1973; Lecoq 1997: 137.
 4. The meaning of the passage is contested: it can either be translated like this, or: 'Nine are we in two lines kings.' The keyword is OP *duvitaparanam*, which could mean either 'one after the other'; or 'in two lines'. The Elamite seems to say 'eight of our line took/got hold of the kingship before; as the ninth I exercise kingship; in two lines/in succession(?) are we kings' (note the uncertainty of the crucial term), while the Babylonian version says clearly: 'eight among my family administered the kingship before me. I am the ninth. Nine kings of an eternal lineage are we', cf. Dandamaev 1977. Schmitt (1991: 49 ad l.10) favours *duvitaparanam* meaning 'now as ever'; see also Rollinger (1998b: 179–81), who argues strongly against any possibility of translating it as 'in two lines'. What is certain is that Darius is tying his forebears into the family of Cyrus, through the figure of Teispes (for Cyrus' lineage, see **3, no.21**, l.21) and then continuing the link back to 'Achaemenes', who is not named by Cyrus. The resulting awkwardness suggests that Darius' genealogy has been manipulated to underpin his claim to have an indisputable family-right to the throne. An echo of this genealogical amalgam is found in Hdt. VII, 11, where he gives Xerxes' descent as, '[Xerxes], son of Darius, son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Teispes, son of Achaemenes.' (One ms. omits the second mention of Teispes, see OCT, ad loc., l.14.) Darius was almost certainly a member of the extended clan, from which the Persian kings came; but his relationship to Cyrus' family was probably not particularly close. What he appears to do here is to provide the Achaemenids with an eponymous founder, Achaemenes, through whom he could link himself more closely to the founders of the empire, cf. Miroschedji 1985; Briant 1996a: 122–4 [2002b: 110–11] (for the creation by Darius of a new, tightly knit Achaemenid royal family in the narrow sense); Rollinger 1998b.
 5. Auramazda (Avestan 'Ahuramazda') was the greatest of the Iranian gods, and is the only god named in the inscriptions of Darius I and II, Xerxes and Artaxerxes I (others are occasionally referred to collectively as 'the gods' or 'all the gods'). Further, **11, Introduction; Section H**.
 6. Nothing precisely like this designation appears in other OP inscriptions, and it is uncertain what region of the empire it indicates, cf. Lecoq 1997: 141.
 7. OP *bandaka*: a term expressing the mutual lines of trust and loyalty linking subject to king, see Briant 1996a: 335–7 [2002b: 324–6]; **13, Introduction**.
 8. Although conventionally translated as 'tribute', the semantic range of OP *baji-* is fluid, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989; 1998.
 9. OP *arika* means both morally evil and the contravening of ties of trust and obligation.
 10. OP *data* here (and in other royal inscriptions) does not mean a code of law, but defines the overarching authority of the king's rule (cf. the immediately following phrase), see Briant 1996a: 526–8 [2002b: 510–11]; cf. Lecoq 1997: 167; **17, Introduction**.
 11. In fact, Darius now recounts the circumstances leading to his seizure of the throne. Describing these as occurring *after* he became king serves to emphasise his claim to a right to the kingship by virtue of his descent.
 12. Cf. Herodotus (**5, no.3**), who makes the same point.
 13. OP *kara* has the meaning of 'army', and by extension 'the people'.
 14. For the meaning of OP *arika*, see above, n.9.
 15. OP *drauga* means 'falsehood', 'lie'. It has religious and cosmological undertones, hence it is 'The Lie' and, by implication, a threat to the political order, which the king defends with the help of Auramazda. It, therefore, also has, by extension, the meaning 'rebellion'; cf. the repeated description of the rebels against Darius as 'liars'; cf. Lecoq 1997: 163–4; **11, no.17**.
 16. The Babylonian version adds 'and in Babylon'.
 17. The Babylonian version describes Gaumata as a Mede, and omits any reference to his status as a magus.
 18. A town in Fars, probably in the vicinity of Pasargadae. It appears in the slightly later Persepolis Fortification archive, written Bez/shiyamata (PF 329; 330; 2,027). Its Elamite name was Nashirma.
 19. The earliest Babylonian document dating by Bardiya as king is 14 April (522). However, this was probably made out at Hub/madeshu in Fars. Moreover, Zadok (1976) has argued that it should be dated to the later Persian rebel, Vahyazdata, who also called himself Bardiya (paras.40–8).

20. It is unclear what the difference between Bardiya's initial rebellion in March and 'seizure of the kingship' in July might be. It is possible that it refers to some kind of formal ceremony of enthronement. Perhaps Bardiya waited with the formal assumption of kingship until Cambyses had died, contrary to the order of the events presented by Darius here. It is certainly odd that Darius, who provides exact dates throughout this inscription (save for the unusual column V, see below), fails to give a date for Cambyses' death, thus making it appear that Bardiya/Gaumata really was a rebel and usurper (contrast **5, nos.2; 5; 6**). That would, of course, have served to strengthen his own claim to be acting against a wholly illegitimate pretender (see Briant 1996a: 113–15 [2002b: 101–3]); cf. **5, Introduction**.
21. It has been argued in the past that this means that Cambyses committed suicide, but that is not stated by either the OP text or the other versions, which essentially say simply 'he died' (see Schmitt 1991: 51 ad l.43; cf. Yamauchi 1996; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995a ('a death befitting him', i.e. in accordance with divine justice).
22. The Babylonian version adds 'Babylonia'.
23. Again the Babylonian version adds 'nor a Babylonian'.
24. The latest Babylonian document dated by Bardiya is 20 September 522. For an edition of Babylonian texts dated by Bardiya, see Graziani 1991; Jursa 1993 (corrections).
25. Ni/esaia was a region of Media, renowned for its fine horses, Hdt. III, 106; **11, no.24** & n.3. Lecoq 1997: 194, n.2 suggests that the fortress itself might have been located near Bisitun, which is why Darius placed his inscription there.
26. OP *ayadana* is not otherwise known, so its precise meaning here is uncertain. The Babylonian text has *bitate ša ilani*, 'sanctuaries, temples'; for discussion of the Elamite *ziyan*, see Henkelman 2006, app. 3.
27. For discussion, see Dandamaev 1976: 215–41.
28. The precise meaning of this sentence, along with the problem of understanding what the 'cult-centres' were, which Gaumata 'destroyed' and Darius 'restored', is extremely debated. The Elamite and Babylonian versions provide some suggestions, but do not resolve all problems, because they too use terms that do not allow one to extract an unambiguous translation. Dandamaev (1976: 196–7) translates: 'I gave back the pastures and herds and slaves, together with the economic units of the warriors, which Gaumata the Magus had stolen.' The clearest discussion, which takes all the versions into account is Briant 1996a: 115–17 [2002b: 103–5].
29. OP *vith-* means both 'house/domain' and 'family/clan'; the same word is used in the previous passage, where Darius says that he restored the 'houses/domains' to the 'people'. The Elamite equivalent is *ulhi*, which is used in the sense of estates in the Persepolis texts (see **16, Section B(b)**); the Akkadian term is *bitu*, which has the same general semantic range as the Old Persian word.
30. The Babylonian and Elamite versions describe him as 'Elamite', although the name of his father is Iranian (Kent, 176), as is almost certainly his own name (TUAT I/4: 427–8 ad para.16a; Schmitt 1991: 54 ad l.74). This may be another hint of the close intertwining of Elamites and Persians (see **3, Introduction; 16, Introduction**).
31. The translation here is based on the Babylonian version, which is better preserved, and seems to give information of particular interest to a Babylonian audience. For discussion of problems of reading the passage, see von Voigtlander 1978: 19–20 (ad l.31), and cf. her translation on p.55. (But note that it is now well established that the *zazakku* was a royal secretary; see **3, no.23**, n.23.)
32. OP *adurujiya*, from OP *draug-* 'to lie, to deceive'. For the significance of *drauga*, see above, n.15.
33. The Babylonian version adds, 'king of Babylon'.
34. Documents in Babylon, dated by this Nebuchadnezzar (III), are attested from 3 October 522 to 8 December 522; Darius I was not acknowledged king between the murder of Bardiya/Gaumata and the revolt of Nidintu-Bel. For the chronology of his (and Nebuchadnezzar IV's, paras.49–50) reign, see the remarks of Zawadski 1995b.
35. The Elamite and Babylonian versions have: 'I sent a messenger to Elam.'
36. Literally 'navigable', hence 'not fordable'.
37. I.e. inflated skins, to help the soldiers swim to the other side. Assyrian reliefs frequently depict soldiers crossing rivers in this way (see, e.g., Strommenger and Hirmer 1964: pl.204).
38. Camels were normally used as pack-animals in both the Neo-Assyrian and the Persian armies, cf. **3, no.14**. But, occasionally, soldiers were mounted on camels; for discussion, and an illustration, see Sekunda and Chew 1992: 51.

39. The Babylonian version adds: 'We killed all of them and took no prisoners.'
40. The Elamite and Babylonian versions add the explanation that the army drowned in the river as it fled. The Babylonian version again adds: 'We killed all of them and took no prisoners.' The Babylonian town, *Zazannu*, was near *Sippar*, see Zadok 1985, s.v.
41. The Babylonian version reads: 'Then in Babylon I impaled that *Nidintu-Bel* and the nobles who were with him. I executed forty-nine. This is what I did in Babylon.' The earliest Babylonian document dated by Darius I is from January 521.
42. Of these, only the revolts in Persia, Elam, Media, Parthia and Margiana are described at *Bisitun*. (The Scythian revolt of his third year (see below, para.74) is clearly not intended here.)
43. *Kuganaka* is in Fars, as shown by the texts from *Persepolis*; Darius' wife, *Artystone*, had an estate there (Brosius 1996: 125–6; **16, no.51 (ii)**).
44. Note that *Martiya* is an Iranian name and he is indeed described clearly as a Persian in para.52; his father's name could also be Iranian (cf. *TUAT* I/4: 430). The Elamite text gives the name assumed by *Martiya* as *Ummanush*, which is the Elamite royal name *Ummanunu*. A king with the same name appears in the early sixth-century tablets from *Susa* (MDP 9, no.165: 4–5; see **3, no.4**, n.1).
45. The name *Fravartish* is the OP form of the name rendered *Phraortes* by Greek writers; OP *Uvakhshtra* = Akk. *Umakishtar* = Gr. *Cyaxares*; for discussion of these Median rulers, as well as *Khshathrita*, see **2, Introduction & nos.6–8, 10, 13–14**. The OP word for 'family' used here is *tauma*, which signifies family in the sense of 'blood-line'.
46. OP *vith-*, meaning the court here (see above, n.29).
47. The Elamite and Babylonian versions add, 'to the Medes/to Media'.
48. OP *bandaka*; see above, n.7. *Vidarna* becomes 'Hydarnes' in Greek writers.
49. A place not otherwise known.
50. The Babylonian text continues at this point: 'They killed 3,827 and took 4,329 prisoners. After that *Vidarna* did not undertake another campaign against Media. In the town *Kampada* in Media, there they waited for me until I should come to Media. Then they came to me in *Ecbatana*.' The Aramaic version is similar to the Babylonian, but differs with respect to the numbers killed (5,827 – scribal error?).
51. *Kampanda* is not otherwise localised; presumably it was not too far from *Ecbatana*, see above n.50.
52. See above, n.7.
53. The reading of the name is not completely certain; it is not known otherwise.
54. The Aramaic version adds: 'They killed 827 of them and took x+6 prisoners.'
55. Not otherwise localised.
56. The Babylonian version adds: 'They killed 546 and took 520 prisoners.' The Aramaic version puts the number of those killed at 5,046 – perhaps a scribal error.
57. Not otherwise localised.
58. The Babylonian version adds: 'They killed 427 and took 525(?) prisoners. After that, *Dadarshi* undertook no campaign; they waited for me until I came to Media.' The Aramaic version diverges on the number of prisoners, although the numeral is not fully preserved: x+2.
59. See above, n.7.
60. Probably to be identified with Neo-Assyrian *Izalla*, west of the *Tur Abdin*, renowned for its wine; cf. *RLA* V, s.v. *Izalla*; Kessler 1980: 26.
61. Not otherwise localised.
62. The Babylonian version adds: 'They killed 2,045 and took 1,558 prisoners.'
63. A place called *Kunduru* appears in the *Persepolis* texts (PFT, s.v. 'Kunrush' and 'Kuntarrush'), but is not necessarily identical with the Median town mentioned here.
64. The Babylonian version adds: 'We killed 34,425(?) and took x prisoners.'
65. Close to modern *Tehran*.
66. According to the Babylonian version, *Fravartish* was captured and sent to Darius together with his soldiers.
67. For discussion of the significance of this kind of punishment, see Nylander 1980.
68. Public display of captured rebels (still living though mutilated, suffering a slow death and/or the maltreated corpse) is a practice well attested in many societies and at many periods. Darius' treatment of *Fravartish* signifies the very serious nature of the rebellion, which had support in eastern Iran (paras.35–7) and was probably linked to *Cicantakhma*'s uprising (para.33).

69. The Elamite and Babylonian versions elaborate on this: both say that Fravartish's close associates were beheaded and that the corpses were displayed at the fortress of Ecbatana. The Babylonian version adds that the number of executed associates was forty-seven.
70. The location of Sagartia, which appears only in DB and Herodotus (see **11, no.25**, n.65; **17, no.9**, and note that Sagartians are listed as a Persian tribe, **3, no.5**), is unclear. It is variously placed in eastern Iran and further west towards Media, because of Cicantakhma's claim to be associated with the Median royal house and his impalement at Arbela, see Walser 1966; Enclr II, s.v. Asagarta.
71. I.e. 'Cyaxares'.
72. The Babylonian text gives the date of the battle: 5th Tashritu, i.e. 12 October 521.
73. The Babylonian text adds 'tongue'; the fact that the Old Persian text omits this may be due to a scribal error, given that, in all other respects, the punishment is identical to that meted out to Fravartish (para.32).
74. Modern Erbil in north-eastern Iraq. The Babylonian version adds: 'The total dead and surviving of the rebel force was 447(?)'.
75. North-eastern Iran.
76. The Babylonian text specifies that the people abandoned Vishtaspa (Hystaspes) in order to join Fravartish.
77. Not otherwise known.
78. The Babylonian text adds that Vishtaspa and his soldiers killed 6,346 and took 4,346 prisoners.
79. Not otherwise known.
80. The Babylonian text adds: 'They killed 6,570 of them and took prisoner 4,192. Then he executed their leader and the nobles who were with him – a total of 80.'
81. The region of the great oasis of Merv in modern Turkmenistan.
82. Southern region of Central Asia, see **fig.5.1**. Note that Dadarshi is the Persian governor of the region.
83. The uncertainty about the date arises from the fact that we do not know whether the battle occurred in Darius I's accession year (522) or first regnal year (521); Borger (1982: 118–22) has made a strong case in favour of the later date.
84. The Babylonian text adds: 'He executed Frada (Akk. Parada) and the nobles who were with him, a total of 46(?). He killed 55,2xx and took prisoner 6,572.' The Aramaic version omits the execution but sets the number of killed at 55,24x, of prisoners at 6,972.
85. Neither town nor district is precisely located, although it has been suggested that Tarava may be identical with modern Tarom in Fars, Yutiya should be located to the east, cf. Schmitt 1991: 64 ad l.22.
86. It is probable that Darius is here referring to the fact that this was the second revolt in Persia by someone claiming to be Bardiya (for the attribution of Babylonian documents to Bardiya 'II', see Zadok 1976; for criticism, cf. Zawadzki 1995a).
87. The Babylonian version elaborates: 'king of lands'.
88. For discussion of Anshan in Fars, see **3, Introduction**. The Babylonian text makes it clear that at the time of Vahyazdata's revolt, Darius was still in Babylon and that it was the army there that rebelled: 'Then all the Persian troops, who had previously come to me to the palace of Babylon from Anshan, revolted from me and went over to Vahyazdata.'
89. The Elamite, Babylonian and Aramaic texts are more precise: 'I sent to Persia another small Persian force which had not revolted from me and the Median army.'
90. This place appears repeatedly in the Persepolis Fortification texts, see PFT s.v. Rakkan. It is not precisely located, but see **fig.16.5(2)**.
91. The place where the previous 'pseudo-Bardiya', Gaumata, launched his rebellion, see above, n.18.
92. Both Schmitt (1991: 65 ad l.44) and Lecoq (1996: 204) suggest that this is to be identified with New Persian 'Purg'.
93. The Babylonian text inserts the statement that 'they killed 6,246(?) of them and took prisoner 4,464', before mentioning the capture of Vahyazdata and his retainers.
94. Elamite 'Matezzish', Babylonian 'Humadeshu', was an important urban centre, attested already in the reign of Cambyses, which seems to have been incorporated into Darius' newly laid out city of Persepolis, see Zadok 1976; Stolper 1984; Sumner 1986: 23; Briant 1996a: 99 [2002b: 86–8]; Boucharlat 2003a; cf. **11, no.10**, n.3. That it was obviously a prominent and populous city, before

- Darius' building began, is signalled by his choice of the site for the public execution of this particularly dangerous rebel.
95. The Babylonian text specifies the number executed as fifty-two, while the fragmentary Aramaic seems to say, that: 'the total of killed and liv[ing which my troops killed and seized was . . .]fifty-two.'
 96. The region around Kandahar, Afghanistan.
 97. Both the Babylonian and Elamite versions specify its location in Arachosia. Bernard (1974) has argued that it is the Old Persian name for Kandahar.
 98. The Babylonian text gives the numbers of dead and prisoners taken: 4,579 and 3,76x, respectively.
 99. There are considerable problems with locating Gandutava, as, according to the Elamite text, it was in Arachosia, while the Babylonian version places it in Sattagydia. For its possible location at modern Gandamak, east of Kabul, see von Voigtlander 1978: 36; Fleming 1982: 107–8.
 100. The number of dead, according to the Babylonian text, was 4,579; the Aramaic version adds to that 3,760 prisoners.
 101. The Babylonian specifies that Arshada 'belonged to' Vivana, possibly within a domain held by Vivana as part of his satrapal function, cf. the Elamite designation of it as *irmatam*; for discussion, see Briant 1996a: 458–9 [2002b: 444–5], cf. **16, Introduction**.
 102. Elamite, Babylonian and Aramaic all agree in having Vivana kill the chief of Vahyazdata's army along with his supporters. Although both the Babylonian and Aramaic texts give the total killed, the numbers are fragmentary (Bab.: 4,2xx; Ar.: [. . .]5).
 103. All versions agree in making Arakha an Armenian. The linguistic affiliations of his name are disputed, although that of his father definitely suggests links with Armenia. The name Arakha appears occasionally in Babylonian documents; see Enclr II, s.v. Araxa.
 104. The Babylonian version diverges by saying that the revolt began in Ur. It is possible that this is due to some confusion on the part of the Babylonian writer(s) (cf. von Voigtlander 1978: 37), because (1) the Elamite agrees with the Old Persian, and (2) a Dubala is attested in Babylonian documents, see Zadok 1981: 665; Stolper 1987: 396, n.35.
 105. Cf. the claims of Nidintu-Bel earlier (paras.17–20); most scholars attribute several dated Babylonian texts to his period of rule, with the label 'Nebuchadnezzar IV' (from August to November 521, cf. Zawadski 1995b). For arguments against the reality of a fourth Nebuchadnezzar, see Rollinger 1998a. OP Vindafarna becomes Intaphernes in Greek.
 106. The Babylonian text adds: 'The total dead and surviving of the army of Arakhu was 2,497.'
 107. The Babylonian phrase is: 'May the foundation of my kingdom be secure!' The Elamite has not translated it at all, but simply transliterated the Old Persian phrase, which is a formula also found in the Indo-Iranian poetical tradition (cf. Schmitt 1970) – another pointer to the close interaction of Elamite and Persian.
 108. This OP phrase has presented many difficulties for translators, but seems to imply an oath. Schmitt's translation (1991: 69, plus note ad l.44) is 'I swear by Auramazda'. This harmonises well with the Elamite ('This is Auramazda's destiny') and Babylonian ('I take the oath of Auramazda') renderings of the passage.
 109. I.e. Darius is not lying.
 110. This is the first acknowledgement of other gods in the text, worship of which is well attested in the Achaemenid period; see, for example, the royal provisioning of cults of a diverse range of deities in PFT (see, e.g., **11, nos.40–2**). The interpretation of the significance of Darius' declaration here varies, see, e.g., Boyce 1982: 83; Gnoli 1983; Lecoq 1997: 210, para.62, n.3. It may represent an emphasis on the concerted support, not only of all the gods of Persia, but also of those of the conquered peoples.
 111. OP *aršta-*.
 112. OP *with-*, cf. above, n.29.
 113. The Babylonian text adds the additional adjective 'Padishumarish', which echoes the OP description in DNC, where Gaubaruva's identity is rendered 'Patischorean' in Babylonian (see **fig.11.14**). For the spelling, see von Voigtlander 1976: 47, ad l.111. According to Strabo XV, 3.1, this was a sub-group (*phule*) of the Persians, along with the Achaemenids and magi (cf. **3, no.5**).
 114. The Aramaic version has omitted the last two names. The first five individuals are also named by

- Herodotus (see **5, no.9**), as associates of Darius in the murder of Bardiya: Intaphernes, Otanes, Gobryas, son of Mardonius, Hydarnes and Megabyzos, respectively.
115. This seems to refer to the creation of a script for writing Old Persian for the first time, an interpretation now widely, albeit not universally, accepted (see references, above n.1). It is omitted from the Babylonian text, although there is space for it. The Elamite version (DBI) appears above the figure of Darius, not in the main text (see **fig.5.3**), and states, significantly, 'this is my text, which I made, in Aryan, as previously was not'. Schmitt's understanding of the passage (1991: 73 ad l.89) is that Darius speaks first about the script's shape, and then refers to its 'inner form', which made it capable of rendering 'Aryan' (i.e. Iranian/Persian). But translations of the section diverge considerably and it must be admitted that its meaning remains very uncertain (cf. Schmitt 1991: 74: 'I would like to add that I myself regard neither the restoration nor the translation given here for this . . . paragraph as final.')
 116. The reference must be to the fact that Darius' account was written in Akkadian cuneiform ('on clay tablets') and Aramaic ('on parchment'); for the Akkadian version found at Babylon (albeit on stone) and the Aramaic one at Elephantine, see the bibliography given above, n.1; for fragments of a version of the Bisitun relief, which accompanied the Akkadian text(s), see Seidl 1976; 1999a; 1999b, and see **fig.5.4**.
 117. Kent, DB para.70 restored this to read, 'Besides, I made the sculpture', which Schmitt (1991: 74, ad l.90) rejects as untenable; this translation, which converges with the Elamite, is neither certain nor clear.
 118. The Old Persian appears to say simply 'the people strove', using the word *hamatakhshata*, which seems to be a form of the verb used earlier (paras.63, 68). Others have translated it as 'the people unitedly worked upon it' (Kent, DB para.70); 'the people understood (it)' (Gershevitch 1982: 105–6); 'the people, i.e. popular assembly (alternatively, "the army") collaborated in it' (Lecoq 1997: 212, 213, n.4).
 119. DB paras.71–6 constitute column V of the text, which was quite clearly added later (see Trümpelmann 1967; Wiesehöfer 1978: 9–14, and figs.5–9; Herrenschimidt 1989; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1999: 104–7, and cf. **fig.5.2**). They are written only in Old Persian.
 120. This seems to be an Elamite name (cf. Schmitt 1991: 75 ad l.5); note also Waters (1997: 144–5/2000: 85–7), who suggests that he was a local ruler surviving in a part of Elam that had been only partially incorporated, cf. Tavernier 2004: 22–9.
 121. The basic meaning is that those who worship Auramazda, in the sense of adhering to the Persian imperial order (note that the Elamite rebellion, as an offence against that order, is equated to denial of Auramazda), will be blessed in life as in death, cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 16–21; Kellens 1987. But how the (partially preserved) statement is to be translated precisely is uncertain. Kent (DB para.73) has 'Whoso shall worship Auramazda, divine blessing will be upon him, both (while) living and (when) dead.' Similarly, Lecoq (1997: 213) translates: 'Celui qui vénérera Auramazda, la faveur sera pour lui, aussi bien de son vivant qu'après sa mort.' By contrast, Herrenschimidt (1984: 156) has suggested a somewhat different restoration of the passage, yielding a sense of: 'He who shall worship Auramazda, may (his) wish be granted him, both while living and dead.' Schmitt (1991: 75 ad l.19), while acknowledging Herrenschimidt's restoration as linguistically convincing, points out that it does not fit the space in the inscription; accordingly, he translates: 'Who shall worship Auramazda, his shall be the (object of his) prayer, both (while he is) living and (when he is) dead.'
 122. The Saca are the people called Scythians by classical writers. There were several distinct groups inhabiting the great stretches of the Central Asian and south Russian steppes (Rolle (1989) provides a general introduction to the Scythian cultures). Their territories abutted the frontiers of the Persian realm, (a) in the north-west, Black Sea region, and (b) in the north-east, Central Asia. The Saca group, against whom Darius campaigned in his third year, was almost certainly located in Central Asia (for references, see Briant 1996a: 928–9 [2002b: 901]; but note Schmitt 1972: 526–7, reiterated briefly, 1991: 76 ad l.23). The particular Saca encountered on this expedition are identified here, as in other OP inscriptions, by their distinctive headgear, which consisted of a tall pointed cap; see the depiction of the captive chief Skunkha on the relief at Bisitun (**fig.5.3**).

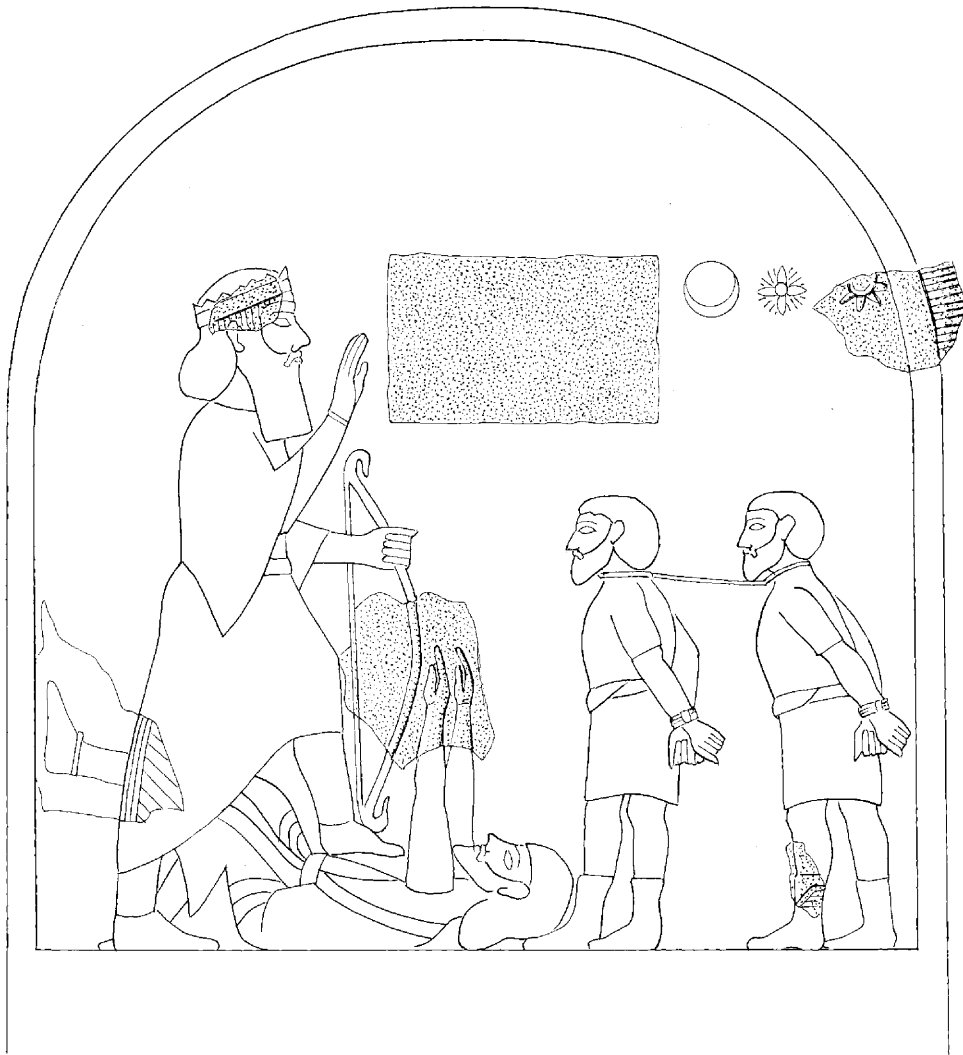


Figure 5.4 Reconstruction of the Babylonian version of Darius I's Bisitun stone relief and inscription erected along the Processional Way in Babylon; cf. von Voigtlander 1978: 63–6. See Seidl 1999a; 1999b, cf. **5, no.1**, para.70. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

B. Cambyses and Bardiya according to Graeco-Roman writers

2. Bardiya: the blot on the Achaemenid escutcheon

Aeschylus, *The Persians*, 765–79.¹

765. For Medus² was the first leader of the people,
 766. and next it was his son who accomplished the task,
 [767. for good sense led his heart.]³

768. Third after him Cyrus, a fortunate man,
 769. brought peace to all his friends with his reign:
 770. the people of Lydia and Phrygia he gained,
 771. and controlled all Ionia by force.
 772. For god did not grudge him, as he was kindly.
 773. Cyrus' son was fourth to direct the host.
 774. Mardus ruled fifth, a disgrace to his country
 775. and the throne of old.⁴ With cunning
 776. noble Artaphrenes slew him in the palace,
 777. together with some friends whose duty it was.⁵
 778. Sixth was Maraphis;⁶ and as number seven it was (between) Artaphrenes
 779. and me; the lot fell out the way I wanted.⁷

Notes

1. The earliest preserved Greek reference to Bardiya's reign and Darius' accession is in Aeschylus' tragedy *The Persians*, performed in Athens in 472 (see E. Hall 1996 for text with translation and introduction). In the scene from which this extract comes, the ghost of Darius I recites, in brief, the doings of his predecessors.
2. Medus and his unnamed son signify the Median hegemony, preceding Persian rule.
3. West and West (1991: 182–3) have argued strongly in favour of moving this line to follow l.777, where it would then describe Artaphrenes' action.
4. A Greek rendering of the name 'Bardiya', which in Herodotus becomes 'Smerdis' (see **5, no.3**). Interestingly, there is no suggestion here that Bardiya was regarded as an impostor, simply a disgraceful king; cf. Dandamaev 1976: 120.
5. It seems likely that Aeschylus is here confusing Artaphrenes with Intaphernes, the Vindafarna who heads the list of Darius' helpers in DB para.68 (**5, no.1**). The fact that Aeschylus credits him with the murder of Bardiya, implies (a) that alternative versions to Darius' account of the assassination circulated; (b) that Intaphernes was Darius' rival for the throne; cf. the next line and Herodotus' story of the punishment of Intaphernes, **5, no.16**.
6. According to a later scholion, the fifth-century historian Hellanicus of Lesbos named Maraphis as an otherwise unknown, third son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses (FGrH 4 F181). Whether Hellanicus knew this independently of Aeschylus cannot be established; see West and West (1991: 185–6), who make the further suggestion that Maraphis may here recall yet another pretender 'son of Cyrus', who challenged Darius' kingship. Note that Maraphis must be the eponym of the Persian tribe of the Maraphii, see **3, no.5**.
7. I have adopted West and West's interpretation of this problematical passage (1991: 187), which makes somewhat better sense than the usual, 'seventh Artaphrenes, and I, too . . .'. The reference to the lot (*palos*) falling out in Darius' favour, implies that a story, similar to that in Herodotus (**5, no.13**; cf. also Ctesias 688 FGrH 688 F13(17), Justin I, 10.1–9), where Bardiya's assassins agree to leave the choice of king to be decided by a horse-oracle, lies behind Aeschylus' line.

3. The murder of Bardiya (Smerdis)¹: Herodotus' version

Herodotus III, 30.

It was directly because of this crime,² say the Egyptians, that Cambyses went mad – although he was not really sane before. The first evil thing he did was to eliminate his brother Smerdis, who had the same father and mother as himself. He had sent him back to Persia from Egypt out of jealousy, because he was the only one of the Persians who had been able to draw the bow, as much as by two fingers, which the Fisheaters had brought from the Ethiopians.³ Not one of the other Persians had been able to draw it at all. After Smerdis had

gone back to Persia, Cambyses had this dream: it seemed that a messenger came from Persia, announcing that Smerdis was sitting on the royal throne, with his head reaching to the sky. Because of this dream, Cambyses feared for himself – that his brother would kill him and rule in his stead. So he sent Prexaspes,⁴ the man among the Persians he most trusted, to Persia, to kill him. Prexaspes went to Susa⁵ and killed Smerdis, some say by taking him out hunting, others that he took him to the Red Sea⁶ and drowned him.

Notes

1. Smerdis is a hellenised form of OP Bardiya, Cambyses' full brother (**5, no.1**, para.10). For variants of this episode which, contra **5, no.2**, makes Cambyses a fratricide, see **5, nos.1**, para.10; **5; 6**.
2. The story follows the account of Cambyses' murder of the Apis bull (**4, no.18**).
3. For the scouting mission of the Fisheaters to Nubia (Ethiopia) and the sending of the bow, together with a challenge, to Cambyses, see **4, no.10(i)**.
4. It has been thought that Prexaspes' son was a prominent figure at Darius I's court, and that Prexaspes' name appears in the Persepolis texts. This is based on a false restoration, see Vallat 1999.
5. Herodotus, like Aeschylus, assumes that the palace and government centre of the Persian kings was always at Susa, in Elam. Susa formed for classical Greek writers the Persian royal centre par excellence – Pasargadae, Persepolis and Ecbatana lay outside their geopolitical vision of the empire – so these references have no independent evidential value. While it is unclear precisely what role Susa played in the early Persian empire (beyond that of a provincial centre, see Briant 1993; 1996a: 96 [2002b: 85]), before Darius I's massive replanning of the palatial area (**11, nos.12–13**), it is clear from Darius' account of Bardiya's revolt (**5, no.1**, paras.11, 13) that this was centred in Persia and Media, not Elam.
6. I.e. the Persian Gulf.

4. Bardiya's revolt and Cambyses' death according to Herodotus

Herodotus III, 61–8.1.

As Cambyses, Cyrus' son, was whiling away his time in Egypt and going mad,¹ there rebelled against him two magi, brothers, one of whom had been left in charge of the palace by Cambyses. As soon as this man learnt that Smerdis' death had been kept secret,² that there were few Persians who knew about it and that most of them thought he was still alive, he planned to seize the kingship. As I said, there was a brother, who helped in the conspiracy. And he looked very similar to Cyrus' son, Smerdis, the very brother whom Cambyses had killed. Moreover, not only did he look like Smerdis, he even had the same name! The magus, Patizeithes, persuaded the man that he would do all things necessary and then placed him on the throne. Once that was done, he sent heralds to other places, in particular to Egypt, to declare to the army that henceforth they must obey Smerdis, son of Cyrus, instead of Cambyses.

(62) The other heralds made their announcements, as did the one sent to Egypt – in fact, he found Cambyses and the army in Syrian Ecbatana.³ There he stood, in their midst, and made the announcement, ordered by the magus. When Cambyses heard the herald's message, he was convinced that he was speaking the truth and that Prexaspes had betrayed him: that, although he had sent him to kill Smerdis, he had not done so.⁴ Fixing Prexaspes with his eye, he spoke: 'Is this the way you dealt with the matter I entrusted to you, Prexaspes?' But the other replied: 'My lord, this is not true; your brother Smerdis has not rebelled against you; nor can there be any quarrel, large or small, from him affecting you. For I myself did

what you ordered me to do and buried him with my own hands. If it be that the dead come back to life, you should watch for Astyages the Mede⁵ to rise in revolt. But if everything is as usual, then nothing new to harm you can arise. In this case, I think you should send for the herald and interrogate him; ask him from whom he came to make the announcement that we must obey Smerdis.'

(63) That is what Prexaspes said, and, as it pleased Cambyses, the herald was sent for immediately and came. When he had arrived, Prexaspes put this question to him: 'You say, my man, that you come from Smerdis, Cyrus' son, as messenger. Now tell the truth and, if you are lucky, get out. Was it Smerdis in person who gave you these orders, or was it one of his servants?' The man replied: 'For my part, I have not set eyes on Cyrus' son Smerdis since King Cambyses went to Egypt. It was the magus, whom Cambyses appointed as palace steward, who gave me my orders, saying that what I have told you was the message of Cyrus' son Smerdis.' That is what he said, and he was not trying to lie. So Cambyses said: 'Prexaspes, you have acted like a good man; you have carried out your instructions and are blameless. But what Persian could it be who has usurped Smerdis' name and rebelled against me?' Prexaspes responded: 'My lord, I think I know what has happened. It is the magi, whom you left in charge of the palace, who have rebelled – Patizeithes and his brother, Smerdis.'

(64) As soon as Cambyses heard Smerdis' name, the truth of both word and dream struck him. In his dream it had seemed to him that somebody came with the message that Smerdis was seated on the royal throne, touching the sky with his head.⁶ Now he realised that he had killed his brother for nothing and wept for Smerdis. When his tears ceased and the calamity struck him in full, he leapt on his horse, intending to march to Susa⁷ against the magus as quickly as possible. But as he leaped onto the horse, the cap of the sword scabbard fell off and the naked blade pierced his thigh. He was wounded in exactly the spot where earlier he had struck the Egyptian god Apis.⁸ As he felt that he had received a mortal blow, Cambyses asked what the name of the city might be. They told him, 'Ecbatana'. Now, he had previously received an oracle from the city of Buto⁹ that he would end his life in Ecbatana. Of course, he thought that he would die, an old man, in Median Ecbatana, where all his activities were centred. But the oracle had obviously meant Syrian Ecbatana.¹⁰ When he had asked and realised the city's name, he was overcome by the disaster wrought by the magus as well as the wound, and came to his senses. He understood the prophecy and said: 'This is the place where Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is fated to die.'

(65) That was all there was then. But twenty days later, he sent for the most notable of the Persians with him, and addressed them as follows: 'I am compelled, Persians, to reveal to you something which, more than anything else, I wanted to keep hidden. When I was in Egypt, I had a vision in my sleep, I wish I had never seen. It seemed to me that a messenger came to me from home, announcing that Smerdis was seated on the royal throne with his head touching the sky. I was afraid that my brother would take power, so I acted quickly rather than wisely – because it is not in human nature to be able to change that which is to come. But, fool that I am, I sent Prexaspes to Susa to kill Smerdis. When that evil deed had been done, I lived free of fear, never thinking that, with Smerdis out of the way, someone else might revolt against me. I quite missed the meaning of what was to be; I have become a fratricide to no purpose and lost the kingdom nevertheless. Because it was Smerdis the magus which the god revealed to me in the vision as the rebel against me. Now, I did do the deed, and you cannot reckon Cyrus' son, Smerdis, as being still alive. So now you will find it is the magi who exercise royal power – the one I left as steward of the palace and his brother, Smerdis. The one, who, above all, would have been ready to avenge the shame

inflicted on me by the magi, has by a dreadful chance been slain by his own kinsman. He is no more; and so, as a second choice, I place upon you, Persians, my most urgent command as to what I want done, now that I am dying. In the name of the gods of the royal line, and appealing to all of you, in particular those here who are Achaemenids: do not allow power to pass back to the Medes!¹¹ If they have got hold of it by cunning, then by cunning you must take it back; if they have used some kind of force, then with real force you must take it back. If you do this, may the earth bear fruit for you, may your women and flocks be fruitful, and may you live in liberty for all time! But if you do not take back power, if you make no effort to do so, I pray that the opposite befalls you, and, what is more, that every man in Persia meets the kind of end that has befallen me!’ Thus spoke Cambyses, and wept for all that had happened to him.

(66) When the Persians saw the king weeping, they all tore their garments and set up a great lament. Afterwards, the bone became gangrenous and the thigh rotted quickly. It killed Cambyses, son of Cyrus, who reigned in all seven years and five months¹² and was childless, having no male or female offspring. The Persians who were present did not believe for one minute that the magi had taken power. They thought that Cambyses had said this about Smerdis’ death out of malice, so that all Persia would make war on him.

(67) They were sure that Smerdis, son of Cyrus, had now come into the kingship, because Prexaspes insisted that he had not killed Smerdis; for, with Cambyses dead, it was not safe for him to say that he had, with his own hands, killed Cyrus’ son. So, on Cambyses’ death, the magus ruled unafraid for the seven months remaining to make up Cambyses’ eight years.¹³ During this period, he did great kindnesses to his subjects, so that when he died, he was greatly missed by the whole of Asia, save the Persians. For the magus sent to all the peoples he ruled over announcing their freedom from military service and tribute for three years.¹⁴

(68) He made this proclamation immediately on his accession to power.

Notes

1. For the stories of Cambyses’ acts of madness in Egypt, see **4, nos.17–22**.
2. Cf. **5, no.1**, para.10.
3. No place called Ecbatana in Syria is attested. It is clear from what follows (64) that the name serves Herodotus to make a telling point about how human beings can misinterpret prophecies.
4. See **5, no.3**.
5. Astyages, last king of the Medes, was defeated by Cyrus in 550; see **3, nos.1; 6–8**.
6. See **5, no.3**.
7. For Herodotus’ anachronistic setting of Bardiya’s revolt in Susa, see above, **5, no.3**, n.5.
8. See **4, no.18**.
9. Buto is in the Western Delta region of Egypt.
10. See above, n.3.
11. Herodotus does not say here, explicitly, that he considered the magi to be Medes, but it is implied (and note **3, no.5**). It emerges more clearly as his story progresses until Gobryas makes the identification explicit (**5, no.9(73)**). There is no suggestion whatever in Darius’ account that Gaumata’s reign was linked to a Median attempt to seize power; it is very clearly separated from the later Median revolt. But note that, while the OP version of DB only calls Gaumata a magus (**5, no.1**, para.11), the Babylonian text describes him as a Mede (see **5, no.1**, n.17); for discussion, see Dandamaev 1976: 136–44; Wiesehöfer 1978: 115ff; and Briant (1996a: 112; 924 [2002b: 100; 895–6]) (who points out that, as the magus is claiming to be the son of Cyrus, there can have been no ‘Median agenda’ for Bardiya’s revolt).
12. According to dated Babylonian documents, Cambyses ruled slightly longer, for seven years and

seven months (August 530 to April 522). However, the confusion caused by Bardiya's assumption of power – itself not precisely datable (see above, **5, no.1**, n.20) – makes it impossible to date Cambyses' length of reign with absolute precision. How Herodotus got his very exact reign-lengths for the Persian (and Median) kings is unknown; for suggestions, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988a; 1994a.

13. According to Darius' account (**5, no.1**, paras.11 & 13) Bardiya 'revolted' on 11 March 522, 'seized the kingship' on 1 July 522 (after which Cambyses died), and was killed by Darius on 29 September 522.
14. The measure was perhaps in response to problems that had arisen among the subject peoples in the wake of the Persian conquest, and would thus provide a hint of some of the reasons lying behind Bardiya's revolt; it could also have been intended to rally empire-wide support (see **5, no.6**). It cannot be compared with the remission of outstanding tribute, granted by kings on accession, described by Herodotus (VI, 59) as a Persian practice (also well attested for Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian period (c.2000–1600), cf. Kuhrt 1995a: 77 for references); see Briant 1996a: 117–18 [2002b: 105–6]. This passage implicitly raises the question of the nature of Bardiya's rule, which, according to Darius (**5, no.1**, para.14), involved destruction of shrines and removal of pastures, herds, 'household slaves' and houses/domains. Who precisely was affected by these actions and what they were exactly remains obscure and subject to debate; see **5, no.1**, nn.26–8. Dandamaev (1976), in particular, argued that the victims of Bardiya's measures were the Persian clan aristocracy, between whom and the Persian kings major tensions had developed. For recent analysis of the problem, with references, see Briant 1996a: 115–17; 925 [2002b: 103–5; 896–7].

5. Ctesias' story of how Cambyses murdered his brother, died and a magus acceded to the throne

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(11–15); Lenfant, 118–20.¹

A certain magus, called Sphendadates, who had done wrong and been flogged by Tanyoxarkes,² came to Cambyses and accused his brother Tanyoxarkes of plotting against him. Proof of the treason would be that when summoned, he would not come. So Cambyses ordered his brother to come; but Tanyoxarkes, busy with other matters, decided to stay where he was. So the magus was able to slander him even more freely. But his mother Amytis,³ who was suspicious of the magus, warned her son Cambyses not to believe him. Although he replied that he did not believe him, Cambyses in fact trusted him absolutely.

(12) Cambyses sent for his brother a third time and he came. Cambyses kissed him, but nevertheless thought of killing him, and hastened to carry out his plan without Amytis' knowledge. And so the deed was done. The magus, being the king's accomplice, counselled him thus: he (the magus) resembled Tanyoxarkes closely. So he suggested that a public announcement be made that, because he had slandered the king's brother, he would be beheaded. But, secretly, Tanyoxarkes would be killed, while the magus put on his garments and, dressed thus, he would be taken for Tanyoxarkes. And that is what happened. Tanyoxarkes drank bull's blood and died;⁴ the magus put on his clothes and was taken for Tanyoxarkes, (13) and nobody was aware of it for a long time, except Artasyras, Bagapates and Izabates.⁵ They were the only ones whom Cambyses had taken into his confidence. Labyxos, chief of Tanyoxarkes' eunuchs, and the others were called by Cambyses who displayed the magus sitting dressed up as Tanyoxarkes. 'Do you think that man is Tanyoxarkes?' he said. Labyxos was amazed. 'Who else could we take him for?' he replied. So successfully was the magus able to deceive them because of this likeness.

He was sent to Bactria⁶ and did everything the way Tanyoxarkes had done it. After five

years had passed, the deed was revealed to Amytis by the eunuch Tibethes, whom the magus had struck. She demanded that Cambyes hand over Sphendadates to her.⁷ When he refused, she cursed him, drank poison and died.

(14) Cambyes made a sacrifice, but the blood of the slaughtered victims did not flow, and he became anxious. Then Roxane bore him a headless child, and his anxiety increased.⁸ The magi explained to him the meaning of the omens, namely, that he would not have a successor. His mother appeared to him at night, threatening him because of the murder, and his anxiety deepened. When he arrived in Babylon and, to pass the time, was carving some wood with a knife, it struck his thigh up to the muscle, and he died after eleven days, having reigned eighteen years.⁹

(15) Bagapates and Artasyras, however, had planned, before Cambyes' death, that the magus should become king.¹⁰

Notes

1. Ctesias' version of the murder of Cambyes' brother diverges sharply from that of Herodotus (**5, no.3**). It is placed by him well before Cambyes' death, but (at least, according to Photius' arrangement) after the Egyptian campaign in which, according to Ctesias, Cambyes did not participate in person. The setting is clearly the Persian court.
2. The name of Cambyes' brother, Bardiya, in Ctesias (a very similar one is used by Xenophon, **3, no.36**). It should probably be understood as an epithet (from OP **tanu-vazraka* = 'a physical giant') developed in the wake of stories celebrating his physical prowess, such as the one about his superior strength in drawing the Ethiopian bow (Hdt. III, 30; **5, no.3**); see Wiesehöfer 1978: 47; Lenfant, LXIV–LXV & n.233.
3. According to Herodotus, the mother of Cambyes and Bardiya was Cassandane. Amytis, according to Ctesias, was the daughter of Astyages whom Cyrus married (see **3, no.8**).
4. For the notion of the fatal nature of drinking bull's blood, see Herodotus' story of the death of Psammetichus III (**4, no.9(i)**). One might also note that Cambyes is here guilty of a double crime: not only does he kill his brother, on provocation of a magus, he himself substitutes that very magus in his brother's office. See Tourraix (2001), who connects the Tanyoxarkes/Sphendadates episode with the Mesopotamian substitute king ritual, for which see Parpola 1983: xxii–xxxii.
5. Artasyras the Hyrcanian is mentioned by Ctesias as Cambyes' most trusted counsellor in the context of his accession. Bagapates and Izabates are named among Cambyes' three most trusted eunuchs in the same passage, see **4, no.2**.
6. The province assigned to Bardiya by Cyrus before his death, according to Ctesias and Xenophon (cf. **3, nos.35–6**).
7. A recurring motif in Greek stories about Persian queens is their desire to avenge themselves cruelly on those responsible for the death of their sons, and the ensuing conflicts with the king; see, e.g., **12, no.38(i)**.
8. In Greek religion, a crucial sign that the sacrifice had been properly carried out was that the blood of the animal flowed and splashed onto the altar, see Burkert 1985a: 59–60. Lenfant (LXXIII–LXXIV) argues that Cambyes was performing Babylonian rituals in Babylon. See her detailed discussion (Lenfant 1996), where she connects Cambyes' wood carving (i.e. figurines) with the substitute king rite (Parpola 1983: xxii–xxxii), the failure of sacrificial blood to flow with a ritual known from the Neo-Assyrian Sultan Tepe texts (STT, no.231 = E. Reiner, JNES 26 (1967): 186, ll.1–6; cf. RLA X, 80–1) and the headless child with the Babylonian omen series on monstrous births (Akk. *šumma izbu* = E. Leichty, TCS 4; cf. RLA X, 62–4).
9. Ctesias' lengths of reigns (as given by Photius) are virtually always wrong. Babylonian dated documents show that Cambyes reigned for nearly eight years (530–522), cf. above **5, no.4**, n.12.
10. Note that Ctesias places the reign of the pretender after Cambyes' death; some scholars suggest that Sphendadates may have been Gaumata's byname (see Lenfant, LXXII). For the obscuring of the chronology of events in Darius' account, see **5, no.1**, para.11 & n.20; **Introduction**).

6. *Cambyses and Bardiya according to Justin*

Justin I, 9.4–13.

After these disasters,¹ he (Cambyses) had a dream, which foretold the kingship of his brother, Mergis. Frightened by this dream, he did not hesitate, after these sacrileges, to commit fratricide as well. For it was difficult for a man, who, in his contempt of religion had even attacked the gods, to spare his own family. He entrusted this cruel task to a magus, who was among his friends, called Cometes.²

Meanwhile, his sword accidentally slipped out of its sheath and seriously wounded him in the thigh. As a result he died, thus expiating either the fratricide he had ordered or the sacrilege he had perpetrated.

When the magus heard the news,³ he hastened to carry out his task before the announcement of the king's death spread. He killed Mergis, who was next in line to the throne,⁴ and substituted his brother, Oropastes,⁵ who in face and figure bore a strong resemblance to Mergis. As no one suspected a trick, Oropastes became king in place of Mergis. The secret was even safer because, among the Persians, the person of the king was hidden in order to impress his majesty.⁶ Then, in order to curry favour with the people, the magi lifted military and tribute obligations for three years,⁷ in order to consolidate, through indulgence and largesse, a kingship obtained by fraud.

Notes

1. Justin precedes this (I, 9.1–3) with a brief résumé of Cambyses' conquest of Egypt, destruction of Egyptian temples and unsuccessful expedition to Siwa, perhaps derived from Herodotus (cf. **4, nos.10; 17–19**).
2. The name must hark back to the 'Gaumata' of the Bisitun inscription (**5, no.1**).
3. In Justin's presentation, the chronological order is again different: Cambyses' death is followed by the murder of Bardiya and only then does a pretender accede.
4. Note that in Justin there is no hint of a rebellion by Cambyses' brother.
5. It is possible that this is an epithet: OP Aura (Av. Ahura)-upasta-, 'possessed of Auramazda's aid', see Wiesehöfer 1978: 47.
6. For the problems of this passage, which seems to be a rationalisation by the author, see Briant 1996a: 112 [2002b: 100–1].
7. Echoing Herodotus' statement (**5, no.4**), from whom the statement may well derive.

C. The unmasking and killing of the pretender

7. *The imposture discovered and the magus denounced*

Herodotus III, 68–9; 74–5.

(In) the eighth month of his (sc. Smerdis') reign, he was unmasked, and it happened like this. There was a man called Otanes, the son of Pharnaspes, in birth and wealth the equal of the foremost Persians. This Otanes was the first to suspect the magus was not Cyrus' son, Smerdis, but what he in fact was. His suspicion was aroused because Smerdis never emerged from the citadel, and never summoned into his presence any of the Persian notables. Given his suspicions, he acted as follows. Cambyses had married his daughter, called Phaidymie. Then the magus had married her and co-habited with her, as he did with all the other wives

of Cambyses.¹ Otanes sent to his daughter and asked her who the man was she slept with – whether it was Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or somebody else. Her reply was that she did not know, because she had never seen Cyrus' son, Smerdis, nor did she know who was co-habiting with her. Otanes sent to her a second time, saying: 'If you yourself don't know Smerdis, son of Cyrus, then ask Atossa with whom she and you are co-habiting. She must certainly know her own brother.' The daughter sent back in response: 'I can't get to speak with Atossa, nor do I see any of the women of her household. As soon as this man, whoever he is, took over the kingship, he dispersed us – some here, some there.'

(69) When Otanes heard this, the whole thing became clearer to him. He sent a third message to her, saying this: 'Daughter, you are nobly born and you must undertake any dangerous mission your father commands you to undertake. If this is not Cyrus' son, Smerdis, but who I think it is, then he must not escape without punishment for sleeping with you and wielding power over the Persians; he must pay the penalty. Now do as follows: When he is sleeping with you and you know he is fast asleep, feel for his ears. If he has ears, then you can be sure that you are co-habiting with Smerdis, son of Cyrus; but if he has not, you are with the magus, Smerdis.' Phaidymie, in reply to this, said that it would be very dangerous to do this. Because if it should turn out that he did not have ears and she were discovered feeling for them, she knew full well that he would kill her; nevertheless, she would do it. So she undertook what her father demanded. (When Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, was ruling, he had cut off the ears of this magus, Smerdis, for a serious crime.²) Phaidymie herself, Otanes' daughter, did everything she had promised her father. When her turn came round to go to the magus (among the Persians the women go to their husbands in regular rotation), she went to him and slept with him; and once the magus was fast asleep, she felt for the ears. It was not difficult – in fact, easy – to discover that the man had no ears. As soon as day had broken, she reported what had happened to her father.³ (. . .)

(74) One of the plans of the magi was to make a friend of Prexaspes, because of the dreadful thing he had suffered at Cambyses' hands, when he had shot and killed his son.⁴ And also because he was the only one who knew about the death of Smerdis, Cyrus' son, since he had killed him with his own hands.⁵ Further, Prexaspes enjoyed the greatest esteem among the Persians. For these reasons, then, they called him to join them as a friend, with pledges and oaths, that he would keep it to himself and not reveal to anyone the trick they had played on the Persians, promising to heap every kind of gift on him.⁶ When Prexaspes had agreed to do this, the magi made another proposal. They said that they were calling all the Persians together at the palace walls and ordered Prexaspes to go up on the tower and state that they were being ruled by Smerdis and no one else. They demanded this because he was the man most trusted in Persia, and had repeatedly expressed the opinion that Cyrus' son, Smerdis, was alive; he had also strongly denied his murder of him.

(75) Once Prexaspes had expressed his readiness to say this, the magi called the Persians together and had him go up the tower to speak as commanded. But he decided to forget what they had told him, and, starting with Achaemenes, he traced Cyrus' family, and when he got to him, he recounted the many good things Cyrus had done for Persia. As he went through these, he revealed the truth, saying that previously he had concealed it, because it had not been safe for him to come out with what had happened, but that now, it was essential to disclose it. And so he said that he himself had been compelled by Cambyses to murder Cyrus' son, Smerdis, and that the magi held the kingship. He called down many curses upon the Persians should they not wrest power back and punish the magi. Then he threw himself down, head first, from the tower. Thus Prexaspes died, a notable man all his life.⁷

Notes

1. The female establishment of one king automatically became the responsibility of his successor. This could include sexual relations with a predecessor's wives, although in the case of Bardiya and, subsequently, Darius I, the take-over of royal women was closely linked to the need to underpin their precarious hold on power, see Briant 1996a: 144–5 [2002b: 132], cf. **5, no.14**. For discussion of Persian royal marriage practices, see Brosius 1996, ch.3; **12, Introduction**.
2. Physical mutilation as a punishment for serious crimes is frequently reported by classical writers as a Persian practice, cf. the mutilation of rebels described by Darius (**5, no.1**).
3. This curious tale has excited considerable debate among scholars. It was argued by Demandt (1972) that the story could only work in a western context, where Greeks would have seen the king in war dress, which included a balaclava-like tiara covering the whole head. By contrast, on the Persepolis sculptures (and Darius' relief at Bisitun, see **fig.5.3**), kings are depicted with their hair swept back behind their ears. The tale must, thus, be totally Greek (or, at least, western). There are, however, problems with Demandt's attractive argument, because images of the Persian kings on coins and seals, in court-dress with hair behind their ears, circulated widely through the empire (see particularly the seal-impression from Dascylium, Akurgal 1956, pl.12; Kaptan 2002 (DS 4); **fig.11.30**). S. West (in West and West 1991) has suggested that the story of the 'earless Smerdis' originates from statues or reliefs of Bardiya that had been mutilated on Darius' orders after his victory. A further possibility is that some classical writers linked the removal of ears with castration (the pretender is described as a eunuch by Plato, *Laws* 695b). Perhaps most persuasive is Bickerman and Tadmor's suggestion (1978) that the 'False Smerdis' of the story is a manifestation of the folk-tale demon Asmodeus. He can assume any shape, but this is never completely perfect – hence the devil's cloven hoof, and here the absence of ears or Plato's description of him as a eunuch.
4. See **4, no.21**.
5. Cf. **5, no.3**.
6. Literally, 'to give ten thousand of everything'.
7. Cf. the public denunciation of the magus in Ctesias (**5, no.8**).

8. The magus publicly exposed

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(15); Lenfant, 120.

Izabates took Cambyse's corpse and brought it to Persia.¹ As the magus was ruling under the name of Tanyoxarkes, Izabates² left Persia and told the army everything. When he had exposed the magus, he took refuge in the temple, whence he was seized and beheaded.

Notes

1. This suggests that Cambyse was formally buried and mourned, cf. **4, no.2**; **8, no.20**(48). For evidence of a funerary monument and royally supplied cult of Cambyse at Narezzash (mod. Niriz?) in the reign of Darius I, see Henkelman 2003a; **12, no.68(ii)**.
2. See **4, no.2** for Izabates' esteemed position in Cambyse's entourage.

9. The seven noble conspirators and the killing of the impostor

Herodotus III, 70–3; 76–9.

Otanes invited Aspathines and Gobryas, who were foremost among the Persians, well disposed towards him and trustworthy, and explained the whole matter. They had their own suspicion that this is how things were, so they readily accepted Otanes' story. They decided that each would recruit a friend, whomsoever he trusted most among the Persians. Otanes

brought in Intaphernes, Gobryas Megabyxos, Aspathines Hydarnes.¹ When they had become six, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, came to Susa from Persia, where his father was the governor.² When he arrived, the six Persians decided to co-opt Darius as well.

(71) Now that they were seven they met together to discuss and exchange oaths of trust. When it was Darius' turn to express his views, he spoke as follows: 'I thought I was the only one who knew that it was the magus who was king and that Cyrus' son, Smerdis, was dead. That is why I came quickly, to arrange the magus' death. As it turns out that you know it, too, and I am not the only one, I think we should act immediately and not delay; it would be better not to delay.' Otanes replied: 'Son of Hystaspes, you are the son of a good father and are showing yourself to be no less good than your father. However, don't be hasty about this attempt, but take it at a more sober pace. Because we need more to make the attempt.' Darius responded: 'You men who are now here: If you follow the plan outlined by Otanes, you must understand that you will die a horrible death. Because someone, hoping for personal gain, will inform the magus. It would be much better to do this yourselves. As you have decided to expand your numbers and added me to them, either we act today or I would have you know that, if a single day goes by, no one will inform on me – I myself will tell all to the magus!'

(72) When Otanes saw Darius' vehemence, he responded: 'Since you are obliging us to move quickly and will not let us delay – come on then, tell us how we are to get into the palace and attack those men. Because, as you know, guards are posted all around; even if you have not seen them, you have heard about them. How are we going to get past them?' Darius replied as follows: 'Otanés, many things cannot be described in words, yet can be done; others can be described in words, yet no great deed has resulted. You know that it is not so difficult to get past the guardposts. None of them will refuse the likes of us, partly out of respect, partly out of fear. I myself have an excellent reason for getting in – I can say that I have just come from Persia and wish to bring my father's message to the king. When it is necessary to tell a lie, tell it! Whether we are liars or truth-tellers, we are all anxious to achieve the same thing. The liars tell lies in order to gain an advantage by persuading others with their lies; the truth-tellers tell the truth so that they will obtain advantages through their truthfulness and be more trusted. The practices differ, the end is the same. If there were no profit in prospect, the person who tells the truth might lie and the liar tell the truth. Now, whoever of the guards lets us in willingly, will be the gainer in time to come. Whoever blocks our path, let him instantly be declared an enemy; let us push him aside and go in to do our work.'

(73) After this, Gobryas spoke: 'My friends, when will there be a better time to take back power, or, if we fail, to die? Seeing that we are Persians being ruled by a Mede, a magus – and he has not even got ears! Those of you who were there when Cambyzes was dying, will remember well the curses he called down, at the end of his life, upon the Persians should they not try to regain power.³ At the time we did not believe him, but thought that Cambyzes was speaking maliciously. But now I vote for Darius' proposal: no breaking up of this council, without going immediately to attack the magus!' These were Gobryas' words and all agreed. (. . .)

(76) After the seven Persians had decided to act immediately against the magi and not delay, they prayed to the gods; they knew nothing about what had happened with Prexaspes.⁴ They had gone halfway, when they heard what had happened with Prexaspes. On learning the news, they left the road and had another discussion. Those supporting Otanes, urged delay – they should not act while matters were in such chaos. The ones on Darius' side were for going immediately and carrying out their intentions without delay.

While they were arguing, there appeared seven pairs of hawks, chasing, tearing and savaging a brace of vultures. When the seven saw this, all came round to Darius' view and, encouraged by the birds, continued on their way to the palace.⁵

(77) When they reached the gates, everything happened as Darius thought. The guards were respectful to these foremost Persians and did not suspect that anything of this kind would come from them. So they let them through; god seemed to be on their side, because no one questioned them. When they had penetrated into the inner court, they met the eunuchs who carry messages in to the king. These asked them what they had come for, and, as they interrogated them, they threatened the guards for allowing them through. When the seven wanted to go on, they stopped them. The seven cried out to each other, drew their daggers, stabbed those who were trying to stop them on the spot, and ran towards the men's quarters.⁶

(78) As it happened, both the magi were inside discussing the repercussions of the Prexaspes' affair. When they saw the eunuchs in confusion and screaming, both sprang up; and when they realised what was happening, they seized their weapons. One hurriedly took a bow; the other snatched up his spear. Fighting ensued immediately. The one who had taken up the bow could not use it, as the enemy was too close and near. The other one defended himself with the spear, striking Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphernes in the eye. Intaphernes lost the damaged eye, but he did not die. This one of the magi, then, wounded these men. The other one, when the bow turned out to be useless, fled into a chamber leading into the men's quarters, and tried to shut the doors. But of the seven, two – Darius and Gobryas – rushed in with him. Gobryas was locked in a struggle with the magus; Darius stood by, not sure how to strike in the dark, for fear of hitting Gobryas. When Gobryas saw him standing there doing nothing, he asked him why his hands remained inactive. 'I am afraid I might strike you', said Darius; to which Gobryas replied: 'Thrust your sword even through the two of us!' Darius obeyed, struck with the dagger and, luckily, got only the magus.

(79) So they killed the magi, and cut off their heads. They left their wounded behind both because they were too weak and in order to guard the citadel. Then the five, with the magi's heads, ran out, shouting and yelling, called the other Persians to them and explained the business, displaying the heads. At the same time, they killed every magus they came across. When the Persians discovered from the seven what had gone on and how the magi had deceived them, they did the same: they drew their daggers and killed every magus they found. If night had not fallen, they would not have left any magi alive. This day the Persians celebrate publicly more than any other and hold a great festival on it. It is called 'The Killing of the Magi' by the Persians. On that day, no magus dares to go out in daylight, but must spend the day in his house.⁷

Notes

1. Cf. the names of Darius' helpers, listed in DB (**5, no.1**, para.68); Herodotus' names match perfectly, save for Aspathines and the parentage of Otanes (**5, no.7**).
2. According to Darius (**5, no.1**, para.35), whose version must be preferred here, Hystaspes was governor of Parthia. For the anachronism of Susa at this time, see **5, no.3**, n.5.
3. See **5, no.4**.
4. See **5, no.7**.
5. One of several ominous signs (see **5, nos.12–13**), recounted by Herodotus, showing Darius to be divinely favoured, thus underpinning his assumption of the kingship.

6. On the organisation of domestic space in Achaemenid palaces (men's and women's quarters), see Briant 1996a: 295–7 [2002b: 283–6].
7. For a discussion of attempts to understand this festival (Gr. *magophonia*), see Dandamaev (1976: 137–40), who argues in favour of reinterpreting it as the Old Persian monthname, *bagayadiš*, during which offerings were made to a Persian god; the day of Gaumata's assassination and the god's festival coincided – picked by the conspirators so that the court would be less prepared for an attack. For rejection of this view, see Wiesehöfer 1978: 177–8.

10. Another version of the magus' assassination

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(16); Lenfant, 120–1.

Then, seven prominent Persians banded together against the magus: Onophas, Idernes, Norondabates, Mardonius, Barisses, Ataphernes and Darius, the son of Hystaspes.¹ They exchanged oaths of loyalty, and added Artasyras, then Bagapates, who held the keys of the whole palace. Having gained entry with the help of Bagapates, the seven found the magus in bed with a Babylonian concubine.² When he saw them, he leapt up, but was unable to find a weapon (Bagapates had secretly hidden them all). So he broke a golden chair and used one of the legs as a weapon. Eventually, he had been stabbed all over by the seven and died, after a reign of seven months.

Notes

1. The only names in Ctesias' list of conspirators, apart from Darius, that bear some resemblance to that of Darius are Idernes (= Vidarna) and Ataphernes (= Vindafarna), but note that Mardonius was the son of Gobryas and Onophas of Otanes. For discussion of how the changes in Ctesias' list of names might have come about, see Lenfant, LXVI–LXXX.
2. For royal concubines, see **12, nos. 23–8**.

11. The seven conspirators agree privileges among themselves

Herodotus III, 83–4.2.

So when Otanes was worsted in his idea to establish equality for the Persians,¹ he said this to them: 'Fellow conspirators, it is obvious that one of us has to become king, whether by drawing lots, or turning the matter over to the Persians to choose whosoever it might be, or by some other device.'² As for myself, I am not going to compete with you – I do not wish to rule nor be ruled. I withdraw from the chance to rule on this condition: namely, that I shall not be ruled by any of you, neither I nor my descendents.' Those were his words and the six accepted it on these conditions. So, he would not compete, but withdrew. Even now, his household continues to be the sole free one in Persia, only ruled to the extent it wishes, providing it does not contravene the laws of the Persians.³

(84) Those left of the seven discussed the fairest way to choose a king. If someone else of the seven became king, apart from Otanes, they decided that Otanes and all his descendents should, as a special privilege, receive every year a Median garment and all the gifts most highly esteemed among the Persians.⁴ They decided to give him these because he had been the first to plan the business and had brought them together. These then were Otanes' special privileges. With respect to all the conspirators, they decided that the seven should have access to the palace whenever they wished, without being announced, unless it

happened that the king was sleeping with a woman; further, the king should not marry anyone outside the circle of the conspirators.⁵

Notes

1. The story is preceded by an account of a debate among the seven conspirators as to what kind of constitution Persia should have, following the assassination of the magi: democracy (advocated by Otanes), oligarchy (Megabyzus), monarchy (Darius). Some scholars, proceeding on the hypothesis that Bardiya had attacked the privileges of the Persian nobility, have argued that Herodotus may be portraying a historical reality presented in Greek dress; but most reject this (cf. Briant 1996a: 121; 926 [2002b: 109; 898] for references; Pelling 2002). The pro-monarchy argument won by four votes to three. What the story does, very powerfully, is to emphasise the crisis created by the assassination of the reigning king.
2. The problem of which of them should be king arose in the absence of any male offspring of either Cambyses or Bardiya, so that there was no obvious successor – a feature, of course, absent in Darius' own account (see further **5, no.13**).
3. What this means precisely is uncertain; what is clear is that Otanes' services continued to be at the disposal of the Persian kings, as shown by Darius' appointment of him as commander of the military expedition against Samos (**6, no.2**). For a full discussion of the hypothetical link between Otanes' family and Cappadocia, see Briant 1996a: 145–7 [2002b: 132–5].
4. For the system of gift-giving, see **13, nos.21–3**. For the royal presentation of Median dress, see **7, no.23**.
5. For Darius' subversion of both these remarkable privileges, see **5, nos.14 & 16**.

D. Darius becomes king

12. Cyrus the Great dreams of Darius' future kingship

Herodotus I, 209–10.

When he (Cyrus) had crossed the Araxes, night came upon him and, as he slept in the land of the Massagetae,¹ he saw this vision: it seemed to Cyrus, as he slept, that he saw the oldest son of Hystaspes with wings on his shoulders; with one of them he cast a shadow over Asia, and with the other over Europe. Hystaspes was the son of Arsames, an Achaemenid,² and his eldest son was Darius, a young man aged about twenty, who had remained in Persia, because he was not of military age. When Cyrus woke up, he pondered upon his vision. As he thought the dream not unimportant, he ordered Hystaspes to him and, taking him aside, said: 'Hystaspes, your son has been caught plotting against me and my rule. That my knowledge is accurate, I will show you. The gods are concerned about me and show me beforehand what is coming. Now as I slept last night, I saw your oldest son with wings on his shoulders, casting a shadow over Asia with one and over Europe with the other. As a result of this dream, there can be no doubt but that he is plotting against me. You must now go back quickly to Persia and be prepared, when I return from conquering here, to place your son before me for questioning.'

(210) It was because Cyrus thought that Darius was plotting against him that he said this. But the god was indicating to him that he himself would die, and that the kingship would pass to Darius. Hystaspes replied as follows: 'My lord, may a Persian never be born who plots against you! If there should be such, may he be destroyed rapidly! From being slaves, you have made the Persians free; instead of being ruled by others, they are rulers of all. If this dream tells you that my son is plotting against you, I will surrender him to you to

do whatsoever you wish with him.’ That was Hystaspes’ answer and, crossing the Araxes, he went to Persia to guard his son, Darius, for Cyrus’ return.

Notes

1. For Cyrus’ campaign against the Massagetae, which, according to Herodotus, ended in his death, see **3, no.34**.
2. Cf. Darius’ genealogy in **5, no.1**, para.2.

13. Darius wins the kingship

Herodotus III, 84.3–87; 88.3.

Concerning the appointment of a king, they reached the following decision:¹ they would ride out together next morning into the suburbs of the city, and he whose horse neighed first after the sun rose should have the kingdom.²

(85) Now Darius had a groom, a clever man, called Oibares. After the meeting had broken up, Darius said this to him: ‘Oibares, this is the way we are going to select the king – we shall mount our horses and he whose horse neighs first, after the sun has risen, will get the kingship. Now, if you have any wit, contrive a way whereby I shall get the prize and not someone else.’ Oibares replied, ‘Truly, my lord, if that is what you getting the kingship depends on, relax and cheer up, because no one else is going to be king but you; I have a failsafe ruse.’ Darius said: ‘If you have something like that, then prepare it immediately and don’t delay, because the competition is going to take place tomorrow.’ Hearing this, Oibares did the following: when night fell, he took one of the mares, which was the favourite of the horse ridden by Darius, and tethered her in the suburb and led Darius’ horse round and round the mare, closer and closer each time, and finally he let the horse mount her.

(86) In the morning, in accordance with what had been agreed, the six met on horseback and rode out to the suburb. As they went along they neared the spot where the mare had been tethered the night before, whereupon Darius’ horse sprang forward and neighed. At precisely the same time, there was a flash of lightning from the sky and thunder. It seemed as though it was conspiring with Darius and by these means making him king; then the others leaped from their horses and knelt before Darius.³

(87) That is how some say that Oibares managed the business. Others say (for the Persians have two stories) that he stroked the limbs of this mare and then hid his hand in his trousers. As the sun rose and they were letting the horses go, Oibares stretched out his hand and placed it close to the nostrils of Darius’ horse; as the horse smelled it, he neighed and whinnied.

(88) Everything was full of Darius’ power; and the first thing he did was to make and set up a stone monument. On it was the figure of a man on horseback and the inscription stated: ‘Darius, the son of Hystaspes, by means of his horse’s excellence’ (here he gave its name) ‘and that of Oibares, the groom, gained the Persian kingship.’⁴

Notes

1. The story is preceded by the agreement of privileges among the plotters (**5, no.11**). What is clear, both from Darius’ own account (**5, no.1**, paras.2–4; 35) and from those of Herodotus (**5, no.11**;

- III, 139), Plato (*Laws* 3.695) and Justin (I, 10.13–14), is that his father was not a king. For discussion of Darius' 'rights' to the kingship, see Briant 1996a: 122–4 [2002b: 109–11].
2. I.e. the king would be chosen by an omen.
 3. I.e. the choice of Darius as king is unmistakably confirmed by heavenly signs.
 4. A close parallel to this story of gaining the throne by means of horse and groom, and its visual and verbal commemoration, is contained in the Assyrian king Sargon II's (722–705) report of his campaign to Urartu in 714. Among the items looted from the temple of Haldi in Musasir, he describes (TCL 3, ll.403–4): '1 statue of Rusa (Urartian king) with his two riding-horses (and) his chariot-driver together with its pedestal, cast from bronze, on which self-praise had been inscribed: "With my two horses and my single chariot-driver I obtained the kingship over Urartu".' For discussion of the intimate relationship between kings and chariot-drivers or grooms, see Wiesehöfer 1978: 205, n.2. For the use of horse-oracles in Iran, see Lenfant, LXXXI (with references). Note that Ctesias (ap. Nicolaus of Damascus, FGrH 90 F66 = Lenfant, F8d (13–46)) has an Oibares (again linked to horses) play a major and extended role in Cyrus' revolt against Astyages.

E. Consolidating Darius' kingship

14. Darius' marriages

Herodotus III, 88.2–3.

Darius' first marriages¹ were made among the Persians: the two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystone, of whom Atossa had been married to Cambyses, her brother and then the magus; but Artystone was a virgin. He also married the daughter of Cyrus' son, Smerdis, called Parmys,² and Otanes' daughter, who had unmasked the magus.³

Notes

1. Before Darius' accession, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is not given (see **7, no.2**). Note that a lady called Apame (Bab. *Ap-pa-mu-ú*) entitled (SAL)šá ekalli, 'king's wife', figures in two Babylonian documents from Borsippa dating to 503/2 and 502/1. Zadok (2002a) suggests that, as this must be one of Darius I's wives, she could be the daughter of Gobryas, whose name would then be Apame.
2. Through these marriages, Darius effectively gained control of all the direct, surviving offspring of Cyrus. For a Parmys (Darius' wife?) in the Persepolis archive, see PFT, Glossary, s.v. Uparmiya.
3. Phaidymie, see **5, no.7**; for the possibility of her tomb (and cult) at Narezzash, see Henkelman 2003a, esp. 147–8; **11, no.68(ii)**. It is clear from this story that Darius did not marry her to honour the agreement about royal wives made before he became king (**5, no.11**), but simply in order to bring the womenfolk linked to his predecessors under his control. The only other woman he married was his niece, Phratagune, in order to ensure that his brother Artanes' property would stay in the family (**13, no.2(v)**).

15. The elimination of Oroites¹

Herodotus III, 126–8.

Shortly after, Polycrates' retribution overtook Oroites, too. After Cambyses' death and the reign of the magi, Oroites stayed in Sardis and did absolutely nothing when the Medes robbed the Persians of their power. In fact, during this confusion, he murdered Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium,² (he was the one who had taunted him about Polycrates) as well as

his son, Cranaspes – both were men of note among the Persians – and he committed all kinds of violent acts. He even murdered Darius' messenger, who had come to him, because he did not like his message. He killed him on his return, hiring men to attack him on the road; afterwards, he made away with him and even his horse.³

(127) Darius, once his power was established, was keen to punish Oroites for his many crimes, and not least for the murder of Mitrobates and his son. He thought it would be unwise, things being as they were, to send an armed force openly against him, for the country was still in an unsettled state: he himself had only recently come to the throne, and he knew Oroites was a powerful man, being governor of Phrygia, Lydia and Ionia, with a thousand Persians in his bodyguard. Darius had recourse, therefore, to subtler methods, and called a meeting of the leading men in Persia, whom he addressed thus: 'Which of you, Persians, will undertake on my behalf a matter which calls for subtlety rather than force and large numbers. For where subtlety is what is needed, force is not appropriate. Which of you will bring Oroites to me alive or kill him? He has never done anything for Persia, but has committed crimes. He has murdered two of us, Mitrobates and his son; and now he has killed the messenger sent by me to summon him; such insolence cannot be permitted. Death must overtake him before he does the Persians any further harm.'

(128) When Darius finished, there were thirty, each of whom wanted to go and do it. They quarrelled so much that Darius had to order them to draw lots. When the lots were cast, Bagaïos, son of Artontes, was chosen from among them. Bagaïos, the one chosen, then did this: he had many letters written concerning all kinds of matters and sealed them with Darius' seal; with these he went to Sardis. On arrival he came in to Oroites' presence and, taking the letters out, he gave them one by one to the royal secretary to read (all the governors have royal secretaries). Bagaïos did this to test the bodyguard, to see if they were likely to rise against Oroites. When he saw that they regarded the letters with great respect and had even greater respect for their contents, he gave them another one in which was the following message: 'Persians, King Darius orders you not to guard Oroites.' On hearing this they laid down their spears. Bagaïos, seeing how they obeyed the letters, took courage and gave the last letter to the secretary in which was written: 'King Darius orders the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroites.' As soon as they heard this, the bodyguard drew their daggers and killed him instantly.

Notes

1. Oroites had been appointed governor of Lydia by Cyrus. Before the end of Cambyses' reign, he had executed Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who posed a threat to Persian control of the Aegean coastline (**4, no.16**).
2. Mitrobates was the Persian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia.
3. The story implies that Oroites, a loyal servant of Cyrus, Cambyses and Bardiya, did not accept Darius as legitimate king. Darius does not mention a Lydian revolt following his accession, but there can be little doubt that that is what Oroites' behaviour amounted to. The threat he posed and the strength of his position emerge clearly from Darius' avoidance of a direct confrontation. The chronology is not precise, although Herodotus gives the impression that it occurred very soon after Darius' accession, and one scholar (Vargyas 2000a) proposes dating it into the period of civil war 522/1. It is possible that the story of Darius' elimination of Aryandes, who had been appointed governor of Egypt by Cambyses (Hdt. IV, 166), reflects similar problems related to the acceptance of Darius as king, although it is much less clear (**5, no.17**).

16. The Intaphernes incident

Herodotus III, 118–19.

Of the seven Persians who rebelled against the magus, one, Intaphernes, lost his life because of an act of insolence very shortly after their rebellion. He wanted to enter the palace and do some business with the king. Now the rule was that all those who had rebelled against the magus could enter the palace without being announced, except when the king was in bed with a woman.¹ So Intaphernes would not have anyone announce him, but as he belonged to the seven he wanted to go in. But the gatekeeper and the usher would not allow it, saying that the king was in bed with a woman. But Intaphernes thought they were lying; so he drew his dagger and cut off their ears and noses and, hanging them on the bridle of his horse, he put the bridle around their necks and let them go.²

(119) They showed themselves to the king and told him why they had been treated like this. Darius, terrified that the six might have done this by common agreement, sent for each of them in turn to test their thoughts – if they were united in approving of what had been done. When he discovered that it had not been done by common agreement, he arrested Intaphernes, his sons and his entire household. He was convinced that he was planning a rebellion together with his relatives; so he took them and bound them to await death.

Intaphernes' wife came constantly to the palace gates, weeping and lamenting. She did this so often, that Darius felt pity for her; so he sent a messenger to say: 'Woman, King Darius grants the release of whichever member of the imprisoned household you choose.' After thinking it over, she said: 'If the king is granting me just one life, then I choose my brother out of all of them.' When Darius heard this, he was amazed at her response, and sent again: 'Woman, the king asks what you are thinking of in abandoning your husband and sons and choosing your brother to survive. He is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband.' She replied: 'My lord, if god wills, I can get another husband, and more children, if these perish. But my father and mother are no longer alive, so I can never have another brother. That is why I made the choice I did.' Darius liked the woman's response.³ He was so pleased that he released the one she had asked for as well as her eldest son; but he executed all the others. That is how one of the seven died immediately.

Notes

1. See **5, no.11**.
2. Intaphernes' action is strongly reminiscent of the kind of punishments inflicted by the king on traitors (see, e.g., **5, no.1**, para.32), i.e. he is presuming on a royal privilege, implying a challenge to Darius' position. This points to the tensions inherent in the situation described by Herodotus, according to which any one of the seven might have become king (**5, no.13**). Darius' fellow plotters were obviously a potential danger.
3. There are some similarities with Antigone, here. For a full analysis of the story of Intaphernes' wife, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983a.

17. The removal of Aryandes

Herodotus IV, 166.

This Aryandes¹ was the governor of Egypt appointed by Cambyses, who later perished because he tried to make himself the equal of Darius. He learned and saw that Darius was

anxious to leave a memorial of himself, the like no other king had achieved. So he aped him, until he reaped his reward. Having refined gold to its utmost purity, Darius minted coins,² and Aryandes, when he was governing Egypt, did the same with silver (the purest silver now is the Aryandic).³ When Darius discovered what he was doing, he had him executed, not on this charge but on suspicion of rebellion.

Notes

1. This episode (not dated) is inserted into Herodotus' longer story about the internal dissensions of the ruling family of Barca and Cyrene, to the west of Egypt, which had surrendered to Cambyses (**4, no.8; 6, no.4**). For the possibility that Aryandes had acted to eliminate an Egyptian rebel called Pedubastis (III) in 521/0, see Tuplin 1991: 264–5.
2. For the creation of the gold daric as, primarily, a political statement, see Briant 1996a: 420–1 [2002b: 408–9].
3. What Aryandes is supposed to have done *precisely* remains puzzling (no 'Aryandics' have ever been found). See Briant 1996a: 421–2 [2002b: 409–10] (and references *ibid.*; 960 [935]); most recently, Le Rider 2001: 167–9. What is clear is that it was seen as a challenge to Darius' kingship by a powerful individual, perhaps with residual loyalties to Cambyses (cf. **5, no.15**).

18. A new foundation legend?

Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals* 12.21.¹

When Se/Euecheros² was king of the Babylonians, the Chaldaeans prophesied that his daughter's son would take away the kingdom from his grandfather. (What was said by the Chaldaeans had the status of a prophecy.³) This frightened him, and (if you will allow the jest) he played Acrisius⁴ to his daughter, guarding her closely. However, the girl became pregnant by someone obscure and gave birth in secret, for need was wiser than the Babylonian. The guards were afraid of the king and threw the child from the citadel, where the girl was imprisoned. But an eagle, spotting the child fall with its sharp eyes, flew down and put its back under it before it fell on the ground. The eagle brought the child to a garden and put it down carefully. When the man in charge of the garden saw the beautiful child, he loved it and brought it up. It was called Gilgames and became king of the Babylonians.⁵ If anyone thinks this is just a story, I do <not>⁶ agree having investigated it as much as I could. Indeed, I hear that Achaemenes, the Persian, from whom the Persian nobility is descended, was nursed by an eagle.⁷

Notes

1. The source for this story is not known. Berossus (early third century) has been suggested, but he is never cited by Aelian (c. AD 160/70–220); Henkelman (forthcoming) thinks Ctesias a more likely source.
2. If the name is really Euecheros, then the derivation some posit from the third-millennium Sumerian royal name 'Enme(r)kar' is strengthened.
3. This is generally considered to be an interpolation, but could be genuine.
4. Acrisius was a mythical Argive king, who tried to avert a similar prophecy, by shutting his daughter, Danae, up in a tower.
5. I.e. the Mesopotamian hero, Gilgamesh. The story has similarities to the 'Birthlegend of Sargon' (Goodnick Westenholz 1997, Text 2), but is not attested (as yet) for Gilgamesh (see George 1999; 2003, for the epic). There are some striking similarities between these stories and those told about

Cyrus' childhood (**3, nos.30; 32**), especially the connection of both Gilgamesh and Sargon with a gardener – note that in Ctesias/Nicolaus' account of Cyrus' rise to power (**3, no.32**), it is possible that the future king initially worked in the palace garden, rather than simply 'outdoors'; see Henkelman 2000/2006.

6. The 'not' is restored by Henkelman (2000/2006), on the assumption that the logic of the story demands it.
7. It appears from Aelian's account that at some point this story was attached to the legendary founder of the Persian dynasty. As Achaemenes does not figure before the advent of Darius I, it is conceivable that the legend began to circulate after his accession, strengthening his claim to royalty (cf. **5, no.1**, paras.3–4; Briant 1996a: 123 [2002b: 111]). It could also have contained elements of the story associated by Ctesias with Cyrus (**3, no.32**). The motif of an exposed newborn baby saved by a bird also figures in the story of Zal in the Iranian epic, *Shah-Nama* (eleventh century AD; see Levy 1967: 35–7).

19. *Cyrus the Great inscribed into Darius' lineage*¹

(i) CMa = DMA. Trilingual inscription on the columns of Palaces S and P, and above the relief figure of the winged genie (Palace R, see **fig.3.7**), Pasargadae: Kent, CMa. Translations: Lecoq 1997: 185; Brosius 2000, no.4.

I am Cyrus, the king, the Achaemenid.

(ii) CMb = DMb. Fragmentary trilingual inscription, possibly originally set above relief figures, Pasargadae: Kent, CMb.²

Cyrus the great king, son of Cambyzes, the king, the Achaemenid.

(iii) CMc = DMc. Elamite and Akkadian inscription on the garment folds of the figure of Palace P, Pasargadae: Kent, CMc.³ Translation: Lecoq 1997: 186.

Cyrus the great king, the Achaemenid.

Notes

1. Inscriptions in Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian at Pasargadae, added by Darius I, and claiming Cyrus for the Achaemenid line (cf. Stronach 1990; 1997a; 2000: 685–92).
2. See the note in Kent, ad CMb.
3. It is probable that the inscription was originally trilingual, see Stronach 2000: 688–9.

Part II

ACHAEMENID HISTORY AND
ITS PROBLEMS

THE EMPIRE UNDER DARIUS I: EXPANSION, REVOLT, CONSOLIDATION

Introduction

Political and military history, after the accession of Darius I (522/1, see **Chapter 5**), is preserved for us only very partially, because of the nature of the sources at our disposal (cf. **Chapter 1**). Darius mentions, briefly, two campaigns in the two years following his successful suppression of the multiple revolts against him (520/19–519/18): the first against Elam, the second against the Pointed Hat Scythians of Central Asia (**5, no.1**, paras.71–6). For our knowledge of subsequent events, we are dependent on Graeco-Roman writers, with Herodotus’ masterly narrative dominating the picture for Darius I and his successor, Xerxes. The chronology is also problematical: hazy in the 510s and 500s, with rather more precision possible in the 490s and 480s – although even then, despite some chronologically fixable points (e.g. **6, no.44**(18)), the course of events is often unclear.

Given our reliance on Graeco-Roman authors for tracing the empire’s political and military history, Persian action along the north-western frontier stands out most clearly for us, i.e. the region physically closest to Greece. Yet, quite obviously, much more of importance was being, and needing to be, done in order to consolidate the central authority’s grip on Persia’s territories in all directions. But of this we hear only very little, either anecdotally (India, **6, no.3**), or in the context of more expanded narratives presented by Herodotus to illustrate his ideas about freedom and empire. These focus primarily (but not exclusively, as shown by **6, no.4** (Libya) and **6, Section B** (Scythia)), on the Persian advance in the Aegean (**6, nos.1–2; Section E**), preceded by the establishment of control in Thrace (**6, Section C**). This is, of course, part and parcel of Herodotus’ central purpose, i.e. to explore the inexorable Achaemenid extension of power towards Greece, where eventually the Persian forces were hurled back under Darius’ successor, Xerxes (see **Chapter 7**). What is important is that the details of Achaemenid efforts along the north-western boundary, which emerge from this, can illustrate for us some of the methods deployed, successes and problems encountered, by the empire in maintaining and stabilising frontiers.

This chapter begins with some incidents that should, almost certainly, be dated into the first decade of Darius’ reign and reflect his initial attempts to secure important territories by strengthening the Achaemenid hold along the edges of the empire (**6, Section A**). This is manifested in the north-west by a well-provisioned maritime reconnaissance team, setting out from Sidon for the Aegean (**6, no.1**), which plotted and mapped the region, and is even said to have extended well beyond to southern Italy.¹ The relationship of the large island of Samos, sited strategically close to Turkey’s south-western coast, to the empire was finally resolved around this time. The Persians installed the Samian Syloson, an exiled member of

Samos' ruling family, as tyrant to run the island as Darius' client (**6, no.2**). The importance of some form of firm control of, and stability within, the Aegean in order to safeguard the Persian imperial lands to the east had been evident from the moment of Cyrus' conquest of Lydia (**3, Section C**), and became more urgent with Cambyses' conquest of Egypt (**4, nos.7(iii); 16**). These were the strategic considerations that determined Persian action here and continued to shape it for most of the empire's existence.

At the opposite extreme of the empire, Darius needed to consolidate his power, given that resistance to his seizure of the throne had been particularly strong here (see **5, no.1**, paras.35–7 (Parthia and Hyrcania); paras.38–9 (Margiana/Bactria); paras.45–8 (Arachosia)). He himself reports a campaign mounted against the Saca (Scythians) of Central Asia in 519/18 (**5, no.1**, para.74), which must have been intended to secure the highly permeable frontiers of this region. His exploration of the Indus and the maritime routes linking north-west India to Babylonia and Egypt, which seems to have paved the way for Persian conquest of the area (**6, no.3**), should perhaps be seen as part of this larger endeavour to pacify and stabilise the eastern territories. Precisely how the Persians exploited their now commanding position in the Indian Ocean is, sadly, unknown to us (for some indications, see **17, Section D(b)**).

The other highly vulnerable frontier zone was the south-west. Egypt had barely been conquered before the great internal upheavals erupted that almost destroyed the empire and brought Darius to the throne (see **Chapter 5**). Cambyses' victory in Egypt had led to an initial voluntary surrender by some of its neighbours, whose fortunes were closely linked to those of the Nile valley (**4, no.8**(13) & n.3). As Persian power was shaken by the turmoil engulfing its ruling group, the adherence of conquered subjects weakened and the position of rulers of places such as Cyrene and Barca in Libya, who had accepted Persian control, came under threat from rival local interest groups (**6, no.4**(165)). With their continuing hold on power in jeopardy, local dynasts were forced to appeal to the Persian authorities in Egypt for help to sustain their rule – a situation which the Persians could exploit for their own advantage (**6, no.4**(167)). Certainly, Herodotus presents the Persian expedition to sort out the politically destabilised kingdoms of Barca and Cyrene as an excuse to subject Libya as a whole, although he goes on to point out that Persian success was limited: Cyrene remained an Achaemenid dependency, authority over Barca was only implemented by deporting part of the population, while the rest of Libya escaped direct control (**6, no.4**(203–4)).

Herodotus' long description of Darius' apparently failed campaign into Scythian lands beyond the Danube in c.513 (**6, no.5**, n.2) foreshadows in some respects Xerxes' later setbacks in Greece, with the motif of overstepping a physical boundary leading to defeat at the hands of a free people emphatically present (T. Harrison 2002: 554–5; cf. Cyrus' disastrous crossing of the Araxes against the Massagetae: **3, no.34**, and Cambyses' ill-fated expedition into Nubia: **4, no.10(i)**). Even his brother, Artabanus, plays the same warning role that he does (at greater length) later at the time of Xerxes' expedition to Greece (**6, no.8**). While we cannot take Herodotus' account at face value (Hartog 1980/1988; Thomas 2000), there is absolutely no reason to deny its historicity as such. It fits well with the urgent need to strengthen the imperial grip on frontier zones and clarify relations with neighbours (cf. **6, Section A**, and note the campaign against the Central Asian Scythians). Interestingly, three different reasons were put forward in antiquity for the Persian campaign: revenge for an earlier Scythian invasion of the Zagros (**6, no.5** & n.3); refusal to accede to a request for a dynastic marriage (**6, no.6** & n.1); and a rupture in diplomatic relations as a result of Persian aggression (**6, no.7**). What the realities may have been is bound to remain unclear, although

the fact that Darius made no use of his sizable fleet to support the land forces (**6, nos.8; 9**(89)) suggests that the expedition was limited to fixing the Danube as the effective northern boundary (cf. **6, no.16**) to Persian action in Thrace (see **6, Section C**). A significant point to note is that Darius' mobilisation received substantial support from the Hellespontine, Propontic, Ionian and Aeolian cities and their rulers (**6, nos.8; 9**), who saw their interests, at this stage, as converging with those of the Persian king (**6, no.12**(137–8)), although co-operation was not unanimous (**6, no.14**). However, Darius' perceived humiliation at the hands of the Scythians (**6, nos.10; 11**), his apparent defeat and withdrawal without establishing domination (**6, nos.12; 13**) and the demographically destabilising effect of the campaign (**6, no.15**) may have dented Persian prestige in the north-western zone. Some have thought that one of the eventual consequences of this was the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt in 499/8 (**6, Section D**). But the time-lag between the two events was over ten years and some regional city-tyrants reaped substantial rewards for their support in the immediate aftermath of the expedition (**6, nos.20, n.3; 22**). So there can certainly be no direct causal link.

In the course of his march to the Danube, Darius had succeeded in imposing control on several groups in the Thracian interior (**6, no.9**(93)). On his return, he appointed Megabazus as general in charge of enforcing Persian hegemony here (**6, nos.12**(143); **17**), in which he appears to have been successful, deploying a combination of brutal military and diplomatic tactics. By the end of his period of service, c.507, Macedon had accepted Persia as its overlord (**6, nos.17–19**). It is clear that the Persian effort to incorporate parts of Thrace into the empire was a prime concern, and the Persian authorities never wavered in their overall successful attempts to keep hold of the region for the next thirty years (cf. **6, nos.20; 21 & Chapter 7**). Reasons for this were both strategic and material. Thrace was rich in timber, precious metal deposits and manpower (**6, nos.22–3**). Persian power was manifested in diverse ways: commanding political support through the agency of client kings (e.g. Macedon: **6, no.24**), rewarding loyal local tyrants with additional territory here (e.g. Histiaeus: **6, no.22**; Coës: **6, no.20, n.3**), setting up a string of royal fortresses under Persian commanders, which served as depots (**6, no.25**) and, more broadly, imposing tribute obligations on the whole territory (**6, no.26**). Yet Persian power was not all-encompassing, with several groups remaining outside Achaemenid control (**6, nos.27–8**). The wider repercussions of Persia's role as the undisputed source of power in the region are illustrated by two episodes: first, around 510, the expelled Athenian tyrant, Hippias, sought refuge and aid at Darius' court (**6, no.29**);² secondly, c.507, Athens appealed to Artaphernes, the Persian governor of Sardis, soliciting Persian help against Sparta (**6, no.30**). Both acts prefigure what was to become the recurring pattern of Persia's relations with the Greek cities of Europe.³

The westward progress of Persian power menaced the independence of European Greeks. Its gathering momentum and successful repulsion is, of course, Herodotus' central pre-occupation. Following his account of the Thracian conquest, he concentrates on building up to his story's climax, Xerxes' invasion, which takes up his last three books (**Chapter 7**). The first fatal step on the path leading to direct confrontation between European Greece, particularly Athens, and Persia was, in Herodotus' vision, the Ionian Revolt of 499/8–494/3 (**6, Section D**) – a doomed, unheroic episode, yet fuelling the Persian king's desire for exacting vengeance from Athens (Hdt. V, 105; cf. **6, no.51**(94)). This, in the Herodotean perspective, henceforth determined Persian strategy. What the realities were is difficult to discern. Securing Persia's foothold in Thrace necessitated trying to establish some kind of dominance over the Aegean islands and Greece. This could be achieved by forging political links,

whereby states accepted Persian overlordship without sacrificing their autonomy (see **6, nos.2; 19; 24; 30; 50**). But for such a relationship to work, dependent states had to be convinced of Persia's unassailability. As indicated above (p.183), it is possible that Darius' expedition beyond the Danube had shaken the confidence of some of the people along the empire's north-western periphery, although Persia's subsequent successful expansion into Thrace (**6, Section C**, and above, p.183) and the evidence for cities and rulers beyond its direct control seeking Persian aid suggest that any such doubts cannot have lasted long (**6, nos.29–30**). What emerges as a mainspring for the revolt in Herodotus is the internal factionalism of several of the cities involved. The failed expedition against Naxos, mounted jointly by Aristagoras of Miletus and Artaphernes in Sardis, had, as its outward purpose, the reinstallation of aristocrats ejected in the course of a democratic revolution (**6, no.31**(28)). Aristagoras' position in Miletus, too, must have been under threat, as he hastened to proclaim a democratic régime after his return from Naxos and had a hand in expelling other Ionian tyrants (**6, no.32**(38)). The revolt by Cypriot cities, again, appears to have had its roots in internal rivalries (**6, no.36**(103)). This points to a considerable lack of unanimity of aim among the rebels, a fact emphasised by Aristagoras' very limited success in rallying support from the cities of Greece (**6, nos.33–4**), internal opposition (**6, no.32**(36)) and the need to compel some cities to join by brute force (**6, no.36**). At the same time, it is worth noting that several Persians in Sardis were implicated in the revolt (**6, no.40**(4)).⁴

The Persian response was swift and brutal. Locally stationed troops mobilised instantly at the burning of Sardis and the attackers fled in disarray (**6, no.35**), while Cyprus surrendered rapidly after only one battle (**6, no.37**) in 498. But it took a further four years of sustained fighting on three separate fronts (**6, nos.38–40**), a naval battle (**6, no.43**) and the siege of Miletus (**6, no.44**) before the Persians could claim final victory over the rebels. The precise chronology of operations is uncertain, and the picture of events remains one-sided given our heavy reliance on Herodotus, who focusses strongly on the parts played by Histiaeus and Aristagoras of Miletus. One text from Persepolis gives a hint of Persian operations in 494 (**6, no.41**), but it is the tiniest of glimpses only. A much later Rhodian temple chronicle may refer to another incident in the course of the revolt, but its reliability is dubious, as is its dating (**6, no.42**).

In the aftermath of revolt, the Persians employed a series of military and political measures to pacify and stabilise the region. On the political plane, some deposed tyrants were reinstalled (e.g. Syloson on Samos: **6, no.45**), while elsewhere democratic régimes were left or placed in control (**6, no.49**(43)). The result was to undermine any convergence of interests among the civic élites (Briant 1996a: 510–14 [2002b: 493–7]). Tribute was reimposed, though not increased, and city boundaries defined, with an obligation to submit intercity disputes to Persian arbitration (**6, no.49**(42)). Histiaeus, as one of the ringleaders of the revolt and a traitor, was publicly impaled (**6, no.46**(30)). Several places had to be reconquered by force of arms and were subjected to brutal retaliation for their resistance: men hunted down systematically by Persian soldiers; boys castrated; young girls sent to the Persian court; cities ravaged; part of the population of Miletus deported (**6, nos.44**(21); **45; 47**(31–2)). The terror of Persian reprisals led some local powerholders to flee (**6, no.48**), while the inhabitants of two cities abandoned their settlements altogether (**6, no.47**(33)).

In the wake of the revolt, Persia's hold on Thrace was renewed successfully by Mardonius (**6, no.21**), while the effort to extend control in the Aegean was now actively pursued (491–490): a substantial fleet, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes (**6, no.51**; cf. **no.58**) was sent to conquer Naxos and the Cycladic islands and continued on to Eretria,

whose temples were destroyed in revenge for its role in the burning of Sardis in 499/8 and some of the inhabitants deported (**6, nos.52; 53; 57**). The Persian venture in the central Aegean was rounded off by their landing on the plain of Marathon, guided there by the old Athenian tyrant Hippias (above, p.183) as a spot particularly suitable for cavalry (**6, no.55**). In the event, this important arm of the Persian army was never deployed and the Persians were defeated (**6, no.56**). The Battle of Marathon was later regarded by the Athenians as the first act in the drama of the Persian wars, but everything suggests that the Persians were not planning, at this point, to impose control over Greece – the landing simply rounded off their Aegean campaign. One place treated with special reverence by the Persians in the course of the expedition was Delos, left unscathed at royal behest and its gods honoured by the Persian commander (**6, no.54(i)**).

Herodotus reports almost nothing else of Darius' reign following the climax of Marathon. The king's last years form the transition to Xerxes (see **7, nos.1–3** for his appointment as Darius' successor), with Darius presented as pouring all the empire's resources into preparing for a revenge campaign against Greece, but delayed by a revolt in Egypt (**6, no.59**), the suppression of which was interrupted by his death (**6, nos.59–60**). His body was laid to rest in a tomb markedly different from that of Cyrus (see **figs.3.8 & 11.14**), located near Persepolis where work on the palace terrace continued uninterrupted (see, e.g., **16, nos.19; 27; 35; figs.6.2; 7.6**).

Notes

1. For a critique of the notion that the Persians aimed to expand their direct control to embrace the world, see Wiesehöfer 2004a.
2. See also Hdt. V, 96 for a slightly different version.
3. Note that Persia's tentacles reached as far as Sicily, as shown by the fact that Scythes, king of Zancle, sought exile at Darius' court in the late 490s (Hdt. VI, 24). This fits with Persian reconnaissance in the 510s, which extended to south Italy (**6, no.1**).
4. For a recent reassessment of the revolt and the Persian response, see Kienast 2002.

A. Darius renews and develops the imperial strategy

1. Persian reconnaissance in Greece

Herodotus III, 135.1; 136; 138.3.

When day dawned, he (sc. Darius) summoned fifteen Persian notables and bade them to attend Democedes all along the seacoast of Greece. (. . .)¹

(136) They came down to Phoenicia and, in Phoenicia, to the city of Sidon, and there they put aboard crews on two warships and, with them, a great merchantman, loaded with every sort of good thing;² and having made all preparations, they sailed away to Greece. They put in at various places on the coast and surveyed them and made charts of them until they had observed their many notable features, and then they came to Tarentum in Italy. There the king of Tarentum, Aristophilides, out of his sympathy for Democedes, removed the steering gear from the Median ships and arrested the Persians themselves, on the pretext that they had come as spies. While the Persians were in this trouble, Democedes made off to Croton;³ and when he arrived there – his own country – Aristophilides released the Persians and restored to them the steering gear he had taken off their boats. (. . .)

(138) These were the first Persians that came from Asia to Greece; and, for the reason I have given, they came as spies.

Notes

1. This account, like the subsequent one about the conquest of Samos (6, no.2), is cast in the form of a personal adventure story by Herodotus (see Griffiths 1987 for an analysis of 6, no.1). In this case, the tale is that of a Greek doctor, Democedes, who had been taken prisoner by the Persians and was credited with suggesting to Darius (by means of his wife, Atossa) the idea of Persian expansion into Europe, in order to further his private wish to escape back home to south Italy. The unlikelihood of Democedes' exploits being historically accurate does not mean that the basic events, which provide the setting in which such stories are elaborated, did not take place.
2. This is part of the Democedes story. He is presented as being loaded by the king with gifts for his brothers, so that he would feel obliged to return to the Persian court.
3. Democedes' home town; a Greek colony on the south coast of Italy.

2. Samos becomes a Persian client principality¹

Herodotus III, 139–47; 149.

After that, King Darius got possession of Samos, the first of the Greek and barbarian cities to become his,² and this was the reason for the capture. When Cambyses, son of Cyrus, made war on Egypt many Greeks came to that country, some, naturally, for trading, and some just to see the country. Among these was Syloson, the son of Aeaces and brother of Polycrates, an exile from Samos. This Syloson had had a piece of good luck. He was wearing a red cloak when he was shopping in Memphis, and Darius saw him at that time. At that point, Darius was a bodyguard of Cambyses and not yet a man of great account. He coveted the cloak very much, approached Syloson and tried to buy it from him. Syloson saw that Darius wanted the cloak very badly and in a moment of inspiration said to him, 'I will not sell you the cloak for any money, but if you absolutely must have it, I will give it to you for nothing.' Darius agreed and took the cloak.

(140) Syloson thought that he had lost his cloak out of mere foolishness. However, as time went on, Cambyses died, the Seven rose against the magus, and Syloson learned that the royal power had devolved upon the very man to whom in Egypt he had given his cloak at his request. So Syloson went up to Susa and sat at the doorway of the king's palace and said that he was the benefactor of the king.³ The gatekeeper, when he heard this, announced Syloson in these terms to the king. Darius was very surprised and said, 'Who can this Greek be, to whom I have some obligation, when I have only just taken over the throne? Almost none of this people has come up to Susa to us, and I cannot say that I owe any debt to a Greek. But bring the man in, that I may know what he means by such a statement.' The gatekeeper brought in Syloson and, in the presence of the king, the interpreter asked Syloson what he had done that he claimed to be the king's benefactor. So Syloson told the whole story of the cloak and how he was the man who had given it to Darius. At this Darius answered, 'You are the most generous of men; when I had as yet no power at all, you gave me something; even though it was a small thing, my gratitude for it is as great as if now I should receive something immense. For it I will give gold and silver beyond measure, that you may never repent of having been the Benefactor of Darius, son of Hystaspes.' Syloson said to him, 'Don't give me gold or silver, my lord; instead give me back Samos, my native land, as

your gift. My brother Polycrates is now dead at the hands of Oroites,⁴ and the country has become the property of our slave. Give me back that, without killing or taking captives.'

(141) When Darius heard this, he sent off an expedition with Otanes, one of the Seven,⁵ in command and ordered him to do whatever Syloson requested. So Otanes came down to the coast and prepared his army.

(142) Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, at this time governed Samos, having taken over power as Polycrates' deputy. Maeandrius was someone who wanted to be the most just of mankind, but he had not succeeded in his wish. For when he was told of Polycrates' death, he did this: first, he dedicated an altar to the Zeus of Freedom and put an enclosure round it, that is still there, on the outskirts of the city. Secondly, having completed the altar, he called an assembly of the citizens and made this speech: 'This sceptre and all Polycrates' power, as you know as well I do, has been entrusted to me; I can now be your ruler. But, if I can help it, I shall not do myself what I object to in others. I did not like it when Polycrates held absolute authority over men as good as himself, nor would I choose that somebody else should hold this sort of authority. Polycrates has fulfilled his destiny; so now I want to make his power available to all of you, and I proclaim equality before the law for you. And this I demand as a privilege for myself: six talents from the property of Polycrates and, further, the priesthood of Zeus of Freedom for myself and my descendents forever. It is I who have founded this shrine in his honour and it is I who now offers you this freedom.' That was his proclamation to the Samians. One of them rose and said, 'No, you are not worthy to be our ruler, lowborn as you are as well as a scoundrel. Rather than that, see to it that you give an account of the money you have laid your hands on.'

(143) So spoke a man of distinction among the citizens, called Telesarchus. And Maeandrius understood that, if he gave up power, someone else would become tyrant in his stead; so he decided not to give it up. He retreated into the citadel and sent for each citizen individually, on the pretext of giving an account of the money; then he arrested them and put them in prison. While they were in prison, Maeandrius became ill. His brother, whose name was Lycaretus, thought he was going to die, and, to make it easier to take over power in Samos, he killed all the prisoners. It seems they had no desire to be free.

(144) So when the Persians got to Samos, with their plan to restore Syloson, not a man in Samos lifted a hand against them. Maeandrius himself, and his supporters, announced that they were ready to evacuate the island under truce. Otanes agreed to their terms, made the agreement, and the most distinguished of the Persians, who are carried in litters, sat down facing the citadel.

(145) Maeandrius, the tyrant, had a half-crazy brother called Charilaus. This man had committed some crime or other and been placed in a dungeon in chains. He heard what was going on and, peering through a hole in the dungeon, saw the Persians sitting there peacefully. At this, he shouted that Maeandrius should come and talk to him. When Maeandrius heard this, he told his people to take the chains off Charilaus and bring him to him. When Charilaus was brought before him, he abused and insulted Maeandrius and tried to persuade him to attack the Persians. 'You are the very worst; here am I, your brother, and for no reason at all you have thought fit to load me with chains and put me in a dungeon! Yet you look on the Persians, who have driven you out of your home and dare not revenge yourself, although, as you see, they are easy to overcome. If you are so terrified of them, give me your mercenaries and I will punish them for coming here. As for you, I am willing to ship you off the island.'

(146) That is what Charilaus said. Maeandrius accepted his suggestion, not, I think, because he was so stupid as to think that the forces he had could defeat those of the king, but because he begrudged Syloson getting the city unharmed, with so little trouble. He wanted to provoke the Persians and make Samos as weak as possible when it was handed over to the Persians; because he knew very well that if the Persians suffered in the process of gaining possession of the island, that would embitter them further against the Samians. He himself, he knew, could escape safely from the island whenever he wished, because he had built a hidden tunnel, which led from the citadel to the sea. So Maeandrius himself sailed away from Samos. Charilaus armed all the mercenaries, threw open the gates and led his men against the Persians, who never expected anything like this, as they believed that an agreement had been concluded. The mercenaries fell upon the Persians of greatest account, who were riding about in their litters, and killed them. That is what the mercenaries did; but the rest of the Persian army came against them, and the hard-pressed mercenaries fell back on the citadel.

(147) When Otanes, the general, saw that the Persians had suffered a great loss, he forgot all about Darius' orders, which he had remembered until then. For Darius had ordered him, when he sent him away, not to kill or take captive anyone in Samos and give the island back to Syloson unharmed. Otanes now gave the word to his army to kill whomever they might lay hands on, man or child. So, while some of the Persians were besieging the citadel, the others killed everyone that came their way, both inside and outside the sanctuaries.

(149) The Persians swept Samos with the net⁶ and handed it to Syloson empty of people. But afterwards, the general Otanes helped to resettle it, because of a vision he saw in a dream, because he had fallen ill with a disease of the genitals.

Notes

1. It was crucial for the Persians to have a measure of control over Samos, given its strategic and commercial importance. The continuing efforts to assert such control, and Samian awareness of the need to reach accommodation with the Persians, particularly in the wake of Cambyses' conquest of Egypt, is well illustrated by Polycrates' contribution of ships for the invasion of Egypt (**4, no.7(iii)**), and his eventual execution by Oroites, the satrap of Sardis (**4, no.16**). The story of Syloson is the sequel.
2. The chronology is totally opaque. Herodotus' phrase suggests that this should be set early in his reign (520/19?).
3. For the benefactors of the king, see **13, Section B(b)**.
4. For this incident, see **4, no.16**.
5. See **5, nos.1** (para.68); **7; 9; 11**.
6. The same tactic was used on some of the Aegean islands at the end of the Ionian Revolt, where Herodotus describes it consisting of soldiers linking arms to cover the whole territory and so hunting the population down (**6, no.47**).

3. The conquest of north-western India

Herodotus IV, 44.

Most of Asia was discovered by Darius, who wished to know at what point the Indus river entered the sea. (This river is second in the world for the number of its crocodiles.) Darius sent boats with crews he trusted to tell him the truth, and among them was Scylax of Caryanda.¹ They set out from Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country² and sailed down the river

eastward to the sea and, through the sea, west; and in the thirtieth month they arrived at the place from which the king of Egypt had sent out the Phoenicians (of whom I spoke before) to sail around Libya.³ After they had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea.⁴ So it was found that Asia, except for the parts of it to the east, is in other respects like Libya.

Notes

1. Scylax compiled an account of his voyages referred to by the logographer Hecataeus, who lived at the time of the Ionian Revolt (**6, no. 32** (36)), as well as later writers. A surviving work claims to be this very account, although it is generally thought to be a compilation from a variety of sources by a fourth-century writer, known as Pseudo-Scylax. The city of Caryanda was on the Carian coast. It is possible that Herodotus makes particular mention of the Persian exploration of the Indus and the maritime route from its mouth to Egypt because one of the participants was a fellow Carian.
2. According to Hecataeus (FGrH 1 F295), who used Scylax (see n.1 above), Caspapyrus was a town in Gandara; despite the different spelling, this must be the town meant by Herodotus here. Pactyica is probably to be equated with Gandara, which is located around the area of Peshawar (Der Kleine Pauly, s.v. Kaspapyros).
3. Herodotus IV, 42 describes a circumnavigation of Africa ordered by Necho II (610–595), starting from a port in the Gulf of Suez on the Red Sea. Many scholars do not believe that the attempt was successful, cf. Lloyd 1977. Herodotus associates the supposed round-Africa voyage with Necho's failed attempt to build a canal linking the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. How real that attempt was is unclear, see Lloyd 1975–88, iii, 150–1. Darius I certainly built (or completed) such a canal (**11, no. 6; fig. 11.6**) and it has been thought that the Persian exploration of the sea routes between India and Egypt was intended to create a regular means of communication between these two southern points of the empire, as well as linking them to the imperial centre via the Persian Gulf. The navigational problems make this unlikely (Salles 1987; 1988a; Tuplin 1991), and Herodotus' suggestion of exploration is more likely.
4. The reality of Darius' conquest of north-west India is not in doubt: it does not figure in the list of subject territories in Darius' earliest inscription (**5, no. 1**, para. 6), but appears in almost all others (OP *Hidush*). This and the appearance of Indians in the Persepolis bureaucracy (Giovinzio 2000/2001; **16, nos. 12**, n. 5; **18**, n. 5; cf. **17, Section D(a)**) confirm territorial expansion in the east in his reign. Beyond that evidence and the Herodotus passage, we know nothing. The date of the conquest is unknown. A possibility is that it was linked to Darius' consolidation of control in the east, where resistance to his usurpation had been strong. Such a move is reflected in his campaign against Scythian groups in Central Asia (**5, no. 1**, para. 74) in 519/18.

4. Reassertion of Persian control along the south-western front

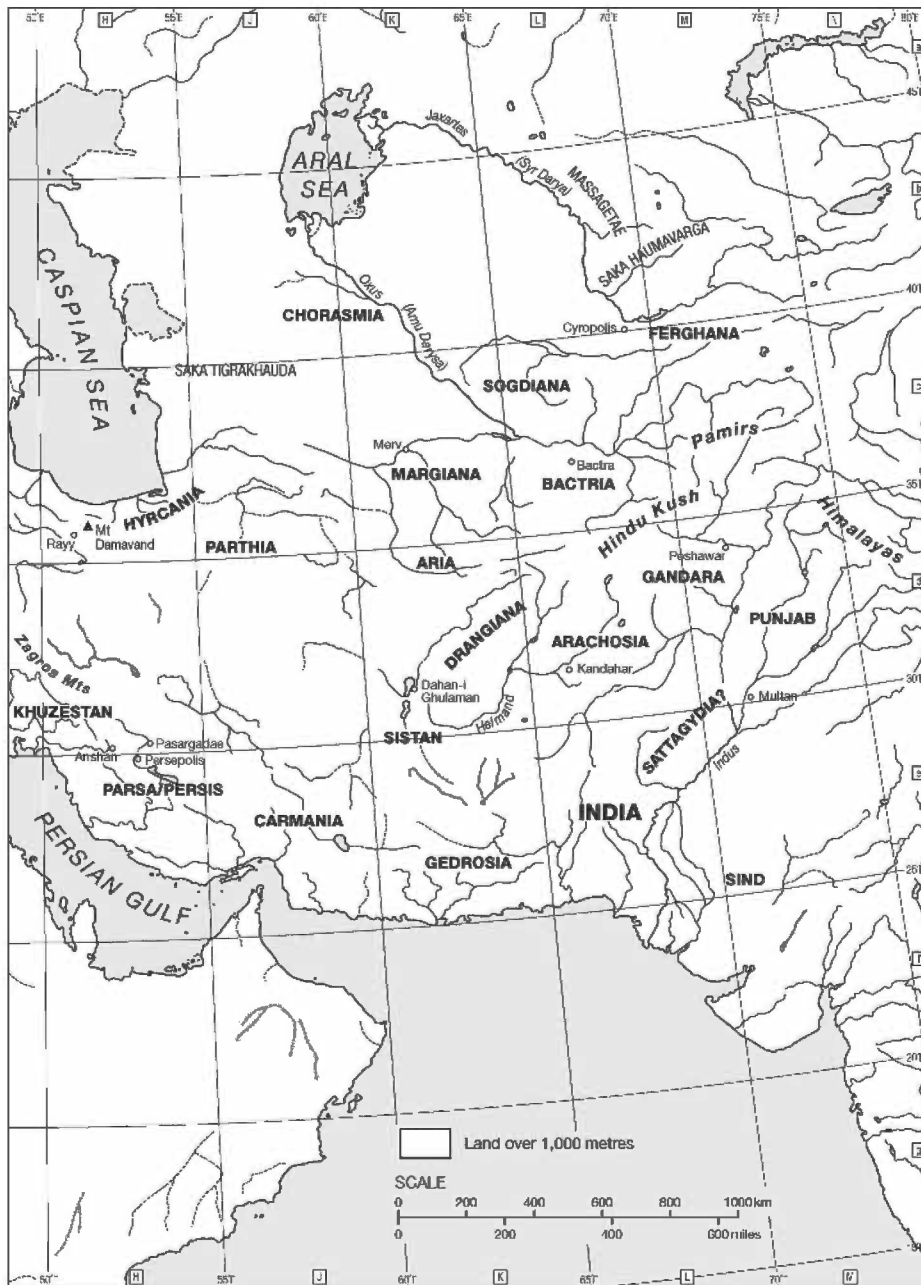
Herodotus IV, 165; 167; 200–4.

While Arcesilaus was still living in Barca, after acting in the way that led to his downfall,¹ his mother, Pheretime, held her son's privileges in Cyrene, doing all the business there, including sitting in the council. When she learned that her son was dead in Barca, she left and fled to Egypt. For Arcesilaus had done a good deed for Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, because it was this Arcesilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses and agreed to pay tribute.² When she got to Egypt, Pheretime sat as a suppliant before Aryandes³ and begged him to avenge her, on the grounds that her son had been killed because he had taken the Persian side.⁴

(167) At this time Aryandes took pity on Pheretime and gave her the whole Egyptian army, both land and naval forces; as its general he appointed Amasis, a Maraphian, and, of the navy, as admiral, Badres from the Pasargadae tribe.⁵ But before he sent off the expedition,



Figure 6.1 Map of the Persian empire under Darius I. (After M. Brosius, *The Persians*, London, 2006.)



Aryandes sent a herald to Barca to enquire who had killed Arcesilaus. All the Barcaeans claimed the deed as their own, for, they said, they had suffered much from him. When he heard that, Aryandes sent off the expedition, along with Pheretime. This was the pretext, but I think the expedition was sent to conquer Libya. For the peoples in Libya are many of all kinds, and very few of them were subjects of the king. Most of them were quite unaware of Darius.⁶ (. . .)

(200) The Persians who had come to the help of Pheretime, sent by Aryandes from Egypt, when they came to Barca laid siege to the city and demanded that the inhabitants surrender whoever had been responsible for the murder of Arcesilaus. The people of Barca, who claimed joint guilt in the matter as a whole, refused the demands. Then the Persians besieged Barca for nine months; they dug underground passages against the wall and made very heavy attacks. But a blacksmith on the Barcean side managed to discover their tunnels by means of a bronze shield, and he did it like this: he carried the shield round inside the wall and struck it against the ground of the city. What he struck the shield against gave forth a dull sound except for the places that were being dug. There the bronze of the shield rang out, and there the Barcaeans dug down and killed the Persians who were digging the tunnels. That is how it was found out, and the Barcaeans beat off the attacks.

(201) So for a long time both sides were in great difficulty, and many fell again on both sides, not least on the Persian one – when Amasis, the commander of the land army, devised the following. He realised that the Barcaeans could not be conquered by force, but might be by a trick, so this is what he did: by night, he dug a broad trench, and laid weak planks on top of it, and above the timber he carried out the spoil from the digging and spread the earth on top, so that it was even with the rest of the ground. Towards day, he invited the Barcaeans to discuss matters. They were pleased to listen to him to the point that they were ready to make a treaty. They made their treaty like this: as they swore the oaths over the covered trench, they said, ‘As long as the earth endures, so long may the oath, too, endure.’ The Barcaeans said that they would pay whatever tribute the king thought fit; the Persians, that they would not change with respect to the Barcaeans. After the oath, the Barcaeans themselves, trusting the Persians, came out of the city and admitted any of the enemy who wanted to come inside their wall, for they opened all the gates. Upon this, the Persians broke down the hidden bridge over the trench and rushed into the city. They broke the bridge they had made so that they would preserve intact the oath they had sworn to the Barcaeans, (namely) that the oath should remain intact as long as the earth remained beneath them. They broke the bridge, and so the oath no longer remained intact.

(202) Those of the Barcaeans most guilty were handed over to Pheretime by the Persians, and she had them impaled around the walls. In the case of their women, she had their breasts cut off and set these, too, on the wall around. As for the remainder of the Barcaeans, she told the Persians to take them as booty, except for the Battiadae⁷ and those who had no part in the murder; and Pheretime turned the city over to these.⁸

(203) The Persians then made slaves of the rest of the Barcaeans and went away. When they appeared before the city of Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans let them through their town, out of regard for some oracle relating to this. When the army went through, Badres, who was commander of the fleet, urged that they should take the city, but Amasis, the general of the army, would not have it. He had been sent only against Barca of all the Greek cities. When they had come through and taken up their position on the hill of Lycaean Zeus, they were sorry that they had not taken Cyrene and tried a second time to go into it, but the

Cyrenaeans would not let them do so. Then panic fell upon the Persians, although no one attacked them, and they ran off for a distance of sixty stadia and camped. And when their camp was set up, a message came from Aryandes recalling them. The Persians asked the Cyrenaeans for provisions for their journey and, when they got them, marched back towards Egypt. But then, those of them that the Libyans managed to catch (the ones left behind as stragglers), they killed for their clothing and equipment. This went on all the way back to Egypt.

(204) The furthest part of Libya which this Persian army reached was the Euesperides.⁹ The Barcaeans they had enslaved they deported from Egypt and handed over to the king, and Darius gave them a village to settle in Bactrian territory. They gave the name Barca to that village, and it was still lived in down to my time.¹⁰

Notes

1. Herodotus has been describing the internal strife in the small Greek kingdoms of Cyrene and Barca (west of Egypt, in northern Libya), whose ruling families were, despite being closely related, in constant and murderous competition with each other as well as with the local nobility (see B. Mitchell 1966). Arcesilaus was a member of the Cyrenaean ruling family married to the daughter of the king of Barca.
2. See **4, no.8**(13).
3. Aryandes had been left in charge of Egypt by Cambyses; he was later removed by Darius (**5, no.17**). The chronology is uncertain, and the date for this campaign is unknown, but is tentatively placed around 513.
4. Lit. 'because of medism', for discussion, see Graf 1984; Tuplin 1994; 1997. Cyrene and Barca's political and commercial fortunes were closely linked to Egypt, and the local rulers depended on Persian support to shore up their position within their principalities; see **4, no.8**(13).
5. Both important Persian tribes, see **3, no.5**; cf. **13, nos.5–6**.
6. Given the nature of the desert terrain and pastoral lifestyle of many of Libya's dwellers, the main aim of the Persian expedition will have been to ensure that centres such as Barca and Cyrene were toeing the Persian imperial line, which would help with controlling such territory. It is possible that, in the upheaval connected with Cambyses' death (see **Chapter 5**), Barca had ceased to pay tribute (Briant 1996a: 153 [2002b: 141]).
7. Ruling family of Cyrene.
8. The description echoes, interestingly, a passage in Sennacherib's annals relating to the rebellion of Ekron in 701, during which the rebels deposed their king, Padi. Sennacherib's punishment of the city, after victory, consisted of (a) festooning Ekron's walls with the corpses of the ring-leaders; (b) deporting those of the citizenry who had been involved in the revolt; (c) pardoning those who were innocent; and (d) restoring the deposed ruler (Luckenbill 1924, iii, 7–17, cf. discussion in Kuhrt 1995a: 518).
9. The later Ptolemaic Berenice, modern Benghazi (see How and Wells 1912, ad IV: 171).
10. A valuable pointer to Achaemenid efforts to control and colonise Bactria.

B. The Scythian expedition

(a) Reasons for the Scythian campaign

5. Revenge for earlier invasion

Herodotus IV, 1.

After the capture of Babylon,¹ Darius mounted his expedition to Scythia.² Asia was flourishing with people and huge revenues, and Darius wanted to punish the Scythians because

they had previously invaded Media and defeated in battle those who opposed them; and they had been the aggressors in this conflict. As I said earlier, these Scythians ruled Upper Asia for twenty-eight years.³ They had pursued the Cimmerians and so invaded Asia and had brought the Median empire to a stop. The Medes had ruled Asia before the Scythians arrived. But after their twenty-eight years they went home again.

Notes

1. Hdt. III, 150–60 tells the story of a revolt of Babylon against Darius, which is the setting for a remarkable display of loyal service by a Persian noble (cf. **3, no.37**). For a virtually identical account, see Justin I, 10.15–22. The only Babylonian revolts attested are the two Darius describes in his Bisitun inscription (**5, no.1**, paras.16–20; 49–50) related to the seizure of his throne in 522/1. It is possible that Herodotus' tale was ultimately derived from these.
2. The date of the expedition is uncertain. It can definitely not be equated with Darius' expedition against the Pointed Hat Scythians of Central Asia, undertaken in 519/18, and briefly described in his Bisitun inscription (**5, no.1**, paras.74–75; contra Cameron 1975; Petit 1984; 1987; 1990: 108–9). The most widely accepted, although by no means definite, date is c.513; see further Archibald 1998: 79 and references in n.2; 80–1, n.7.
3. Herodotus is referring back to the 'Scythian interregnum', which, according to him, had lasted twenty-eight years, disrupting the reign of Cyaxares (I, 15–16, 103–6; cf. **2, nos.12; 14**).

6. Punishment for an insult¹

Justin II, 5.9.

This prince (sc. the Scythian Idanthysus) had refused to give his daughter in marriage to Darius, king of the Persians, and so Darius made war on him, as I said above.²

Notes

1. The motif of the Persian king requesting the hands in marriage of queens or princesses in adjacent territories is found in other instances: e.g. Cyrus and Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae (**3, no.34**(205)), whose rejection of his marriage request leads to Cyrus' invasion and death; Cyrus, Cambyses and the Egyptian princess (**4, nos.3–4**), which is supposed to have precipitated Cambyses' invasion of Egypt. In each instance, the clear implication is that acceding to the request would signify political submission.
2. See Justin I, 10.23.

7. Follow-up to preliminary reconnaissance

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(20); Lenfant, 121–2.

(He says) that Darius sent Ariaramnes¹ the satrap of Cappadocia to go over to the Scythians and take men and women captive. He went over with thirty penteconters and took prisoners. Among them was the brother of the king of the Scythians, Marsagetes, whom he found in chains on the order of his own brother for some misdeed.

Annoyed, Scythobarbes, the king of the Scythians, wrote insultingly to Darius, who replied in the same manner.²

Notes

1. Aria(ram)nes was the name of one of the rulers of the Cappadocian ruling house in the third century. According to D.S. XXXI, 19, they claimed descent from one of the Seven who had assassinated the magus, called Anaphas, which some think, on the basis of Ctesias (**5, no.10**), could be a corruption of the name Otanes, whom Herodotus portrays as being granted special privileges, which could have included land in Cappadocia (**5, no.11** & n.3).
2. A partly similar pattern of written exchanges can be found in Esarhaddon's account of his conflict with the small mountainous region of Shupria, lying along Assyria's northern border (673/2). He requests repeatedly, by letter, the surrender of Assyrian political fugitives, which the Shuprian leader refuses to do, so that the Assyrian ruler is 'forced' to go to war (Borger 1956, para.68, col. I; col. II, 29–35).

(b) Darius' preparations**8. Gathering the forces**

Herodotus IV, 83; 85.1; 87.

When Darius was making his preparations against the Scythians and had sent round messengers, commanding some of his subjects to furnish a land army and others ships and yet others to bridge the Thracian Bosphorus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and so a brother of Darius, begged him not to mount a campaign against the Scythians because, he said, the Scythians were impossible to deal with. But, despite his good advice, he did not persuade Darius. So Artabanus stopped, and Darius, when everything was ready, marched his army out of Susa.

(85) Darius, marching from Susa, came, in the territory of Chalcedon, to where the Bosphorus was bridged, and from there, taking ship, he sailed to the so-called Dark (Cyanaean) Rocks, which the Greeks previously called the Wandering Rocks. He sat upon a headland there and looked at the Black Sea.

(87) When Darius had viewed the Black Sea, he sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles the Samian was the architect; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up at it two stelae of white stone and engraved on them letters, on the one Assyrian,¹ on the other Greek, giving all the peoples he had brought there, as those he led came from all his subjects. They were counted up to seven hundred thousand, including the cavalry, but excluding the fleet, and six hundred ships.² Now these very stelae, the Byzantines later brought into their city and used for the altar of Artemis Orthosia – all except for one stone.³ This was left beside the temple of Dionysus in Byzantium, covered in Assyrian letters. The place on the Bosphorus where King Darius bridged it – at least as far I can work out – is halfway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance to the sea.

Notes

1. It is generally thought that what Herodotus envisages here is a cuneiform inscription, although when Thucydides uses the term *Assyria grammata* (see **8, no.18**), the context implies Aramaic (Nylander 1968, and note **4, no.14(b)**). This suggests that Herodotus simply means 'Oriental writing' in general here (S. West 1985: 282).
2. Some have assumed that Herodotus derived his very high figures for Darius' forces from these inscriptions, but, as S. West (1985: 282) points out, he does not say so.
3. The reuse of the inscribed stones by the Byzantines indicates that the stelae were (or were envisaged to have been) set up on the European side of the Bosphorus.

(c) Persian and Scythian strategies**9. The Persian advance by land and sea**

Herodotus IV, 89; 91–3; 97–8.

(Darius) crossed over into Europe and sent a message to the Ionians to sail into the Black Sea as far as the river Ister;¹ when they came to the Ister, they were to wait for him there, meantime bridging the river – because the Ionians, Aeolians and Hellespontines were in command of the navy. After the navy had sailed through the Dark Rocks, they sailed straight to the Ister; after sailing a two days' distance up river from the sea, they bridged the neck of the river, where the mouths of the Ister divide. As soon as Darius had crossed the Bosphorus over his bridge,² he marched through Thrace, and when he came to the springs of the river Tearus,³ he camped there for three days.

(91) Darius came to this river and camped there, and because he was delighted with the river, he set up, here too, a stela on which he had engraved an inscription⁴ saying: 'The headwaters of the Tearus give water that is the best and most beautiful of all rivers. And to them came, during his campaign to Scythia, the best and most beautiful of all men, Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians and the whole continent.' That is what he wrote there.

(92) Setting off from there, Darius came to another river, the name of which is Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysians.⁵ Having got to this river he did the following: he determined a place for the army, and ordered all of them, as each passed, to put a stone in this place. The army did as he ordered, and so, when the expedition marched off, he left great piles of stones there.

(93) Before he came to the Ister, Darius conquered the Getae,⁶ who are immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus and those who live above the towns of Apollonia and Meambria, called the Syrmiadae and Nipsaei, surrendered to Darius without a fight. But the Getae turned obstinate; however, they were enslaved immediately – the bravest and most just of the Thracians. They were subdued by the Persians and followed the rest of Darius' army.

(97) When Darius and, with him, the land army came to the Ister and all had crossed, he ordered the Ionians to take down the bridge and follow him by land, along with the men of the fleet. The Ionians were just about to destroy the bridge, as ordered, when Coës, the son of Erxander, who was general of the Mytileneans, addressed Darius thus (having first established that it was agreeable to the king to receive the opinion of anyone willing to put one forward): 'Majesty, you are about to march into a land where you will find no sign of ploughed land or inhabited city.⁷ Let this bridge stand where it is, leaving those who built it as guards. If we find the Scythians and fare as we hope we will, there is a way for us to go home; if we cannot find them there is still a safe way home for us. I am not afraid that we will be beaten by the Scythians in battle, but rather that we may come to grief as we wander about unable to find them. Someone might say that I am speaking for my own sake, so that I can stay here. But what I am urging is for everyone's good, your majesty, and I myself will follow you and not stay behind.' Darius was pleased with this suggestion and replied thus: 'My friend from Lesbos, when I get back home safe, present yourself to me, so that I may reward your good suggestion with good deeds.'

(98) As he said this, he took a strap, tied some sixty knots in it, summoned the rulers of the Ionians to him and said to them: 'Men of Ionia, I am abandoning my former decision about the bridge. Here is this strap, and this is what you must do. As soon as you see me marching off into Scythia, from that moment undo one of these knots every single day. If I

don't come within that time – if you find there are more days than the number of knots – sail off to your homes. But until then, as I have changed my mind – guard the bridge and take all care to keep it safe and guarded. In doing this, you will render me a great service.' That was what Darius said, and hurried on his march forward.

Notes

1. The Danube.
2. Gr. *schedia* can mean either raft/float or a light bridge/pontoon.
3. Identified with the Bunar-hissar, see *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Tearos, a sub-sub-tributary of the Hebrus (Hdt. IV, 90).
4. The unlikelihood of this inscription being a genuine Persian text is discussed by S. West (1985: 296). Some have suggested that a clay tablet, found at Gherla in Romania in 1937 and containing a very fragmentary Old Persian cuneiform inscription of Darius I (Harmatta 1954; Mayrhofer 1978: 16), may be related to Darius' epigraphic activities as reported by Herodotus in relation to the Scythian campaign (Lecoq 1997: 128; see id. 228, DG, for a recent edition of the 'text'). A clay tablet is, of course, not a stela, and could have been carried to its find spot from almost anywhere.
5. The Odrysians were the most prominent Thracian tribal confederacy who, around the mid-fifth century, evolved into a state; see Archibald 1998.
6. Another important Thracian tribal grouping, located both in north-east Bulgaria and to the north of the Danube (see *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Getai).
7. Herodotus prefaced his account of Darius' campaign with an ethnography of Scythia, in which he described their nomadic lifestyle (IV, 2–82). For the problems raised by this description and how it fits into Herodotus' vision of non-Greek peoples, see Hartog 1980/1988; Thomas 2000.

10. The Scythian response

Herodotus IV, 102; 120–8.

The Scythians reasoned to themselves that they were unable to resist Darius' army in a straight fight on their own, so they sent messengers to their neighbours. The kings there had already met and were consulting about the great force that was coming against them. The kings who assembled were those of the Taurians, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Black Cloaks, Geloni, Budini and Sauromatians.¹

(120) (*As most of their neighbours refused to help, the Scythians*) decided that they could not wage a face-to-face battle, as their allies would not join them; instead, they would withdraw, and, as they moved away, stop up the wells and springs as they passed and destroy the grass on the land, dividing their army to do this. One of these parts, of which Scopasis was king, also included the Sauromatians. The king was to withdraw these troops if the Persian turned in their direction, heading straight for the Tanais river along Lake Maietis.² However, if the Persian moved away, they were to follow him and attack. This was one division of the royal forces, and this the road they were told to take. The other two parts of the royal armies, the big one under the command of Idanthysus, and the third, under King Taxakis, were to unite and, with the addition of the Geloni and Budini, should also withdraw, but just one day ahead of the advancing Persians, and, as they withdrew, to carry out the plans that had been formed. They were to withdraw, first, right into the territories of those people who had refused to make an alliance with them, so that they would force them, too, into the war. If they would not enter the war against the Persians of their own free will, said the Scythians, then let them do so against it. After that manoeuvre, they were to turn back to their own country and attack if they thought it seemed like a good idea.

(121) Having made these plans, the Scythians went out to face Darius' army, and they sent out the best of their cavalry as advance units. All their wagons, in which their women and children lived, and all the flocks, except what they needed for their food, without keeping any back, they sent on ahead, telling them to keep driving north.

(122) When they had gone ahead, the Scythian advance unit of cavalry found the Persians some three days' journey from the Ister; having found them, they kept camping just a day's march ahead, clearing the land of every plant that grew there. The Persians, as soon as they saw the Scythian cavalry appear before them, moved along the route as the Scythians retreated. Then the Persians directed their assault on one of the Scythian divisions and pursued it eastward, straight towards the Tanaïs. When they crossed the Tanaïs, the Persians crossed after them and pursued them, going right through the Sauromatian territory and arriving in that of the Budini.

(123) All the time the Persians were moving through the Scythian and Sauromatian territory, they could not damage anything because the land was barren. But when they got to the land of the Budini, they came to the fortified wooden town, which the Budini had abandoned and which was totally empty. This they burned, and went on, ever forward along the route, until they reached the desert. This desert is completely uninhabited.³

(124) When Darius came to the desert, he stopped the march and drew up his army on the river Oarus.⁴ Then he set about building eight great forts, about sixty stadia distant from each other.⁵ Their ruins were still there in my day. While he was busy with this, the Scythians he was pursuing wheeled round and moved back into Scythia. In fact, they vanished completely; and when Darius could find no trace of them, he gave up on the forts, half-built, and turned west, imagining that these were all the Scythians there were and that they had fled westwards.

(125) But when, with all the speed his army was capable of, he got into Scythia, he met with both divisions of the Scythians and pursued them. But again they kept just one day's march ahead of him. Darius refused to give up, and the Scythians, according to plan, retreated into the territory of those who had refused to join them, first, that of the Black Cloaks. As both the Scythians and Persians invaded them, they seriously disturbed the inhabitants; and then the Scythians led the way into the land of the Androphagi. And when they, too, were upset, the Scythians went on to withdraw into Neuri territory, and after causing the same havoc there, they moved towards the Agathyrsi. When the Agathyrsi saw all their neighbours fleeing before the Scythians and in utter confusion, they sent a herald to them, before they entered their country, and forbade them to set foot in it. They said that if they tried to invade, they would, first, have to fight it out with the Agathyrsi themselves. After sending the message, they went off to their frontiers, in order to bar any invader from crossing. But the Black Cloaks, Androphagi and Neuri offered no resistance whatever when both Scythians and Persians arrived in their land; they quite forgot their threats and kept fleeing in confusion northwards and to the desert. The Scythians made no further effort to invade the Agathyrsi, once they had been warned off, but drew the Persians from the land of the Neuri into their own country.

(126) As this was turning out to be a long and never-ending affair, Darius sent a mounted soldier to the Scythian king, Idanthysus, and said: 'You strange man, why do you keep fleeing from me, when there are two things you might do? If you think you are strong enough to oppose my forces, stop this roaming around and stand and fight. If you consider yourself weaker, then, too, stop running away, present gifts of earth and water to your master and come to discuss it.'⁶

(127) To this, the Scythian king Idanthysus replied thus: 'This is how I see things, Persian. I have never fled from a man in fear, neither in the past nor am I now fleeing from you. What I am doing now is no different from what I usually do in peacetime. I will also explain why I am not fighting you right away. We have neither cities nor sown land here, whose capture or destruction we fear, which might make us quick to join battle with you. But if you must come to blows with us quickly, there are our ancestral tombs. Find them and try to destroy them, and you will discover whether we will fight you or not for the graves. Until then, we will not fight, unless we decide to do so. That is all I have to say to you about a fight. As for my masters, I consider them to be solely Zeus, my ancestor, and Hestia, queen of the Scythians. To you, instead of gifts of earth and water, I shall send such gifts as are fitting for you. As for your claim to be my master, you will regret that!' That was the speech of the Scythian.

(128) So the herald went away to tell Darius this, and the Scythian rulers, on hearing the name of slavery, were filled with rage. They sent the division that was stationed with the Sauromatians, commanded by Scopasis, to the Ionians who had been left on the Ister to guard the bridge, asking them to come to confer with them. The rest of them decided not to lead the Persians around any longer, but to attack them when they were gathering provisions. So they waited until Darius' men were out foraging and then did as they had planned. The Scythian cavalry always routed the Persian cavalry, and the Persian would then flee for refuge to the infantry, who would help them. The Scythians, after driving the enemy cavalry back into the foot, turned around in retreat, because they feared the infantry. This was the kind of attack the Scythians made also by night.⁷

Notes

1. Hdt. IV, 103–19 goes on to sketch the nature of these various groups, as well as the Amazons, and their refusal (except for the Sauromatians, Geloni and Budini) to help the Scythians in a war they had brought on themselves, because they had been the initial aggressors – clearly a reference back to the Scythian invasion of Media (**6, no.5** & n.3).
2. The Don river flowing into the Sea of Azov.
3. Herodotus here gives brief description of the desert's size and location.
4. Another river flowing into the Sea of Azov.
5. Just under 11.5 km.
6. Earth and water symbolising acceptance of Persian dominance figures repeatedly in Herodotus' work. Its precise significance is not clear, and attempts to clarify the concept (Orlin 1976; Kuhrt 1988b; Nenci 2001) have not been totally successful; contrast Bichler (2000: 312–13), who suggests that it symbolises Persian claims to control both elements.
7. Herodotus here notes that the one advantage the Persians enjoyed was the presence of asses and mules in the army. As the Scythian horses were unfamiliar with them, the braying of donkeys would cause confusion in the Scythian forces. He goes on to describe the Persians becoming ever more hard-pressed by the shortage of supplies.

11. A Scythian challenge to the Persians

Herodotus IV, 131–3.1.

They did this again and again until eventually Darius did not know what to do, and the Scythian kings, understanding that, sent him a herald with gifts for Darius:¹ a bird and a mouse and a frog and five arrows.² The Persians asked the bearer what was the meaning of

these gifts. But the man said that he had received no instructions, except to give the gifts and return home as quickly as possible; the Persians, he said, if they were clever, would know the meaning of the gifts.³ When the Persians heard that, they debated with one another.

(132) Darius was of the opinion that the Scythians were in fact surrendering themselves and the earth and water. And he figured it out like this: the mouse is a creature of the earth and eats the same produce of the earth as man; the frog lives in water; the bird is very much like a horse;⁴ and the arrows were the surrender of their own power. That was Darius' opinion, but Gobryas, who was one of the Seven who had killed the magi,⁵ had a contrasting idea. His interpretation of the gifts was this: 'If you do not become birds and fly off into the sky, Persians, or become mice and burrow into the earth or become frogs and dive into the lakes, you will never leave here because you will be shot down with arrows.'

(133) This is how the Persians interpreted the gifts.

Notes

1. Clement of Alexandria (third century AD) quotes a certain Pherecydes the Syrian (FGrH 3 F174), who told the same story, but with some significant divergences, suggesting access to a tradition independent of Herodotus (see S. West 1988: 210). In this account, the Scythians send the gifts to Darius immediately on his breaching of the Danube frontier. As S. West (1988: 211) argues, Pherecydes' timing for the sending of the 'gift' – in fact, a warning message, see below – makes better historical sense than Herodotus.
2. Pherecydes' list of symbolic gifts differs slightly: he has only one arrow and adds a plough. The plough has been considered an unlikely item for the nomadic Scythians by several commentators in the past: S. West 1988: 210–11, with references.
3. The way the story is slanted in Herodotus is to place Darius in an unflattering light, floundering around in order to read it as a symbol of submission (see the subsequent development). Several scholars have regarded it as a Greek invention or part of a folk-tale. But, as S. West (1988) has shown, it fits well with ethnographic examples of epistolary communication by means of a set of signifying items (often related to declarations of war or love). It is, thus, not at all implausible that the Scythians sent a message of this kind and, further, that Darius would have understood its meaning.
4. Although the significance of the gifts is interpreted in a broadly similar way in the Pherecydes passage, a Persian advisor there takes the bird, rather more persuasively, to symbolise the air.
5. See 5, no.1, para.68.

(d) The outcome of the expedition

12. Darius' withdrawal

Herodotus IV, 133–7; 138.1; 140.3; 141; 142.1; 143.1.

The single detachment of Scythians, who had previously been ordered to keep guard along Lake Maietis,¹ and then ordered to advance to the Ister and speak with the Ionians, said, when they came to the bridge: 'Men of Ionia, we come bringing you freedom, if you will listen to us. We understand that Darius told you to wait just sixty days guarding this bridge.² If he failed to arrive within that time, you should go home again. Now act so that you will be neither guilty in his eyes nor ours. Stay here for the days indicated and then go home.' The Ionians agreed to do this and the Scythians left with all speed.

(134) After the gifts had been sent off to Darius, the Scythians who had been left behind drew themselves up, horse and foot, to attack the Persians. As the Scythians stood there in

their ranks, a hare ran between the two sides, and all the Scythians who saw it gave chase. As the Scythians were wildly excited and shouting, Darius asked what was this uproar among his enemies. When he heard that they were chasing a hare, he spoke with those whom he usually talked with and said: 'These people despise us totally. I think now that what Gobryas said about the Scythian gifts was right. As I now see things in the same way, we shall need a very good plan for getting safely out of this place and back home.' To this Gobryas responded: 'Your majesty, from what I had heard, I had quite a good idea of how difficult these people would be to deal with; and since coming here, I have learnt a lot more, seeing them mocking us like this. I think that, at nightfall, we should light our watchfires, as we usually do, and deceive and abandon all those of our soldiers least able to deal with fatigue. We should also tether all our donkeys here,³ when we go away, before the Scythians make for the Ister to break our bridge down or before the Ionians decide on something that will destroy us.'

(135) That was Gobryas' advice; and when night fell, Darius followed it. Those of his men who were exhausted and whose loss would matter least, he left in the camp. He left the donkeys, too, and the weakest of the soldiers, for this reason: the donkeys, so that they would bray and the men because they were feeble. The pretext he gave them was that he was going to attack the Scythians with the sound part of the army, while those left would simultaneously guard the camp. That was the message Darius gave to those he abandoned; then he lit his fires and made off to the Ister as quickly as possible. The donkeys brayed a great deal more than usual, because they had been deserted by the bulk of the army. The Scythians heard the noise and assumed that the Persians were in their usual encampment.

(136) When day dawned, those left behind realised that they had been betrayed by Darius. So they held out their hands in surrender to the Scythians and told them what had happened. When their enemies heard, they quickly gathered their army into one mass – the two Scythian divisions, and the one that had the Sauromatians, Budini and Geloni with it – and pursued the Persians to the Ister. Now, as the Persians were largely on foot and, moreover, did not know the roads, as they were not regularly graded roads, while the Scythians were mounted and familiar with every shortcut, the two armies missed each other, and the Scythians got to the bridge long before the Persians. When they realised that the Persians had not yet got there, the Scythians spoke to the Ionians, who were in their boats: 'Ionians, your days have passed the stipulated number and beyond, and you are wrong to stay. Before, you stayed out of fear; now break down the bridge and leave quickly, free and rejoicing, grateful to both the gods and the Scythians. As for your former master, we shall soon put him in a position where he will not lead his army against anyone, ever.'

(137) In view of this, the Ionians discussed what they should do. Miltiades was an Athenian general and tyrant of the people of the Hellespontine Chersonese.⁴ He thought that they should do as the Scythians asked and free Ionia. But Histiaeus of Miletus was opposed to this. At the moment, he said, each one of these tyrants held power over his city, thanks to Darius. If Darius' power was destroyed, he himself would not be able to control Miletus, nor would any of the others hold his city. Each of these would prefer democratic government to that of a tyrant. That was Histiaeus' declared view, and immediately all the others turned towards him, although before they had chosen Miltiades' side.

(138) So that is how these men, who were of some account with the king, voted.⁵

(140) So with difficulty (the Persians) found the passage over the river. It was night when they arrived; they found the bridge broken down and were in total panic that the Ionians had deserted them.

(141) There was among Darius' men an Egyptian, who had the loudest voice in the world. Darius ordered this man to stand on the bank of the river and call aloud for Histiaeus of Miletus. The man did this, and Histiaeus, hearing him at the first shout, brought forward all the ships to carry the troops over, and joined the bridge up again.

(142) So it was that the Persians escaped.

(143) Darius then marched through Thrace and came to Sestos in the Chersonese. From there he crossed, with his ships, into Asia and left Megabazus, a Persian,⁶ as his general in Europe.

Notes

1. See **6, no.10**.
2. See **6, no.9**(98).
3. See **6, no.10**, n.7.
4. Miltiades, who had links not only to the Persian court but also to the Thracian king Olorus (Hdt. VI, 39.2; cf. Archibald 1998: 80) subsequently fled Thrace, and played a decisive role in the Athenian resolution to face the Persians in the Battle of Marathon (Hdt. VI, 109–10). Here his future role as a hero of liberation is foreshadowed by Herodotus, in the advice he proffers.
5. Herodotus here names the most prominent Ionian (and one Aeolian) tyrants. He continues to show their duplicity in pretending to break the bridge, while sending the Scythians off in pursuit of the Persians – a failed endeavour as, contrary to their expectations, the Persians are toiling back along the ravaged route they had been led along previously. For discussion of the convergence of the tyrants' and Persian interests in Darius' Scythian expedition, see Briant 1996a: 156 [2002b: 143].
6. See, for his further activities, **6, no.17**.

13. An abbreviated story of Darius' expedition

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(21); Lenfant, 122.¹

Darius gathered an army of eight hundred thousand men, bridged the Bosphorus and Ister, entered Scythia, and advanced for fifteen days. (The two kings) sent bows to each other; the Scythian one proved the stronger.² And when Darius fled, he crossed the bridges again and, in his haste, broke them down before the whole army had crossed. Those left behind in Europe died at the hands of Scythobarbes; there were eighty thousand. When Darius had crossed the bridge, he burnt down the houses and temples of the Chalcedonians, because they had wanted to break down the bridge, and they had destroyed the altar, which Darius had erected in coming in honour of 'Zeus the Crosser'.³

Notes

1. This is the continuation of Ctesias' account of the conflict, epitomised by Photius; see **6, no.7**. Justin's very short passage concerning this (II, 10.10–11) seems to be an amalgam of Herodotus' and Ctesias' versions.
2. It is possible that this was Ctesias' take on Herodotus' story of the Scythian coded message (**6, no.11**). But a more obvious comparison is Herodotus' story of the bow sent by the Nubian ruler to Cambyses (**4, no.10(i)**; **5, no.3**), which signalled his rejection of Persian claims to dominance, as well as challenging his right to be king.
3. Cf. **6, no.8**.

14. Punitive measures for non-cooperation

Herodotus V, 27.

Over those (sc. of the Lemnians) who survived,¹ the Persians placed Lycaretus as governor; he was the brother of Maeandrius, who had ruled Samos.² This Lycaretus met his death while he was governor in Lemnos, because he enslaved and bullied everybody, accusing some of refusing to serve against the Scythians, others of acts of hostility against Darius' army on its way back from Scythia.

Notes

1. This forms part of the account of the Persian reduction of the Hellespontine cities, Thrace and adjacent islands by Otanes, following up Megabazus' activities (**6, no.17**).
2. See **6, no.2**.

15. Repercussions of the Scythian campaign

Herodotus VI, 40.

But this Miltiades,¹ son of Cimon, who had recently come to the Chersonese, had something yet worse happen to him. Because in the third year before the events I have recounted,² he had been hunted out of the country by the Scythians. They were nomads, who had been provoked by King Darius and had collected forces, then penetrated as far as the Chersonese. Miltiades did not wait for them to attack, but fled the Chersonese until the Scythians went home again and the Dolonci brought him back.

Notes

1. For his role in the group of Ionians guarding the Danube crossing, see **6, no.12**(137). For his escape from the Persians in 493, see **6, no.48**; for his subsequent part in the Battle of Marathon, see Hdt. VI, 104; 109–10.
2. Herodotus has been describing the Ionian Revolt and the fall of Miletus in 494.

16. The Danube as Persia's frontier

Plutarch, *Alexander* 36.4.

Deinon¹ also tells us that the kings of Persia had water transported from the Nile and the Ister,² and stored in the treasury³ as a testimony to the extent of their dominions and a proof that they were masters of the world.

Notes

1. For Deinon, a fourth-century author of *Persica*, see **Chapter 1**.
2. The Danube.
3. Gr. *eis ten gazan*, using the OP word for treasure. The passage is cited in the context of a description of Alexander's take-over of the Persian treasury in Susa (331).

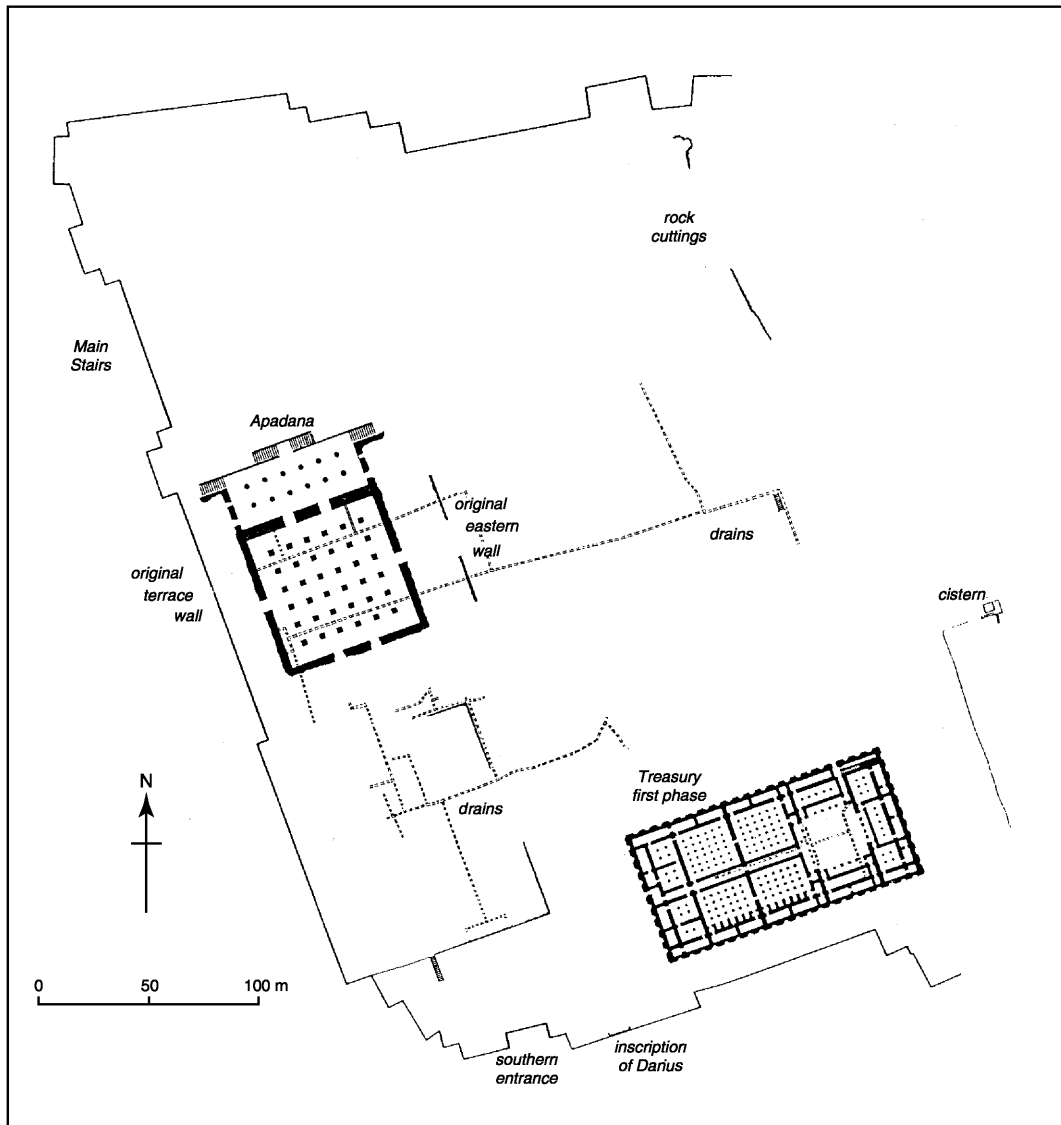


Figure 6.2 Plan of the palace terrace at Persepolis, c.500–490. Construction had certainly begun by 510/9 (see further, 11, **Section B(a)**). (After Roaf 1983.)

C. The Persians establish themselves in Thrace

(a) Establishing Persian power

17. Megabazus enforces Persian control over the Hellespont and Thrace¹

Herodotus IV, 144; V, 1–2.

This was the Megabazus who was left as general in the country of the Hellespontines, and he subjugated all those people who did not take the Persian cause.²

(1) Those of the Persians who had been left behind in Europe by Darius, commanded by Megabazus, subjugated first among the Hellespontine peoples the Perinthians, for they found them unwilling to accept subjection to King Darius.

(2) Now the Perinthians proved themselves good men in their fight for freedom, and it was only through force of numbers that the Persians and Megabazus mastered them. When Perinthus was overcome, Megabazus and his army moved right through Thrace, subduing for the king every city and every group of people that lived there. For that was the charge that Darius had given him: to bring all Thrace into subjection.

Notes

1. See **6, no.12**(143), for Megabazus' appointment in Europe; **6, no.9**(93), for Darius' reduction of Thracian groups en route to the Danube.
2. Herodotus interrupts his account of Megabazus' activities in Europe at this point in order to describe Persian involvement with Libya, particularly Cyrene (**6, no.4**).

18. The Paeonians deported

Herodotus V, 14–15; 17.1; 98.1.¹

Then Darius wrote a letter to Megabazus, whom he had left as his general in Thrace, ordering him to move the Paeonians out of their homeland and bring them to himself – them and their children and women. The horseman bearing the message set off with all speed for the Hellespont, and, crossing there, gave the despatch to Megabazus. He read it and, taking guides from Thrace, marched against Paeonia.²

(15) The Paeonians, learning that the Persians were coming against them, gathered themselves together and marched out in the direction of the sea, because they thought that it was on this side that the Persians would attack them. They were ready to repel the attack of the army of Megabazus; but the Persians, as soon as they found out that the Paeonians had concentrated their forces and were guarding the approach on the sea side, got guides and turned to the upland road and, unknown to the Paeonians, fell upon their towns, which were bereft of men. Moreover, as these towns they were attacking were almost empty, they took them easily. When the Paeonians learned that they were in possession of the towns, they broke up into their several units and surrendered to the Persians. So it was that, of the Paeonians, the Siriopaeonians and the Paeoplae and those people who lived as far as Lake Prasias were driven out of their native land and brought to Asia.

(17) So those of the Paeonians who were conquered were taken away into Asia.

(98) Aristagoras³ sent a man into Phrygia, to the Paeonian prisoners-of-war captured at the river Strymon by Megabazus. These people were now settled in a part of Phrygia in a village of their own.

Notes

1. Herodotus prefaces this account with a story about two Paeonians trying to obtain Persian support for their attempt to set themselves up as rulers of the region (Hdt. V, 12–13).
2. The Paeonian region lay between the Strymon and Axios rivers, in the northern area of later Macedon.
3. The tyrant of Miletus and one of the instigators of the Ionian Revolt (499–494; see **6, nos. 31–4.**)

19. Macedon accepts Persian overlordship¹

Herodotus V, 17.1; 18.1; 21.2–22.1.

As soon as Megabazus had brought the Paeonians who had been conquered to Asia, he sent messengers to Macedon. They were the seven Persians with him in his camp who were the most distinguished after himself. They were sent to Amyntas to ask for earth and water² for King Darius. There is a shortcut from Lake Prasias into Macedon.

(18) The Persians who were sent came to Amyntas³ and into his presence, and there they asked for earth and water for King Darius. Amyntas gave them what they asked and, besides, invited them to partake of his hospitality. He put on a magnificent banquet and entertained the Persians lavishly.⁴

(21) Some time afterwards a great search was made for the men (sc. the murdered messengers) by the Persians. But Alexander checked it cleverly. He gave a great deal of money and his own sister, called Gygaea, to Bubares, the Persian who was the general in charge of the search for the dead men.

(22) So the death of these Persians was suppressed and passed into silence.

Notes

1. A summary version of the same story is given by Justin VII, 3.
2. For the meaning of 'earth and water', and references to discussions, see **6, no. 10**, n. 6.
3. The Macedonian king.
4. There follows a story about the Persian guests demanding to be entertained by the Macedonian royal women, to which request Amyntas accedes. However, his son, Alexander, and friends dress up in female garb and murder them and their servants. This scarcely credible tale was clearly intended to counteract charges of Macedon's cowardice, given the fact of its undeniable acknowledgement of Persian sovereignty (see further **6, no. 24; 7, no. 51**).

20. Otanes replaces Megabazus

Herodotus V, 25.1; 26.

But first he (Darius) appointed Otanes to be general of the peoples who lived by the sea.¹

(26) This, then, was the Otanes² who now succeeded Megabazus as general. He captured Byzantium and Chalcedon and Antandrus in the Troad, and Lamponium. He also got some ships from the Lesbians,³ and with these he took Lemnos and Imbros.

Notes

1. This is in addition to the appointment of Darius' brother Artaphernes as governor of Sardis (Hdt. V, 25).
2. The passage is prefaced with the anecdote about Otanes' father, Sisamnes, the judge (**4, no.23**).
3. Coës of Mytilene (chief city of Lesbos) had been rewarded by Darius for his advice to keep the bridge over the Danube (**6, no.9**) with the rulership of the city (Hdt. V, 11).

21. Reassertion of the Persian grip after the Ionian Revolt¹

Herodotus VI, 43–45.

(Mardonius) having collected this huge military and naval force, the Persians crossed the Hellespont with the ships and marched by land through Europe, making for Eretria and Athens.²

(44) This, at any rate, was the pretext for their expedition. But what they had in mind was to subdue as many Greek cities as possible; so first, with their fleet, they conquered the Thasians, who did not lift a hand against them, and then with their army they added the Macedonians to their already existing slaves;³ for all the peoples on their side of Macedon had already been subjected to them. From Thasos they crossed over and travelled along close to the land as far as Acanthus; setting out from Acanthus, they tried to round Athos. But a great north wind, impossible to cope with, sprang up as they tried to round Athos and treated them very roughly, wrecking a great number of ships on Athos.

(45) That is how the fleet fared. And by land, when Mardonius and his army were encamped in Macedon, the Thracian Brygi attacked them at night. The Brygi killed very many and wounded Mardonius himself. Not that these people escaped slavery at the hands of the Persians, for Mardonius refused to move from the place until he had conquered them. After this conquest, however, he led the army back, having suffered losses in the land army from the Brygi, and a very severe one in the fleet at Athos.

Notes

1. Mardonius' appointment and action is dated to the spring of 492; see further, **6, no.49**, n.4.
2. In Herodotus' structuring of his narrative, this was in order to punish them for their support of the Ionians at the start of their revolt (see **6, no.35**), so it fits his vision of the dramatic dénouement of Persian action. But that is clearly a personal gloss: Mardonius' subsequent action makes it plain that his aim was to consolidate Persian power in Thrace and adjoining regions, a process which had been interrupted by the Ionian Revolt (see **6, Section D**).
3. See **6, no.19**, for the Macedonian–Persian relationship in the 510s; cf. the discussion in Briant 1996a: 169 [2002b: 157].

(b) The strategic importance and resources of Thrace**22. Raw materials and manpower**

Herodotus V, 11; 23.2.

As soon as Darius had crossed the Hellespont and come to Sardis, he remembered the good service of Histiaeus of Miletus and the advice of Coës of Mytilene.¹ He sent for them both at Sardis and gave them a choice of whatever they wanted. As Histiaeus was already tyrant of

Miletus and did not want to extend this, he asked for Myrcinus in the territory of the Edoni,² because he wanted to found a city there.

(23) Megabazus heard what Histiaeus was doing, and when he came to Sardis with the Paenionians,³ he spoke to Darius and said: 'My lord, what a thing you have done! You have given to this Greek, cunning and clever as he is, a city to fortify in Thrace, where there is abundant wood for ship-building and the manufacture of great quantities of oars, as well as the silver mines and a substantial population, both Greek and barbarian.'⁴

Notes

1. Histiaeus had persuaded the Ionians not to break down the Danube bridge, which allowed the Persians to escape from Scythia (**6, no.12**). For Coës, see **6, nos.9**(97); **20**, n.3.
2. A Thracian group, whose territory extended from the mouth of the Strymon along its left bank inland.
3. See **6, no.18**.
4. As a result of Megabazus' warning, Darius ordered Histiaeus to dwell as an honoured guest at his court (Hdt. V, 24).

23. Precious metal deposits in Thrace

(i) The gold of Thasos

Herodotus VI, 46; 47.2.

In the year after this,¹ Darius first dealt with the Thasians. They had been slandered by their neighbours, who said that they were planning to revolt. Darius sent them a message that they should pull down their defensive walls and bring their ships to Abdera. For the Thasians, who had known what it was to be besieged by Histiaeus of Miletus,² and who had, moreover, great revenues, used their money to build warships and to build themselves a stronger circle of defensive walls. Their revenues came from the mainland and from the mines. From the gold mines of Scaptesyle there was, usually, a revenue of eighty talents and, from the mines in Thasos itself, less than that, but so much that, normally, the Thasians, who paid no taxes on their crops, had an income, from both the mainland and the mines, of two hundred talents a year; at its greatest, the revenue totalled three hundred.³ (. . .)

(47) On the king's orders, the Thasians pulled down their walls and brought all their ships to Abdera.

(ii) The mines of Mount Pangaeus

Herodotus VII, 112.

Through this territory⁴ Xerxes passed,⁵ and, after this, he passed the forts of the Pierians, one of them called Phagres, the other Pergamus. In this direction he marched right under the walls, keeping Mount Pangaeus on his right, a great and high mountain in which there are gold and silver mines worked by the Pierians and Odomanti, and especially the Satrae.

Notes

1. I.e. 491.
2. Cf. **6, no.46**(28).
3. About 6,000–9,000 kg.
4. I.e. the country of a Thracian group called Satrae.
5. The occasion is Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480.

(c) The nature of Achaemenid power in Thrace and its wider impact

24. The client kingdom of Macedon

Justin VII, 4.1–2.

Bubares¹ left Macedon when Amyntas died. His son, Alexander, who succeeded him, was obliged by his relationship to Bubares² to remain at peace while Darius was on the throne. He even enjoyed such favour with Xerxes that, when the latter descended on Greece like a tornado, he gave him control of the whole region situated between the mountains of Olympus and Haemus. But it was also Alexander's bravery, not just Persian generosity, that contributed to the growth of his kingdom.

Notes

1. See **6, no.19**.
2. Bubares had married Alexander's sister Gygaea (**6, no.19**).

25. Persian depots and forts in Thrace

Herodotus VII, 25.2; 59.1; 105.1.

(Xerxes) making enquiry about the regions,¹ ordered them to deposit the stores where it was most suitable, carrying them hither and thither in merchantmen and transports from all over Asia. Most of it they gathered in a place in Thrace, called White Shore (Leukos Limen), although others brought the goods to Tyrodiza in Perinthian territory, and others to Doriscus, and others to Eïon on the Strymon, and others to Macedon.

(59) Doriscus is a beach and a great flat place in Thrace, and through it runs a big river, the Hebrus. In this country the royal fortress called Doriscus had been built, and a Persian guardpost set up there by Darius from the time when he campaigned against the Scythians.

(105) Xerxes installed Mascames, son of Megadostes, as governor of Doriscus, removing the man appointed by Darius.² And so he marched off with his army for Greece, going through Thrace.

Notes

1. Part of the Persian preparations for the invasion of Greece.
2. For the later history of Doriscus and Eïon after Xerxes' Greek campaign, see **7, no.70**.

26. Thracian tribute

Herodotus VII, 108.1

Xerxes marched from Doriscus¹ towards Greece and compelled all the peoples along his route to serve with him. Because, as I said before, all the country as far as Thessaly had been enslaved and made tributary to the king when conquered by Megabazus and later by Mardonius.²

Notes

1. For the Persian fortress here, see **6, no.25**.
2. See **6, nos.17–19; 21**.

27. The limits of Megabazus' conquest

Herodotus V, 16.

But the people who live around Mount Pangaeus and the country of the Doberes, Agrianes and Odomanti and Lake Prasias itself – they were not conquered by Megabazus at all, though he did try to conquer the lake-dwelling people, too.

28. The Satrae escape Persian control

Herodotus VII, 110–11.1.

The Thracian people, through whom he (sc. Xerxes) made his march are the Paeti, Cicones, Bistonians, Sapaei, Dersaei, Edoni and Satrae. Of these, the ones who lived by the seaboard joined his host with their ships; of those who lived inland, already mentioned by me, all except the Satrae were compelled to go with Xerxes' land army.

(111) The Satrae have never been subject to anyone, as far as we know, but right down to my time have continued as the only free Thracians. They live in high mountains, covered with woods of all kinds and with snow, and they are keen soldiers.¹

Note

1. At VII, 112, Herodotus also mentions their extraction of gold from Mount Pangaeus.

29. Local links with the Persian court

Thucydides VI, 59.2–3, 4.

Hippias¹ was now more frightened himself, and he put to death many of the citizens.² At the same time, he began to look abroad to find a possible place of refuge for himself should there be a revolution. There is certainly no doubt that, after this, although an Athenian, he gave his daughter Archedice to a Lampsacene, Aeantides, son of the tyrant of Lampsacus, Hippocles, because he knew he had great influence with King Darius.

Hippias was tyrant for another three years, and in the fourth year he was deposed by the

Spartans and the exiled Alcmeonids.³ He was then given a safe conduct to Sigeum and went on to Aeantides of Lampsacus, and from there to King Darius. Twenty years later, in his old age, he set out from there with the Persians on the expedition to Marathon.

Notes

1. Hippias was the son and successor of the Athenian tyrant, Pisistratus. This episode forms part of Thucydides' story recalling the circumstances leading to his expulsion (Thuc. VI, 54–9).
2. Hippias' fear was caused by the assassination of his brother, Hipparchus, an event dated to the same year as Darius' Scythian expedition by the *Tabula Capitolina* (FGrH 252, B8), most commonly placed c.513 (see **6, no.5**, n.2).
3. Part of Thucydides' point in telling the story at this stage in his narrative is to bring home to his audience that the Athenian tyranny was ousted by the Spartans, after a falling out between lovers, not by an idealistic Athenian love of freedom. The Alcmeonids were a powerful Athenian family, members of which (Cleisthenes, Pericles) played a dominant role in Athens subsequently.

30. Athens seeks an alliance with Persia

Herodotus V, 73.

After that the Athenians brought back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred families that had been banished by Cleomenes.¹ They sent off messengers to Sardis, because they wanted to make an alliance with the Persians, for they knew well that the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes had been provoked to war against them. The messengers came to Sardis and said what they had been told to say. Then Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, governor of Sardis,² asked: 'Who are these people and where in the world do they live that they ask the Persians to become their allies?' When he got his answer from the messengers, he said enigmatically: 'If the Athenians are willing to give King Darius earth and water,³ he offers them an alliance; if not, let them be off!' The messengers took the risk on themselves and said they were willing to make the alliance. They then went home to their own country and were much blamed for what they had done.

Notes

1. Cleomenes intervened, at the invitation of his guest-friend Isagoras, in the internal struggle between the latter and Cleisthenes. The date of this episode is c.507.
2. Artaphernes, Darius' brother, had been appointed not long after Darius' expedition to Thrace and Scythia (Hdt. V, 25).
3. For the significance of this, see **6, no.10** & n.6.

D. The Ionian Revolt (499–493)

(a) The beginnings of the revolt (499/8)

31. The Naxos debacle

Herodotus V, 28; 30–4.

Then, after a brief pause in the troubles,¹ more bad things befell the Ionians, this time from Naxos and Miletus. In terms of prosperity, Naxos outstripped the other islands, and Miletus

was then at its strongest and the glory of Ionia. It had, two generations earlier, been torn by factions, until the Parians brought them together. It was the Milesians, in fact, who had chosen the Parians to reconcile them.

(30) But it was from these cities that the troubles of Ionia began again, and this is how. Certain rich men had been banished from Naxos by the people, and they came to Miletus as exiles. At that time, Miletus happened to be governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras and son-in-law and cousin of Histiaeus, the son of Lysagoras – the Histiaeus whom Darius held in Susa.² For Histiaeus was the tyrant but was in Susa when the Naxians came, they having formerly been his guest-friends.³ When the Naxians came to Miletus, they asked Aristagoras to give them support to get back to their homeland. Aristagoras reflected that, if it was through his doing that they returned home, he would rule Naxos. So, using their guest-friendship with Histiaeus as a pretext, he put this argument to them: 'I myself cannot supply you with sufficient forces to bring you back from exile against the will of the Naxians in control of the city, because I gather that they have eight thousand soldiers and many large ships. But I will do all I can for you. The way I see it is this: it so happens that Artaphernes is my friend, and Artaphernes, note, is the son of Hystaspes and brother of King Darius, and he rules all the people of Asia who are on the coast. He has a great army and many ships. He is the man who, I think, will do whatever we want.' When the Naxians heard this, they left it to Aristagoras to do his best in the matter, and told him to promise gifts and they themselves would bear the cost of maintaining an army. They had great hopes that, as soon as they appeared in Naxos, the Naxians would do all they ordered, as would, they thought, the other islanders. For, at this point, not one of the Cyclades was under Darius.

(31) Aristagoras arrived in Sardis and told Artaphernes that Naxos was an island, not very large, but beautiful and lovely and near Ionia, and full of riches and slaves. 'Mount a campaign against this island and bring back these exiles. Once you have done that, I have much money for you, apart from the expenses incurred by your army (it is only right that we who bring you there should supply these). Moreover, you will win for the king Naxos itself and those islands that depend on it: Paros, Andros and the rest of the so-called Cyclades. If you start out from there, you will be able to attack Euboea, which is a big, rich island, no smaller than Cyprus and very easy to take. A hundred ships will be enough to achieve all this.' Artaphernes replied: 'Your suggestions are good for the king's house. In all of this, what you advise is good, except for the number of the ships. Instead of a hundred, you shall have two hundred ships, when spring arrives. But the king himself must also give his consent to all of this.'

(32) When Aristagoras heard this, he returned to Miletus very happy. When Artaphernes sent to Susa and passed on what Aristagoras had suggested to him, Darius himself gave his consent. So Artaphernes prepared two hundred triremes and a large army, consisting of Persians as well as other allies, and appointed as commander Megabates, a Persian, one of the Achaemenids and cousin to himself and Darius.⁴ (. . .) Artaphernes appointed Megabates general and sent off the army to Aristagoras.

(33) So Megabates took Aristagoras with him from Miletus, an army of Ionians and the Naxians, and set sail supposedly for the Hellespont. But when he came to Chios, he stopped his ships at Caucasa so that, with the help of the north winds, he might cross from there to Naxos. But Naxos was not fated to be destroyed by this particular expedition, because things turned out like this: as Megabates went round the ships' guards, there was a Myndian ship without a guard. Megabates was very angry and ordered his bodyguard to dig out the captain of this ship, called Scylax, bind him and put him through an oar-hole of the ship so

that his head would be on the outside and his body on the inside. When Scylax was bound like this, someone told Aristagoras that Megabates had tied up his friend from Myndus, in a humiliating fashion. Aristagoras went and pleaded with the Persian on behalf of Scylax, but when he failed to get anywhere, he went himself and released the man. When Megabates was told of this, he was furious and spoke angrily to Aristagoras. To which the latter replied: ‘What has all this got to do with you? Didn’t Artaphernes send you to follow my orders and sail where I tell you? Why are you interfering?’ That is what Aristagoras said! Megabates was so enraged that at nightfall he sent men by boat to Naxos to inform the Naxians of everything that was going to befall them.

(34) The Naxians had no idea that the expedition was directed against them. But as soon as they heard the news, they moved everything from the fields inside the walls; they prepared food and drink for a siege and strengthened the fortifications. They made the preparations in the expectation of war, and so, when the others crossed over with their ships from Chios to Naxos, they were attacking a place fully prepared and besieged it for four months. Then, when the Persians had spent all the money they had come with, and all the resources provided by Aristagoras were also gone, and the siege needed yet more, they built a fort for the Naxian exiles and left for the mainland, having acquitted themselves very poorly.

Notes

1. This follows Herodotus’ account of Otanes’ activities in the Hellespont and adjacent islands some time between 510 and 500, see **6, no.20**.
2. See **6, no.22**, n.4.
3. Gr. *xéinoi*; see Herman 1987 for the Greek concept of guest-friendship.
4. Herodotus adds a reference to the fact that the Spartan Pausanias, victor of Plataea (479), tried to contract a marriage with Megabates’ daughter. According to the story, recounted at some length by Thucydides, Pausanias proposed marrying Xerxes’ daughter (see **7, no.81**).

32. The decision to revolt

Herodotus V, 35–8.

Aristagoras was unable to fulfil his promise to Artaphernes; along with that, the campaign expenses demanded of him were causing him difficulties and he was afraid because of the army’s failure and his quarrel with Megabates, and thought that his position as tyrant of Miletus would be taken from him. Terrified by each one of these factors, he decided to revolt. At that moment, there arrived from Susa someone sent by Histiaeus¹ with a tattooed head, urging him to revolt from the king. Histiaeus wanted to urge Aristagoras to revolt but had no other safe way of communicating with him, as all the roads were watched.² So he chose the most trusted of his slaves, shaved his head, then tattooed a message on it and waited until the hair grew again. He sent the man off to Miletus with no instructions, except that on arrival in Miletus he should ask Aristagoras to shave his hair and look at his head. As I said earlier, the tattooed marks bade Aristagoras revolt. Histiaeus did this because he felt it to be a disaster that he should be held in Susa for so long. If there were a revolt, he had high hopes that he would be sent down to the coast, but he thought that unless he caused trouble in Miletus, he would never get back there.

(36) That is what Histiaeus was thinking when he sent off the messenger; and it all came upon Aristagoras at one and the same time. He consulted with his supporters, explaining his

own views and Histiaeus' message. All the others agreed with it – that they should revolt. But Hecataeus the chronicler³ was emphatically against undertaking any war against the king of Persia, cataloguing all the peoples Darius ruled over⁴ and his power. But when he failed to carry his point, he proffered as a second piece of advice that they should try to take command of the sea. But, he said, the only way to do that (because he knew that Miletus was a weak power) was to seize the treasures deposited in the shrine of the Branchidae,⁵ which Croesus the Lydian⁶ had dedicated there. Like that, he had great hopes that they would be in control of the sea, because they would have moneys at their disposal and the enemy would not be able to plunder it for himself. This treasure was a large one, as I showed in the first part of this account.⁷ This opinion, too, did not prevail, although they nevertheless decided to rebel, and that one of them should sail to Myous, to the army that had come from Naxos which was there, and try to arrest the generals who were on the ships.

(37) Iatragoras was sent to do this and managed, by a trick, to capture Oliatus of Mylasa, son of Ibanollis, Histiaeus of Termera, son of Tymnes, Coës, son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mytilene,⁸ Aristagoras of Cyme, son of Heracleides, and many more. Now Aristagoras' revolt was out in the open, with all his acts directed against Darius. First of all, he gave out that he was renouncing the tyranny and established equality before the law, to induce the Milesians to join the revolt, and then did the same in the rest of Ionia.⁹ Some of the tyrants he drove out; but those he had taken captive on the ships which had sailed to Naxos, he handed over to their cities so that he could be friends with them; he gave each one to the city from which he came.

(38) As soon as the Mytileneans laid their hands on Coës, they took him out and stoned him to death, while the people of Cyme let their man go, as did most of the others. So the tyrants ceased to be in the cities, and once Aristagoras of Miletus had put an end to them, he ordered the people in each city to appoint generals. Then he himself set off for Lacedaemon in a trireme, because it was essential to find some major allies.

Notes

1. Many problems beset the historicity of Histiaeus' role in Herodotus' tale of the revolt, which is probably part of a tradition of Ionian story-telling, and so gives us no more than an idea of how events were recounted later in some circles; see CAH IV, 486, with references.
2. For the Persian road system and its control, see **Chapter 15**.
3. Hecataeus of Miletus was one of the earliest Ionian prose writers (Herodotus here calls him *logographos*). He wrote a geographical treatise in two volumes, the *Periegesis*, as well as a four-volume mythographic work, *Genealogiai*. Only a few fragments of each work have survived (FGrH 1). For the main bibliography, see OCD, s.v. Hecataeus (1); for an examination of how Herodotus has coloured our image of Hecataeus, see S. West 1991; for a critique of the commonly held view that Herodotus derived most of his information on Scythia from Hecataeus, see Thomas 2000: 58–9.
4. For the royal lists of subjects, see **11, no.4; fig.11.5**.
5. For the Branchidae, see **3, no.20**, n.7.
6. See **3, Section D**.
7. Hdt. I, 92.
8. See **6, no.20**, n.3.
9. The Ionian cities were torn by rival factions, the leaders espousing different ideological slogans. In the sixth century, many were under the rule of virtual princely dynasties exercising absolute power ('tyrants'). Given their vulnerability to being toppled by political opponents in exile (note, for example, the Naxos situation, **6, no.31**), maintaining their position depended heavily on support from the Persian régime (see, e.g., **6, no.12**(137)). Aristagoras' act, in publicly renouncing his position and removing other similar régimes, can thus be seen to be a move calculated to distance

him publicly from Persian rule. For the relationship between city-tyrants and the Persians, see the discussions in Graf 1985; Austin 1990; Briant 1996a: 162–5 [2002b: 150–2].

33. *The Ionian rebels appeal for help in Sparta*

Herodotus V, 49–51.

Artistagoras, tyrant of Miletus, came to Sparta while Cleomenes was in control.¹ According to the Lacedaemonians, he came to talk with him holding a bronze tablet with a map of the whole world engraved on it, with all the sea and all the rivers.² So Aristagoras came to talk with the king and said: ‘Cleomenes, don’t be surprised at my eagerness to come here. This is the situation: the fact that the children of the Ionians should be slave not free is a matter of reproach and source of grief to us, and, among the rest, above all to you as the leaders of Greece. Now, in the name of the Greek gods, rescue the Ionians – you have the same blood – from slavery. It is easy for you to succeed in this, because the foreigners are not brave, while you excel in the skills of war. Their method of fighting is this: bows and short spears. They wear trousers when they go into battle and peaked caps on their heads; so it is easy to beat them. Further, those living on the mainland have an abundance of good things that all the others put together do not have – beginning with gold, silver and bronze, multicoloured clothes, beasts of burden and slaves. Whatever your heart desires, you can have. And they all live next to each other as I can show you: here are the Lydians right next to the Ionians, living in fertile land, and they have a lot of silver.’ As he spoke, he pointed to these places on the map of the earth that he was carrying, engraved on the tablet. ‘And here, next to the Lydians’, said Aristagoras, ‘are the Phrygians, to the east, with more flocks than anyone on earth I know and with wonderful crops. Next to the Phrygians are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians.’³ On their borders are the Cilicians, whose land comes right down to the sea right here, where the island of Cyprus lies. They pay five hundred talents annually to the king.⁴ Next to the Cilicians are the Armenians, here – they, too, have a wealth of flocks – and next to the Armenians are the Matieni, who live in this country here. Next to them is the Cissian country, and in it, by this river, the Choaspes, is Susa, where the great king has his seat, and his treasures are. Capture that city and you can boast that you rival Zeus in riches, while here (sc. in the Peloponnese) you fight with your Messenian equals, and the Arcadians and Argives, for land neither large nor fertile, just paltry strips. They have no gold or silver, desire for which has led many to fight and die. You have an easy opportunity to rule all Asia. Will you choose something else?’ That is what Aristagoras said; to which Cleomenes replied: ‘My friend from Miletus, I postpone my answer until the day after tomorrow.’

(50) That is as far as it went, then. When the day set for the decision came and they went to the meeting place, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days’ journey it was from the Ionian coast to the king. Aristagoras, who had been very clever in everything else and thoroughly tricked Cleomenes, tripped up here. If he wanted the Spartans to come into Asia, he should not have told the truth; but he did, saying that it took three months. Cleomenes cut short the rest of what Aristagoras was about to say about the journey, and said: ‘My friend from Miletus, leave Sparta before sunset. No argument of yours can be eloquent enough to bring the Lacedaemonians three months away from the sea!’

(51)⁵ And so Aristagoras left Sparta altogether and had no chance ever to give any more information about the journey inland to the king.

Notes

1. Hdt. V, 39–48 is an excursus on Spartan history and the conflict between two brothers, Dorieus and Cleomenes, for the kingship.
2. The earliest Greek map of the world is attributed to Anaximander (mid-sixth century). A Babylonian *mappa mundi*, preserved on a clay tablet, is dated to the late eighth to seventh centuries; see Horowitz 1988; 1998: 20–42.
3. See **3, no.13**, n.5.
4. According to Herodotus, Cilicia also paid 360 horses annually (**14, no.2**); for the empire's revenues, see **Chapter 14**.
5. Herodotus here recounts a short anecdote about Aristagoras' subsequent attempt to bribe Cleomenes, which is thwarted by the latter's daughter, Gorgo.

34. Aristagoras is promised help by Athens and Eretria

Herodotus V, 55.1; 96–7; 99.1.

So now that Aristagoras had been driven out of Sparta, he came to Athens, which had at that time been liberated from the tyrants.¹

(96) But when Hippias (i.e. the exiled Athenian tyrant) came from Lacedaemon to Asia, he stirred everything up, slandering the Athenians to Artaphernes, and trying to manage things so that the Athenians would become his and Darius' subjects. That is what Hippias did; and when the Athenians heard about it they sent messengers to Sardis, urging the Persians not to be taken in by those banished from Athens. But Artaphernes told them that, if they wanted to stay in one piece, they should take Hippias back. The Athenians rejected the message, and for that reason, they decided to be enemies openly of the Persians.

(97) It was just at this moment, when they were thinking like this and were at odds with the Persians, that Aristagoras of Miletus came to Athens, having been driven out of Sparta by King Cleomenes, because Athens was far the most powerful of the other cities. Aristagoras came before the people and said all the same things that he had said in Sparta, about the wealth of Asia and the Persian style of warfare and how these people were not used to spears or shields and would be easy to conquer. He said this, and also said that Miletus was a colony of Athens² and that, given the greatness of Athenian power, they should certainly protect the Milesians. He promised them anything and everything, for he was very keen indeed, and in the end he persuaded them. It seems to be easier to fool many rather than one – Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian was just one man, but Aristagoras could not fool him, but he managed to fool thirty thousand Athenians. The Athenians were convinced and voted to send twenty ships to help the Ionians, and they appointed as commander of the fleet Melanthius, a citizen notable in all ways. These were the ships that were the beginning of evils for Greeks and barbarians.³

(99) The Athenians then came with twenty ships, bringing five triremes of the Eretrians with them, who were not going to war for the sake of the Athenians, but for the Milesians themselves, to whom they were repaying a debt (because the Milesians had previously helped to wage war with the Eretrians against Chalcis, when the Samians helped the Chalcidians against the Eretrians and the Milesians). So they came and the other allies and Aristagoras made an attack on Sardis.⁴

Notes

1. See **6, no.29**.
2. This was part of an Attic tradition, according to which Neleus, younger son of the legendary Athenian king Codrus, left Attica after quarrelling with his brother, seizing and settling Miletus. Athens claimed primacy among the Ionians, a mythical link exploited by them at the time of the Delian League (J. Hall 2002: 27; 67–73).
3. Herodotus follows this with an account of Aristagoras making trouble for the Persian king by persuading the Paeonians settled in Phrygia to escape back home (**6, no.18**).
4. Although, as Herodotus points out, Aristagoras did not join personally in the attack, but appointed generals from Miletus to do so.

35. The burning of Sardis

Herodotus V, 100–2.

When the Ionians arrived at Ephesus with this expedition, they left their boats at Coresus, in Ephesian territory, and themselves marched inland in a great force using Ephesians to show them the way.¹ They marched along the river Cayster,² and, having crossed the Tmolus, reached and conquered Sardis with no opposition, taking all of it with the exception of the citadel.³ The citadel was defended by Artaphernes himself, who had a substantial force with him.

(101) The reason why, after capturing the city, they did not plunder it, is this. Most of the houses in Sardis were made of reeds, and the others that were made of bricks had reed roofs. As soon as a soldier set fire to one, the fire leapt from house to house and spread over the whole town. As the town burned, the Lydians and those Persians who were in the city were cut off from all sides, because the fire consumed the outer parts. As they had no way of escape from the town, they ran into the market place and towards the Pactolus river, which brings down the gold dust from Tmolus and flows through the middle of the market place, then into the Hermus, which flows into the sea. Crowded together at this Pactolus and in the market place, the Lydians and Persians were forced to defend themselves. When the Ionians saw some of the enemy defending themselves and others coming at them with a great force, they fled in terror towards the mountain called Tmolus, and retreated from there, under cover of night, to their ships.

(102) So Sardis burned, and, in it, the sanctuary of Kybebe,⁴ and it was this that the Persians used as their excuse later when they in their turn burned the temples of the Greeks.⁵ As soon as what had happened was known, all the Persians who had landplots this side of the Halys river mustered to help the Lydians.⁶ They found the Ionians no longer in Sardis, but following their track they overtook them at Ephesus. The Ionians drew up to face them and there was a battle in which they were badly defeated. The Persians killed many of them: among the eminent ones was Eualcides, general of the Eretrians, who had won crowns in the games and had been the subject of much praise by Simonides of Keos.⁷ The others fled from the battle and scattered to their various cities.

Notes

1. Ephesus provided access to a direct route up the river valley to Sardis and formed part of the Persian road network (see further, Briant 1991a; **15, no.2**).

2. The Cayster's source is to the south of Sardis, on Mount Tmolus, whence it flows into the sea just north of Ephesus.
3. For Sardis' position on the slopes of Mount Tmolus and the virtual invincibility of its citadel, see **3, no.14** & n.1.
4. It is usual to identify Kybebe/Kubaba with the Cybele of later Graeco-Roman literature, the Phrygian 'Great Mother', whose cult enjoyed an enormous following into late antiquity. However, there are some significant differences between the two, as argued by Roller (1999: 44–53). Thus, while Kubaba is the name of a specific goddess, who became particularly prominent in the pantheon of the south Anatolian city of Carchemish (west bank of Euphrates) in the early first millennium BC (RLA VI, s.v. Kubaba A & B), Cybele is merely the epithet of the Phrygian Matar ('Mother'), perhaps referring to a topographical feature, and rarely used in this period. Moreover, the Phrygian goddess is the sole deity attested at this time, i.e. late eighth to sixth centuries. For further significant differences between the two, see Roller's careful analysis. What is clear is that the deity of Sardis, as Herodotus states, was called Kybebe/Kubaba, as she is attested on a Lydian graffito from Sardis itself, see Gusmani 1975: 28, no.A II 5. Nevertheless, the indications are that some conflation of the images of Cybele and Kubaba had already taken place, see Roller 1999: 128; 130–1 and fig.38. For further thoughts on the Cybele cult, see Vassileva 2001.
5. For Persian burning of Greek temples, see **7, nos.37; 40; 78**.
6. This reveals a system of Persian settlement of soldiers on land with the obligation to fight as need arose; see further Briant 1985a; **14, nos.36; 38; 16, no.71**.
7. Simonides of Keos was a famous poet, uncle of the lyric poet Bacchylides (see **3, no.17**). Only fragments of his work have survived (for the recent discovery of parts of his poem on the Battle of Plataea, see **7, Introduction**). He is said to have been patronised by Hipparchus, younger son of the Athenian tyrant, Pisistratus, and to have ended his life at the court of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily (478–466). For a brief introduction to his work and references, see OCD, s.v. Simonides.

36. Extension of the revolt (498/7)

Herodotus V, 103–5.1.

So that is how the fight went. After that the Athenians gave up the Ionians altogether and, although Aristagoras kept appealing to them with message after message, they refused to help them. Even without the Athenian alliance, the Ionians prepared war against the king – they had, after all, done much against Darius. So they sailed to the Hellespont, reduced Byzantium and all the other cities there, and then sailed out of the Hellespont to take over most of Caria as their allies. Even Caunus, which had not wanted to join in previously, now, after the burning of Sardis, came over to them of its own accord.

(104) All the Cypriots, save for the people of Amathus, joined spontaneously. Their revolt against the Medes happened as follows. There was a certain Onesilus, the younger brother of Gorgus, king of the Salaminians, son of Siromus, son of Euelthon. This man had often previously urged Gorgus to rebel against the king, and when he learnt that the Ionians had revolted, he pressed this course strongly. But, when he failed to persuade Gorgus, Onesilus waited until he had left the city of Salamis, then, with his fellow rebels, he closed the gates. Deprived of the city, Gorgus fled to the Medes (i.e. Persians), while Onesilus ruled over Salamis and convinced all the Cypriots to join the revolt. He persuaded all the others, and, when the people of Amathus refused to be persuaded, he set about besieging them.

(105) So there was Onesilus besieging Amathus.

(b) The Persian response (498/7–494/3)**37. Persian action in Cyprus**

Herodotus V, 108–16.1.

While the message about Sardis came to the king, and Darius had let fly the arrow from his bow, had talked with Histiaeus, who had been released by Darius to go to the coast¹ – while all this was happening, the following occurred: Onesilus of Salamis was besieging Amathus, when he heard that Artybius, a Persian, was expected to arrive on Cyprus with a substantial Persian army. At this news, Onesilus sent heralds round Ionia to call for their help. The Ionians did not consult for long, but came with a large force. So the Ionians were on Cyprus; the Persians crossed by boat from Cilicia² and approached Salamis on foot; while the Phoenicians, with their fleet, sailed round the headland called the Keys of Cyprus.

(109) At this point, the tyrants of Cyprus called the Ionian generals together and said: ‘Ionians, we Cypriots give you the choice as to whom you will fight: the Persians or the Phoenicians. If you want to draw up your army on land and try your strength against the Persians, now is the moment for you to leave your ships and draw up in formation on land, and for us to embark on your ships and fight the Phoenicians. If you would rather have a go at the Phoenicians, then do that. But, whoever you choose, act so that both Ionia and Cyprus will be free to the best of your ability.’ The Ionians replied to this: ‘The Ionian League sent us to guard the sea, not to hand over our ships to the Cypriots and face the Persians on foot. So we will stay where we are and try to be of use there. You should remember what you went through when you were enslaved by the Medes (i.e. Persians) and prove yourselves worthy men.’

(110) That was the Ionian response. Then the Persians came to the Salamis plain; the Cypriot princes drew up placing the other Cypriots against the rest of the enemy, but keeping the best men of Salamis and Soli to face the Persians. The Persian general Artybius confronted Onesilus, by the latter’s choice.

(111) Artybius was riding a horse trained to rear up in the face of a hoplite. Onesilus heard of this and spoke to his shield-bearer, a Carian, a skilled soldier of great courage. ‘I hear that Artybius has a horse that rears up and, with his hooves and teeth, destroys anyone against whom he is urged. Reflect and tell me quickly: which of the two will you watch and strike – Artybius or the horse?’ His retainer said, ‘Prince, I shall do both or either, as you command. But let me tell you what I think is expedient for you. I think a king and a general should confront a king or general. Because if you defeat a general, it will be a great thing; and then if he does it to you (pray that it may not happen!) to die at the hands of a worthy enemy is only half a misfortune. As for us, your servants, we should fight with the other servants and the horse. Don’t be afraid of any tricks. I promise that he will never rear up against another opponent.’

(112) That is what he said, and battle was joined on land and sea. The Ionians were very skilled that day and beat the Phoenicians, with the Samians among them distinguishing themselves. On land, the forces joined, charged and fought. As for the generals on either side, this is what happened: as Artybius rode up to Onesilus, the latter, as agreed with his shield-bearer, struck at Artybius himself, as he attacked him. As the horse threw his hooves at Onesilus’ shield, the Carian struck with a sickle and cut off the horse’s legs. And so Artybius, the Persian general, fell where he was with his horse.

(113) The others fought on, but Stesenor, tyrant of Curium, surrendered with a not

insubstantial body of men. (The Curians are said to be a colony sent out by Argos.³) When the Curians surrendered, the Salaminian war-chariots did the same immediately. And so the Persians defeated the Cypriots. The army was routed and many fell, among them Onesilus, the son of Chersis, who had started the Cypriot revolt, and Aristocyprus, son of Philocyprus, ruler of Soli – the Philocyprus whom Solon of Athens,⁴ when he came to Cyprus, praised above all tyrants in a poem.

(114) Because Onesilus had besieged them, the people of Amathus cut off his head, carried it to Amathus and hung it over the gates.

(115) The Ionians, who had fought off Cyprus, learned what had happened to Onesilus – that he had been defeated and that the other cities were besieged except for Salamis, which the Salaminians had surrendered to their former king, Gorgus. In this situation, the Ionians sailed off to Ionia. Among the cities of Cyprus, Soli stood out longest under siege;⁵ by digging under its defensive walls,⁶ the Persians captured it in the fifth month.

(116) So the Cypriots were free for one year and then lapsed back into slavery.

Notes

1. In the previous passage, Herodotus related a tale in which Darius, on learning of the Athenian role at Sardis, had shot an arrow with a promise to punish the city. He then accused Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus resident at his court, of being involved in the rebellion. This gave Histiaeus the opportunity he had been seeking to obtain his release from the Persian court by asking to be sent to deal with the revolt. For the relationship of Histiaeus with Darius, see **6, nos.12; 22; 23(i); 31–2**.
2. The Persians maintained an important strategic base in Cilicia, see **6, nos.49(43); 51(95); 8, no.6**, n.10; **16, no.63**; cf. **15, no.11**.
3. Argos' reputation in the post-Persian war period was sullied by its neutrality in the course of 480/79 (Hdt. VII, 148–9; **7, no.83**), and the help it had offered to the Persians in 479 (**7, no.54**). So Herodotus' emphasis on the craven surrender of Argos' colony Curium carries a particular resonance with it. See, generally on the history of Argos in this period, Hendriks 1982.
4. This is the famous Athenian poet and law-giver who, according to tradition, travelled for ten years after promulgating his reforms in 594/3.
5. Excavations at Old Paphos have revealed the Persian siege ramp, as well as 422 sling stones, weighing between 2 and 21 kg. This, together with the discovery of a sling stone (22 kg) dating from the Persian siege of Phocaea in the 540s (Özyigit 1994), indicates that the Persians were already using catapults to project heavy missiles into besieged cities; see the discussion with references in Briant 1994, cf. Kuhrt 2002c.
6. The tactic of tunnelling under defensive walls during sieges is illustrated in Assyrian palace reliefs; see **fig.6.3**.

38. Persian action in Ionia

Herodotus V, 117–23.

Daurises, who had married a daughter of Darius, and Hymaees and Otanes,¹ also Persian generals married to daughters of Darius, pursued the Ionians who had attacked Sardis. After defeating them in battle, they swept them into their ships, divided up the cities and plundered them. Daurises turned to the cities in the Hellespont and captured Dardanus, Abydos, Percote, Lampsacus and Paesus, each in one day. As he moved from Paesus to Parium, he received the news that the Carians had joined the Ionians and rebelled against the Persians. So he turned away from the Hellespont and moved against Caria.

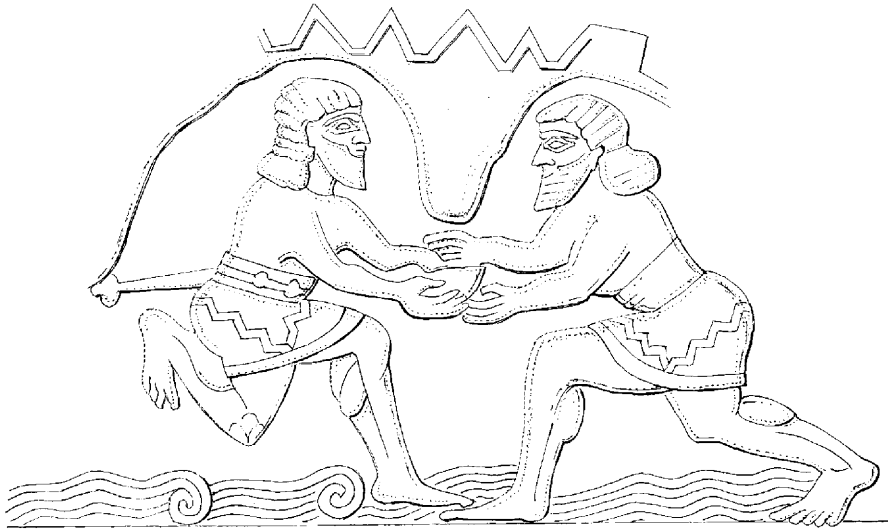


Figure 6.3 Neo-Assyrian relief, now in the British Museum, showing sappers tunnelling under a city wall. From the Palace of Ashur-nasir-pal II (883–859), Nimrud. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

(118) However, the Carians heard about this before Daurises arrived, and they gathered at the so-called White Pillars and the river Marsyas, which flows from the Idrian land and into the Maeander. As the Carians gathered, various plans were proposed. I think the best one was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus, a man from Cindye, who was married to the daughter of Syennesis, the Cilician ruler.² This man thought that the Carians should cross the Maeander and engage the Persians, with the river behind them. Like that the Carians would not have anywhere to run away to, but would be forced to stand firm and be braver than they were naturally inclined to be. But it was another suggestion, not this one, which won out, namely, that the Persians, not the Carians, should have the Maeander behind them, so that if they were losing and tried to flee, they would have nowhere to escape to and would fall into the river.

(119) When the Persians came and crossed the Maeander, the Carians met the Persians in battle there on the Marsyas, and fought well and for a long time, but were eventually overcome by superior numbers. Two thousand men fell on the Persian, one thousand on the Carian, side. So the Carians fled to Labraunda, the shrine of Zeus of Battles, a great and sacred grove of planes.³ When they were trapped there, they discussed their chances of safety: should they surrender to the Persians or would it be better to abandon Asia altogether?

(120) While they were discussing this, the Milesians and their allies came to their aid. So the Carians stopped debating and got themselves ready for war yet again. Then the Persians came upon them and they joined battle, and they were defeated even more heavily than before. Among the large numbers who fell, the Milesians lost the most.

(121) After this disaster, the Carians rallied again and fought again. They heard that the Persians were setting off against their cities, so they ambushed them on the road to Pedasus. The Persians fell into the ambush at night and were destroyed – they and their generals,

Daurises, Amorges and Sisimakes. Myrsus, the son of Gyges,⁴ died with them. Heracleides, son of Ibanollis, a man from Mylasa, was the leader of this ambush.⁵

(122) So these Persians perished. Hymaees, who himself had been among those in pursuit of the Ionians who had attacked Sardis, turned towards the Propontis and captured Kios in Mysia. After its capture, he heard that Daurises had left the Hellespont and was marching against Caria. So he left the Propontis and led the army to the Hellespont, where he captured all the Aeolian territory around Ilium as well as the Gergithae, the remnant of the ancient Teucrians.⁶ But while capturing all these peoples, Hymaees himself fell ill and died in the Troad.

(123) That is how he died. The governor of Sardis, Artaphernes, and Otanes, the third general, were ordered to march against Ionia and neighbouring Aeolis. They took Clazomenae in Ionia, and Cyme in Aeolia.

Notes

1. Son of Sisamnes, the royal judge (**4, no.23**), not to be confused with the conspirator of the same name (**5, no.1**, para.68). He may be identical with the father of Xerxes' wife, Amestris. He had been put in charge of the north-west coastal region, replacing Megabazus (**6, no.20**). Daurises and Hymaees appear here for the first time.
2. For the likelihood that Pixodarus and Mausolus were ancestors of the fourth-century Hecatomnid dynasty of Caria (**9, no.44**, n.5), see Hornblower 1982: 26, n.101; for their role in Caria at this time, id. 59, n.60. Syennesis is a title, not a name, see **2, no.15**, n.6; for the connections between Caria and the Cilician dynasts, see Casabonne 2004: 165–6.
3. A Caro-Greek deity, whose sanctuary was located between Mylasa and Amyzon; the site has been excavated by Swedish archaeologists, see OCD, s.v. Labraunda, for references; note also How and Wells 1912, ad loc.
4. Myrsus had played the role of go-between in Oroites' plan to eliminate Polycrates of Samos, see **4, no.16** & n.8.
5. Heracleides was the subject of a (probably laudatory) biography written by his countryman, Scylax of Caryanda (FGrH 709 T1; Momigliano 1971: 29–30; 33; Hornblower 1982: 21). He may have held the office of 'king of Caria', cf. Hornblower 1982: 59.
6. I.e. the Trojans.

39. The flight of Aristagoras

Herodotus V, 124.

While these cities were being taken, Aristagoras of Miletus showed plainly that his was not a brave spirit. He had caused chaos in Ionia; he had made a huge mess; and when he saw this, he planned to run away. He thought that it would be impossible to beat King Darius. So he summoned his supporters and took counsel, saying that they had better have some refuge for themselves, should they be driven out of Miletus: should he lead them to settle in Sardinia, or perhaps Myrcinus in the Edonian country, which Histiaeus had received as a gift from Darius and had fortified?¹ These were the questions of Aristagoras.²

Notes

1. See **6, no.22**.
2. Herodotus next mentions the logographer Hecataeus' counter plan, which Aristagoras rejected in favour of going to Myrcinus, where he met his death in a war with the local Thracians.

(c) The Persian victory**40. Histiaeus' arrival in Sardis (496?)**

Herodotus VI, 1–6.

When Aristagoras, instigator of the Ionian Revolt, had died, Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, released by Darius,¹ got to Sardis. When he arrived from Susa, the governor of Sardis, Artaphernes, asked him why he thought the Ionians had revolted. Histiaeus replied that he had no idea why and he was very surprised, as though he really knew nothing about what had happened. Artaphernes noted his trickery and said (because he knew the full truth of the revolt): 'This is the situation, Histiaeus: the shoes were stitched by you and they were put on by Aristagoras!'

(2) When Artaphernes said this about the revolt, Histiaeus was afraid that he understood. So at nightfall, Histiaeus ran away to the coast. He had deceived King Darius, because he had promised to make Sardinia, greatest of the islands, subject to him, but secretly he would have wormed his way into the leadership of the war against Darius. He crossed over to Chios, and there the Chians put him in fetters, because they suspected him of planning mischief against them on Darius' orders. When the Chians learnt the whole story – that he was Darius' enemy – they released him.

(3) But then he was questioned by the Ionians as to what Histiaeus had been thinking of when he sent Aristagoras the note to revolt and had caused such misfortune for the Ionians. Histiaeus did not give them his real reason, but said that King Darius planned to move the Phoenicians and settle them in Ionia and the Ionians in Phoenicia – that was why he sent his message. The king had not planned anything of the kind – Histiaeus was just frightening the Ionians.

(4) Then, using as his messenger Hermippus, a man of Atarneus, Histiaeus sent letters to some Persians in Sardis, with whom he had discussed the revolt previously. But Hermippus did not give the letters to the addressees, but took them and placed them in the hands of Artaphernes. When Artaphernes discovered everything that was going on, he ordered Hermippus to deliver the letters to the intended recipients, and to give the replies to Histiaeus from the Persians to himself. When these Persians were revealed to him, Artaphernes executed very many.²

(5) This caused an upheaval in Sardis. Histiaeus was disappointed in his hopes, and the Chians, at his entreaty, tried to restore him to Miletus. But the Milesians, who had been pleased to see the back of Aristagoras, were not at all keen to receive another tyrant into their country after a taste of freedom. It was night when Histiaeus tried to enter Miletus by force. He was wounded in the thigh by one of the Milesians. Driven out of his country by this event, he returned to Chios. After failing to persuade the Chians to give him ships, he crossed to Mytilene and persuaded the Lesbians instead. They manned eight triremes and sailed with Histiaeus to Byzantium. This became their base and they blockaded the ships coming from the Black Sea, except those that agreed to side with Histiaeus.

(6) That is what Histiaeus and the Mytileneans did.

Notes

1. See **6, nos.31; 32** & n.3; **37**.

2. On Persian opposition to Darius in Sardis, see further Kienast 2002.

41. High-level reconnaissance preceding the final Persian offensive?

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF-NN 1809. XI/–/27 Darius I (17 January to 15 February 494); Lewis 1980.¹

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.56.

7 marriš² beer Datiya received as rations. He carried a sealed document³ of the king. He went from Sardis (via) express (service)⁴ to the king (at) Persepolis. Month XI, 27th year. (At) Hidali.⁵

Notes

1. The document, one of the Persepolis Fortification texts (see **Chapter 1**), records the issue of beer made to Datiya, probably to be identified with the general Datis, who was later a commander in the Aegean and at Marathon (see **6, nos.42; 51; 53–4; 55; 58**). He has clearly been on the road from Sardis to Persepolis (which he has nearly reached) on the king's business, as he is carrying a royal authorisation allowing him to draw on rations along the way and use the express travel service (see further, **12, no.32; 15, nos.1; 4; 22**). Given the date (mid-January to mid-February 494) and his destination (the king), everything suggests that his visit to western Asia Minor was linked to preparations for the final Persian offensive in the Ionian Revolt.
2. 1 marriš = approx. 10 litres. The substantial quantity confirms Datis' high status, and makes his identification with the Marathon commander more likely, cf. Lewis 1980: 194.
3. El. halmi, see **12, no.29**, n.12.
4. El. pirradaziš, see **15, no.22**, n.6.
5. An important Elamite centre about halfway along the route between Persepolis and Susa (further, Koch 1990: 208–13; **fig.16.6**). It was here that the head of the local supply station noted the issue to Datiya.

42. The Persian fleet delayed at Lindos?

The Lindos Chronicle: FGrH 532, I.¹

Translation: Bertrand 1992, no.2.

When Darius, king of the Persians, sent a great expedition to enslave Greece, his fleet landed here, because it was the first island along the route.² The inhabitants, terrified by the Persian arrival, took refuge in strongholds, the majority gathering at Lindos. The barbarians besieged them until the Lindians, close to perishing from thirst, thought of surrendering the city. Then the goddess appeared in a dream to one of the magistrates, telling him to remain confident, as she would ask her father to slake their need for water. The man who had been granted the dream told his fellow citizens about Athena's message. Having worked out that they had sufficient water for five days, they asked the barbarians for a truce for that length of time. They said that Athena would send her father to help them and, should it not arrive within the stipulated timespan, they would surrender the city.

When he heard this, Datis, Darius' admiral, burst out laughing. The following day a huge cloud appeared directly above the acropolis and a massive amount of rain fell on the place in such a way that the besieged had plenty of water, while the Persian army had none. The barbarian was frightened by this phenomenon, took off his garment and sent his dress, his bracelets, as well as his tiara and dagger, together with his chariot, as an offering.³ All of this was preserved until the temple was burned, together with most of the offerings, in the year when Eucles, son of Astyanax, was priest of the sun. Datis raised the siege, established

relations of friendship with the besieged and declared that the goddess had protected these people. These facts are established by: Eudemos in his *Lindiaka*, Ergias in book IV of his *Histories*, Hieronymus in book II of the *Heliaka*, Myron in book I of the *Eulogy of Rhodes*. Xenagoras says in book IV of his *Chronicle* that the epiphany occurred after Datis had sent Mardonius⁴ off. Aristion, in book I of his *Chronicle*, also mentions this apparition.

Notes

1. The 'Lindian Temple Chronicle' is inscribed on a large marble stela from the temple of Athena of Lindos, on the acropolis of Lindos on Rhodes. It records the decision by the city, in 99 BC, to make an inventory of offerings to the goddess together with the circumstances in which they were made, which had been destroyed. To this were appended stories of Athena's appearances. Various historiographic sources were used to draw up the list and assemble the anecdotes, as well as the temple archives (see the last sentences).
2. There is considerable disagreement between scholars about the authenticity and date of this episode. Some reject the whole story as a later fabrication, others associate it with the Marathon campaign (note the presence of Datis), but several have associated it with the last phase of the Ionian Revolt (494) and, if authentic, the circumstances recounted could fit better here than later; see Burn 1984: 218.
3. For the significance of this act, see Lenfant 2002: 4–6, and cf. **7, no.48**.
4. For Mardonius at this time, see **6, no.49** & n.4; for his action in Thrace after the Ionian Revolt, see **6, no.21**.

43. The Battle of Lade (494)

Herodotus VI, 6–11.1.

Against Miletus itself, a great army and navy was expected to arrive, for the Persian generals had gathered all their forces, had united them and were marching against Miletus, as they thought the other cities less important. Of the sailors, the Phoenicians were the keenest, and with them served the recently conquered Cypriots,¹ the Cilicians and the Egyptians.

(7) These moved against Miletus and the rest of Ionia. When the Ionians discovered this, they sent their delegates to the Panionium.² When they met there and consulted, it was decided that they should not raise a land force against the Persians, but that the Milesians should be responsible for defending their fortifications, while every single ship should be manned and muster, as fast as possible, at Lade to fight a sea-battle in defence of Miletus. This Lade is a tiny island lying off the city of Miletus.

(8) Then, the Ionians came with their manned ships and, with them, the Aeolians who live on Lesbos. The battle-line was this: the Milesians themselves had the eastern wing with their eighty ships; next to them were the Prienians, with twelve, and the men of Myous with three; followed by the Teians with seventeen ships, and after them the Chians with a hundred. Next to them, the Erythraeans and Phocaeans were drawn up – the Erythraeans had eight, the Phocaeans three, ships; next to the Phocaeans were the Lesbians with seventy ships. The last in the battle-line were the Samians on the west wing, with sixty ships. The total number of them all was 353 triremes.

(9) These were the Ionian forces, while the barbarian ships were six hundred. When they came up to the territory of Miletus, and all their land forces had arrived, the Persian generals discovered the number of the Ionian ships. Then they became fearful that they might not be able to beat them, that if they were not masters of the sea they would not be

able to destroy Miletus, and so they would risk being punished by Darius. These were their considerations; so they collected the Ionian tyrants, who had been expelled by Aristagoras of Miletus and taken refuge with the Medes (i.e. Persians), and were now serving with the army against Miletus. They called these men together and said: 'Ionians, here is a chance for some of you to prove yourself a benefactor of the king's house.³ Each of you should approach your fellow citizens and persuade them to break with their allies. Make them proposals and promises that they will not suffer for the revolt; neither their person, nor temples, nor property will be burnt, nor will they have to endure greater hardship than earlier. If they don't accept this, and stake everything on the outcome of battle, threaten them with what will certainly happen: when defeated, they will be sold into slavery, their boys we shall castrate, their girls will be taken to Bactria,⁴ and we shall hand their land over to others.'

(10) That is what they said, and through the night the Ionian tyrants sent the message, each to his own people. But when the messengers arrived, the Ionians hardened their hearts and refused to turn traitor, as each thought that they were the only group whom the Persians had contacted.

(11) This happened as soon as the Persians got to Miletus.⁵

Notes

1. See **6, no.37**.

2. See **3, no.20**, n.3.

3. For the royal benefactors, see **13, Section B(b)**.

4. Central Asia; cf. the deportation of inhabitants from Barca (Libya) earlier, **6, no.4**.

5. Hdt. VI, 11–17 goes on to describe the sorry debacle of the actual encounter, with the Samians leading the deserters, and only the Chians and Phocaeans fighting their positions.

44. The fall of Miletus (494)

Herodotus VI, 18; 19.3–20; 21.2–22.1.

After their naval victory over the Ionians, the Persians besieged Miletus by sea and land. By undermining its fortifications¹ and bringing up all kinds of siege-engines,² they captured the whole city in the sixth year after Aristagoras started the revolt. They sold the city inhabitants into slavery, and so it matched the oracle that had been given concerning Miletus.³

(19) This fate then overtook Miletus, with many of its men killed by the Persians, with their long hair, the women and children classified as prisoners-of-war, and the sanctuary at Didyma, both temple and oracle,⁴ plundered and burned.

(20) Then those of the Milesians captured alive were taken to Susa. King Darius did no further harm to them, but settled them on the so-called Red Sea,⁵ at the city of Ampe,⁶ past which the river Tigris flows and empties into the sea. As for the country of the Milesians, the Persians took the area around the city and the plain themselves and gave the higher land to the Pedasian Carians.

(21) But the Athenians did not act like this.⁷ They showed their deep grief at the fall of Miletus in many ways, especially so when Phrynichus produced his play *The Fall of Miletus*;⁸ the whole theatre burst into tears and he was fined a thousand drachmas for reminding them of a disaster, which was their own; they also forbade any future productions of the play.

(22) So now Miletus was empty of Milesians.⁹

Notes

1. The same technique was used on Cyprus, see **6, no.37** (cf. *ibid.* n.6 & **fig.6.3**).
2. See **6, no.37**, n.5.
3. The oracle (Hdt. VI, 19.1–2) was given to the Argives, with an utterance predicting Miletus' fall and its women reduced to serving 'long-haired warriors'.
4. Elsewhere called the Branchidae sanctuary, see **3, no.20** & n.7. For the absence of any archaeological evidence to support a destruction of Didyma in 494, see S. Mitchell 1989–90: 105–6; cf. Fontenrose 1988: 15, for continued cult activity from 494 to 334. Note that a bronze 'knuckle-bone' (Gr. *astragalos*), with a rather clumsy Greek votive inscription (script dating c.550–525, MDP 8: 29–58; André-Salvini forthcoming; for an illustration, see Curtis and Tallis 2005, no.445) and matching the Miletus weight standard (nearly 94 kg) was excavated at Susa in 1901 (now in the Louvre). It has been thought to come from Didyma, and the end of the Ionian Revolt is possible as the context.
5. Here, the present-day Persian Gulf. All the eastern seas – Red Sea, Gulf, Indian Ocean – were called Red (Erythraean) Sea in classical antiquity.
6. The name is not attested (yet) in Babylonian texts; it must be located in the 'Sealand' district of southern Babylonia, cf. Joannès 1990: 177–8, n.14.
7. Herodotus has just described how Miletus' guest-friend, the city of Sybaris in Italy, made no sympathetic gesture at its fall.
8. Phrynichus was a tragedian and older contemporary of Aeschylus; no fragments of this play survive (TrGF I², 69–79). See further, How and Wells 1912, *ad loc.*
9. This was clearly not the case, as Miletus continued to be an inhabited city, see, for example, Hdt. IX, 99; 104. Like the Assyrian practice of deportation (cf. Oded 1979), the Persians will only have moved a selected section of the citizens.

(d) The aftermath of the revolt**45. Reinstatement of the ruler of Samos**

Herodotus VI, 25.

After the naval battle for Miletus, the Phoenicians, at the command of the Persians, reinstated Aeaces, the son of Syloson, in Samos,¹ because the Persians considered him to be a man of great worth, who had done them great service. And the Samians were the only ones among the rebels against Darius who had neither their city nor temples burned, because they had deserted during the sea-battle.² After the capture of Miletus, the Persians seized Caria immediately. Some cities submitted voluntarily; others were reduced by military force.

Notes

1. Syloson had been installed on Samos with Persian help, after his brother Polycrates' death; see **6, no.2**. His son had been expelled by Aristagoras in the course of the revolt, see Hdt. VI, 13.2, and cf. **6, no.32(37)**.
2. See **6, no.43**, n.5.

46. Capture and execution of Histiaeus

Herodotus VI, 26; 28–30.1.

Histiaeus, who was at Byzantium blockading the Ionian merchant ships coming from the Black Sea,¹ received news of what had happened at Miletus. He entrusted his affairs in the

Hellespont to Bisaltes, son of Apollophanes, from Abydos, while he himself with the Lesbians sailed to Chios. He attacked a Chian garrison, which would not let him through, at a place in their territory called the Hollows. Histiaeus killed many of those who fought against him there and, with his Lesbian troops, defeated the rest of the Chians, because they had suffered badly in the naval battle. During his campaign on Chios, he made his base at Polichne.²

(28) From there Histiaeus, at the head of a substantial force of Ionians and Aeolians, made war on Thasos. While he was besieging Thasos, he heard that the Phoenicians were sailing from Miletus against the rest of Ionia. On receiving the news, Histiaeus left Thasos without taking it and hurried towards Lesbos with the whole of his force. From Lesbos he crossed to reap the harvest in Atarneus and in the plain around the Caicus river in Mysian territory, because his army was starving. It so happened that the Persian Harpagus, in command of a substantial army, was in that country. He attacked Histiaeus, when he landed, took him prisoner and killed most of his troops.

(29) This is how Histiaeus was taken prisoner: when the Greeks and Persians were fighting at Malene, in the territory of Atarneus, they were locked together in a struggle for quite a time. But then the Persian cavalry fell upon the Greeks. This action by the cavalry was decisive, and the Greeks were routed. But Histiaeus did not believe that the king would condemn him for the present offence, and showed his love of life as his behaviour shows. As he was fleeing, he was captured by a Persian, who was about to stab him. At which he spoke in Persian³ and made himself known as Histiaeus of Miletus.

(30) Even then, if he had been taken straight to King Darius after being taken prisoner, I think he would not have been punished; Darius would have let him off. But as it was, and precisely because of this possibility – namely, that he might again become an important person with the king should he escape – the governor of Sardis, Artaphernes, and Harpagus, who had captured him, dealt with him when he was brought to Sardis. They impaled his body there,⁴ and sent his embalmed head to King Darius in Susa.

Notes

1. See **6, no.40(5)**.
2. At VI, 27, Herodotus reports ominous signs presaging the disasters that befell Chios.
3. One of the few references to a non-Persian knowing the Persian language; for discussion of the use of a multiplicity of languages in the empire, see Briant 1996a: 523–6 [2002b: 507–10], cf. **17, Section B(c)**.
4. A standard punishment for rebels, see **5, no.1**, paras.32; 33; 43; 50.

47. Reconquest and reprisals (493)

Herodotus VI, 31–3.

After wintering around Miletus, the Persian fleet sailed forth next year and captured the islands off the mainland with ease: Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos. As each island was captured, the barbarians ‘netted’ the inhabitants. They ‘net’ them like this: each man links hands with another to make a line from the northern sea to the southern; then they march through the whole island hunting down the people. They captured the Ionian cities on the mainland similarly, although they did not net the people, as it could not be done there.

(32) Then the Persian generals fulfilled the threats, which they had issued to the Ionians when the two armies were encamped against one another.¹ As they gained control of the cities, they picked out the best-looking boys and castrated them, turning them into eunuchs instead of men with balls; the most beautiful girls were sent to the king. They did this, as well as burning the cities, temples and all. So, for the third time, the Ionians were enslaved, first by the Lydians, and twice, consecutively, by the Persians.

(33) From Ionia the fleet departed and captured all the places on the left of the entrance of the Hellespont. What was on the right had already been subjected by the Persians themselves, attacking by land. These are the regions in Europe that belong to the Hellespont: the Chersonese, in which there are many cities, Perinthus and the many forts towards Thrace, Selymbria and Byzantium. The people of Byzantium and the Chalcedonians beyond them did not wait for the Phoenicians to sail against them, but left their country, retired into the Black Sea region and settled in the city of Mesembrae there. The Phoenicians burned all the cities mentioned and made for Proconnesus and Artace, to which they also set fire. Then they went back again to the Chersonese to clear out what remained of the cities there that they had not destroyed completely when they landed previously. Against Cyzicus they did not sail at all, because, before the Phoenicians had sailed in, the Cyziceni had become the king's subjects; they had reached an agreement with Oibares, son of Megabazus, 'governor' of Dascylium.² The Phoenicians subdued all the cities except Cardia in the Chersonese.

Notes

1. Before the Battle of Lade, see **6, no.43**.
2. Possibly identical with the Oibares, who was Darius' groom, and whom some stories credited with helping Darius gain the throne (see **5, no.13**). His father Megabazus had been put in command of Europe after Darius' Scythian expedition (see **6, nos.12; 17–19**). Dascylium became the centre of the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia, in the reign of Xerxes, but was almost certainly dependent on Sardis at this point, despite Herodotus' use of the term *hyparchos*, 'governor' (see Petit 1990: 181–6; cf. **4, no.16**).

48. Miltiades, tyrant in the Chersonese, is forced to flee (493)¹

Herodotus VI, 41.1–2.

But now he (Miltiades) learned that the Phoenicians were in Tenedos. So he loaded up five warships with the possessions he had and sailed off to Athens. Starting from the city of Cardia, he sailed through the Black Gulf, and as he was coasting along the Chersonese, the Phoenicians attacked him with their fleet. Miltiades himself, with four of his ships, took refuge in Imbros, but the Phoenicians, pursuing him, captured the fifth ship. It so happened that it was commanded by Miltiades' eldest son, Metiochus, not a son by the daughter of the Thracian king, Olorus,² but by some other woman.³

Notes

1. For Miltiades' role in Darius' Scythian expedition, see **6, no.12**.
2. For Miltiades' link with the Thracian ruler, see Hdt. VI, 39.2.
3. For the story of the fate of Metiochus, see **13, no.43**.

49. The Persians reorganise affairs in Ionia (493–2)

Herodotus VI, 42–3.

For that year, nothing further was done by the Persians to the Ionians that might foster enmity; rather, before the end of the year, they did something extremely useful for the Ionians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, sent for representatives from the cities and obliged the Ionians to make agreements with each other, namely, that they must submit their quarrels with one another to arbitration, instead of harassing and plundering each other.¹ This he imposed upon them and he measured out their territory in parasangs (which is the Persian name for a distance of thirty stadia²), and using this as his measure of land, he fixed the tribute that each region should pay. They have each continued to pay according to the assessment of Artaphernes from then until my time. The amount of the assessment was much the same as it had been earlier.³ All this made for peace among them.

(43) At the beginning of spring, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, came down to the coast;⁴ the king had dismissed his other generals from their command. Mardonius brought with him a very large land force and a large fleet. He was a young man, who had recently married Darius' daughter, Artozostre. Mardonius led the army himself until he came to Cilicia; there he went on board ship and travelled with the rest of the fleet,⁵ while the other leaders brought the land force to the Hellespont. When Mardonius, coasting along Asia, came to Ionia, I will tell you the most amazing thing that happened – amazing, that is, for those Greeks who do not believe that, among the seven Persians, Otanes expressed the opinion that Persia should be ruled by a democracy.⁶ For here in Ionia Mardonius deposed all the tyrants and set up democracies in the cities.⁷

Notes

1. A major headache for the Persian government was the constant intercity strife, which made control difficult. Artaphernes' measure ensured that such quarrels be in future referred to the satrapal authorities, who, as the next sentence indicates, would keep a record of the territories held by individual cities. For discussion of the significance of this settlement, see Briant 1987: 1–3; 1996a: 510–12 [2002b: 493–6]. Note also the arbitration procedure of the territorial dispute between Miletus and Myous in the early fourth century (**9, no.45**).
2. One Greek stadion was 190.5 m, the Persian parasang about 5.5 km.
3. I.e. the tribute was levied on the basis of the land held by a city, so that the two acts – land measurement and fixing of levels of tribute payable – were interlinked. In the aftermath of the revolt and the losses suffered by cities, increasing the tribute would obviously have been pointless. See further, Briant 1996a: 511–12 [2002b: 495–6].
4. Mardonius played a prominent role in Persian affairs on the north-western front until his death at the Battle of Plataea in 479 (see **6, no.21**; **7, nos.9, 45, 51, 58–9**). His father, Gobryas, was one of Darius' helpers in the murder of Bardiya (see **5, no.1**, para.68; note also **fig.11.14**), while his mother was Darius' sister (**7, no.9**); he was himself married to a daughter of Darius.
5. The maritime route between Cilicia and western Asia Minor was regularly used for communication with the imperial centre (cf. **15, no.11**). Cilicia was also one of the prime strategic bases of the Persian empire; see **6, no.37**, n.2.
6. Hdt. III, 80; cf. **5, no.11**, n.1.
7. Clearly, this cannot be taken literally: at Samos, for example, Aeaces, who had persuaded the Samians to desert the Ionians before the Battle of Lade, was reinstalled (see **6, nos.43, 45**). Several other Ionian cities are known to have been ruled by tyrants subsequently. The reasons for Persian support of democracies will have been pragmatic and dictated by local circumstances; see, e.g.,

Miletus, which had resisted Histiaeus' attempt to establish himself in control of the city, see **6, no.40**(5). On the question of whether the Persian authorities favoured tyrannical régimes, see Graf 1985; Austin 1990.

E. The extension of Persian power in the Aegean

50. Persian control extended westwards (491)

Herodotus VI, 48–9.1.

After this,¹ Darius tried to find out what the Greeks had in mind. Would they fight or surrender? He sent heralds here and there throughout Greece with orders to ask for earth and water for the king.² These he sent to Greece itself; others he sent to his own tributary cities that lay along the coast, and these heralds were to demand the construction of warships and horse transports.

(49) These made the preparations; and when the heralds came to Greece, many of the mainlanders gave what the Persians asked for, and so did all the islanders to whom they came with their request, including the Aeginetans.³

Notes

1. I.e. after the surrender of Thasos (**6, nos.21 & 23(i)**).
2. See **6, no.10**, n.6, on the debated meaning of these tokens; **6, no.30** for Athens' presentation of earth and water to the Persian satrap of Lydia c.507.
3. Aegina was Athens' long-standing rival and enemy, finally subjected by the Athenians in 458/7 (Hornblower 2002: 27) and the act was, according to Herodotus, construed by the Athenians as an attempt to mobilise Persian help for an Aeginetan attack on Athens.

51. Preparations for a campaign in the Aegean

Herodotus VI, 94–5.

The Persian (king), meantime, was continuing with his own business,¹ with the slave always reminding him, 'Remember the Athenians',² the Pisistratids always at his elbow,³ making trouble for the Athenians, and there was Darius' own wish to have an excuse to subjugate those Greeks who refused to give earth and water.⁴ As Mardonius had made such a poor showing with his expedition he dismissed him from the command, and appointed other generals, whom he sent against Eretria and Athens.⁵ These generals were Datis, a Mede,⁶ and Artaphernes, the son of Artaphernes, and Darius' nephew.⁷ He sent them with orders to capture Athens and Eretria and bring the captives before him.

(95) Once the generals were appointed, they left the king and reached the Aleian plain of Cilicia,⁸ bringing with them a large and well-equipped army. When they were in camp there, the whole fleet assigned to them arrived, as well as the horse transports that, in the previous year, Darius had ordered the tributaries to prepare.⁹ They loaded the horses onto them, embarked the army, and sailed off with six hundred warships to Ionia. From there, they did not move with the ships along the coast towards the Hellespont and Thrace, but, from Samos, they moved through the Sea of Icarus and the islands. I think that was because they were afraid of sailing round Athos, where their journey had come to grief

the previous year.¹⁰ Naxos, too, which they had failed to take previously,¹¹ added to the pressure.

Notes

1. Hdt. VI, 50–94 contains a long story about the quarrel between the Spartan kings Cleomenes and Demaratus, and the former's intervention in the Athens–Aegina dispute.
2. According to Herodotus (V, 105), Darius had asked to be reminded of them after their involvement in the burning of Sardis; see **6, no.35**.
3. See **6, nos.29 & 34**(96).
4. Cf. **6, nos.10**, n.6; **50**.
5. This fits with Herodotus' assumption that Mardonius' campaign was aimed at Athens, which is extremely unlikely; see **6, no.21** & n.2. In fact, the campaign climaxing in the attacks on Eretria and Athens needs to be seen as the logical extension of the Persian strategy to establish control over the islands of the Aegean.
6. Datis may already have been active in the north-west, if he is identical with the Datiya of the Persepolis text, reflecting his journey from Sardis to Persis in 494; see **6, no.41**.
7. Artaphernes' father was satrap of Lydia and Darius' brother: Hdt. V, 25; **6, no.30**.
8. For Cilicia as a mustering point and strategic base, see **6, no.37**, n.2.
9. See **6, no.50**.
10. See **6, no.21**.
11. In 499/8; see **6, no.31**.

52. The capture of Naxos

Herodotus VI, 96.

When they (the Persians) approached from the Sea of Icarus, they landed at Naxos, as their first point of attack. The Naxians remembered what had happened before¹ and so did not stand fast, but fled to the mountains. The Persians sold the captives into slavery, and burned the shrines and city.

Note

1. For the earlier failed attempt to take Naxos, see **6, no.31**.

53. Persia establishes control over the islands

Herodotus VI, 98.1; 99–101.

Datis sailed with his army to Eretria, bringing with him Ionians and Aeolians.

(99) The barbarians left Delos, touching at the islands to form a force and take hostages from the islanders' children. As they were sailing round the islands, they also put in at Carystus. The people of Carystus refused to give hostages and said that they would not fight against neighbouring cities, meaning Eretria and Athens. So the Persians besieged them and ravaged their country until the Carystians came to share the Persian approach to things.

(100) When the Eretrians realised that the Persian army was sailing against them, they asked the Athenians for help. The Athenians did not refuse aid, but gave them the four thousand settlers who had taken over the land of the horse-breeding Chalcidians.¹ The Eretrians themselves had no very sound plan either; although they sent to the Athenians,

they had different ideas about what to do. Some argued that they should leave the city and take to the heights of Euboea, while others, expecting to make private profits from the Persians, were prepared for treachery. Aeschines, son of Nothion, one of the leading Eretrians, who knew what each side thought, told the Athenians who had come exactly how things were and urged them to leave for their own country, so that they would not be involved in the destruction. The Athenians followed Aeschines' advice.

(101) So they crossed over to Oropus and saved themselves. As they sailed, the Persians put into the territory around Tamynae, Choereae and Aegilia in Eretria. Once they had secured these places, they disembarked the horses and prepared to attack the enemy. The Eretrians had decided not to emerge and fight, because they wanted very much to preserve their walls once they had resolved not to abandon the city. The attack on the wall was fierce and many fell on both sides in the space of six days. On the seventh, Euphorbos, son of Alkimachos, and Philagros, the son of Cyneas, prominent individuals in the town, surrendered it to the Persians.² The Persians entered the city, plundered and burned the temples in reprisal for the temples burned at Sardis³ and took the inhabitants captive, as Darius had ordered.

Notes

1. Following Athenian victory in a war with Chalcis on Euboea, the Athenians had settled colonists on land expropriated from the wealthy Chalcidians, who were called 'horse breeders' or 'horse farmers'; see Hdt. V, 77.
2. They are said to have been recompensed with a gift of land by Darius, see Plutarch, *Mor.* 510B; cf. Pausanias VII, 10.1. For the gift of land as a reward for service, see **13, nos.40; 42–3**.
3. See **6, no.35**.

54. Persian patronage of Greek shrines

(i) The Persian commander makes offerings on Delos

Herodotus VI, 97.

While they were doing this,¹ the Delians too left Delos and fled to Tenos. As the fleet approached, Datis sailed ahead and would not let his ships anchor on Delos itself, but opposite on Rhenaia. When he discovered where the Delians were, he sent a herald to them, who said: 'Holy men, why do you flee? You misunderstand my intentions. My own thoughts coincide exactly with what the king ordered, namely, that in this land two gods were born,² so this land must not suffer, neither the land itself nor its inhabitants. So, come back to what is yours and live on your island.' That was his proclamation to the Delians; after which he piled up three hundred talents of incense³ on the altar and burned it.

(ii) The Persians restore a looted statue of Apollo

Herodotus VI, 118.

As Datis was returning to Asia with his army,⁴ he arrived at Mykonos where he had a vision in his sleep. What it was is not said, but at dawn he made a search of the ships and found in a Phoenician ship a gilded divine image of Apollo. He asked from where it had been

pillaged, and when he heard what shrine it came from, he sailed with his own ship to Delos. The Delians had returned to their island, and he set the statue in the temple with the command to the Delians to take it to Theban Delium,⁵ on the coast opposite Chalcis.

Notes

1. I.e. capturing Naxos, see **6, no.52**.
2. Delos was the traditional birthplace of Apollo and Artemis.
3. About 9,000 kg.
4. The setting is the aftermath of the Battle of Marathon.
5. For the Apollo sanctuary here, see Thuc. IV, 76.

55. The Persians receive expert advice for their campaign against Athens

Herodotus VI, 102; 107.2.

Then they (sc. the Persians) sailed for Attica, pressing the Athenians and planning to do the same as they had done to the Eretrians. Because Marathon was the place in Attica most suited to cavalry and closest to Eretria, Hippias, the son of Pisistratos, guided them there.¹

(107) As he was the guide for the Persians, he took the Eretrian prisoners-of-war and landed them on the island of the Styreans, called Aegilia; and when the ships put in at Marathon, he made them anchor there and, after the barbarians had disembarked, it was he who put them in order of battle.

Notes

1. See **6, no.29**, for Hippias' flight from Athens to the Persian court; **6, no.34**(96), for Hippias' attempts to encourage Persian action against Athens to serve his own interests.

56. Datis' army defeated at Marathon (490)

Herodotus VI, 112–13; 115–16.

The lines were drawn up, and the sacrifices were favourable; so the Athenians, as soon as let go, went at a run against the barbarians. There were no less than eight stadia¹ in the space between the two armies. When the Persians saw them coming at a run, they prepared to receive them. They thought that the Athenians were possessed by a fatal madness, seeing their small number running without the support of either cavalry or archers.² That was the thinking of the barbarians; yet when the Athenians came face to face with the barbarians, they fought worthily. They were the first of all Greeks, as far as we know, to move at a run against the enemy, and the first to face the sight of Median dress and the men who wore it.³ Until then the Greeks were terrified to hear the very name of the Medes (i.e. Persians).

(113) The fighting at Marathon went on for a long time. In the centre, the barbarians won, where the Persians themselves and the Sacae⁴ were stationed. Here the barbarians won, breaking the enemy line and pursuing them inland. However, on each wing, the Athenians and Plataeans won. As they were victorious here, they let the defeated section of the barbarians flee, while they joined their two wings together and fought those who had broken their

line; and so the Athenians were victorious. As the Persians fled, they (sc. the Greeks) followed and hacked at them, until they reached the sea, where they called for fire and seized the ships.

(115) In this way, the Athenians captured seven of the ships. With the remainder, the barbarians pushed off and took the Eretrian captives from the island, where they had left them. They rounded Sounion, because they wanted to reach Athens before the Athenians got there. The alleged reason current in Athens was that this was a strategy suggested to them by the Alcmeonids.⁵ They had agreed with the Persians to signal to them with a shield when they were back in their ships.

(116) The Persians did round Sounion. But the Athenians rushed as quickly as possible to defend their city, and they reached it before the barbarians arrived. Just as they had camped at the sanctuary of Heracles at Marathon, they now camped at another one to Heracles at Kynosarges. The barbarians anchored off Phalerum (this was the harbour of Athens at that time) and rode at anchor for a while, after which they sailed off back to Asia.⁶

Notes

1. I.e. about 1.5 km.
2. These were the two aspects of Persian fighting tactics that gave them great tactical advantage. The Athenian advance at a run was a clever move intended to limit the effectiveness of the Persian archers. An unsolved mystery of the battle remains the absence of the Persian cavalry. The cavalry was certainly used elsewhere (cf. **6, no.53**(101)) and the horse transports are referred to several times in the course of this campaign (**6, nos.50; 51**(95)). The question was already debated in antiquity; see further Whatley 1964; Evans 1987. On the battle in general, Hignett 1963: 55–74; Burn 1984: 239–53; CAH IV, 1988: 506–17; Lazenby 1993: 48–80; Briant 1996a: 172–3 [2002b: 160–1].
3. ‘Median dress’ was the military garb of the Persians, Calmeyer 1987: 11–12.
4. I.e. Scythians. For the use of Scythian contingents in the Achaemenid army, see Briant 1999a.
5. The prominent family to which Cleisthenes and Pericles belonged. At VI, 123–4, Herodotus spends some time rebutting this accusation, which reflects the internal divisions and rivalries inside Athens, not least in the face of the Persians.
6. This suggests that the Persians were not envisaging establishing a hegemony over Greece at this point, rather that the Marathon episode formed part of the Aegean campaign. It is only within Athens’ later reimagining of its history that Marathon came to be regarded as the first stage of the great Persian wars, in which Athens stood heroically alone and exposed against the barbarian invader (Loreaux 1986: 155–71).

57. *The Eretrian captives resettled*

Herodotus VI, 119.1–2, 4.

When their ships reached Asia, Datis and Artaphernes took the Eretrian prisoners-of-war to Susa. Even before they had become his prisoners, King Darius had been very angry with the Eretrians for starting the wrongs done him.¹ But when he saw them brought before him and entirely at his mercy, he did them no more harm, but settled them in the Cissian country,² at one of his road-stations,³ called Ardericca. In this place Darius settled the Eretrians, and they were there in that country still in my time, still speaking their original language.

Notes

1. I.e. their involvement in the burning of Sardis in 499, see **6, no.35**.
2. In Elam.
3. I.e. a station along one of the Persian roads; see further **15, no.3**.

58. A summary of the Aegean campaign

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(22); Lenfant, 122–3.¹

Datis, who had returned from Pontus² in command of the Persian fleet, devastated the islands and Greece. But at Marathon he was met by Miltiades, who defeated the barbarians, and Datis himself fell in the battle. His body was not even returned to the Persians when they asked for it.

Notes

1. Photius' summary of Ctesias contains no substantial information on the Aegean campaign. But, contrary to Herodotus (**6, no.57**), he has Datis die at the Battle of Marathon. Datis does not appear in action again in Herodotus either; only his sons are mentioned as commanders in Xerxes' army in 480 (Hdt. VII, 88). For a discussion of the divergent traditions about him, see Cagnazzi 1999.
2. I.e. the Hellespont. Ctesias' account seems to have linked Datis' campaign directly to Darius' Scythian expedition.

F. The end of Darius' reign**59. Darius' last years**

Herodotus VII, 1.1; 4.

The message about the Battle of Marathon came to King Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was already enraged against the Athenians because of their attack on Sardis.¹ So he was now more furious than ever and even more resolved to march against Greece. He immediately sent messengers to each city ordering them to prepare a much larger force than before, as well as ships, horses, grain and vessels.² As a result of these demands, Asia was astir for three years,³ with the best men enrolled for service against Greece and getting ready. In the fourth year⁴ the Egyptians, who had been subjugated by Cambyses, revolted from Persia.⁵

(4) But in the next year after this, and after the revolt of Egypt, when he was in the middle of his preparations, it happened that Darius died after a reign of thirty-six years.⁶

Notes

1. See **6, no.35**.
2. Given the reference to ships previously, this presumably means transport vessels.
3. I.e. 489–487.
4. I.e. 486; for arguments in favour of connecting an Egyptian rebel, Psammetichus (IV), with this revolt, see Cruz-Uribe 1980; Beckerath 2002. However, the assumption that there is a reference to the rebellion in the Pherendates correspondence cannot be maintained, see Hughes 1984; Vleeming 1981 (cf. **17, no.30**).
5. At this point, Hdt. VII, 2–3 describes the rivalry between two of Darius' sons, Artobazanes and Xerxes, about the succession, with Xerxes emerging as the winner (**7, no.2**).

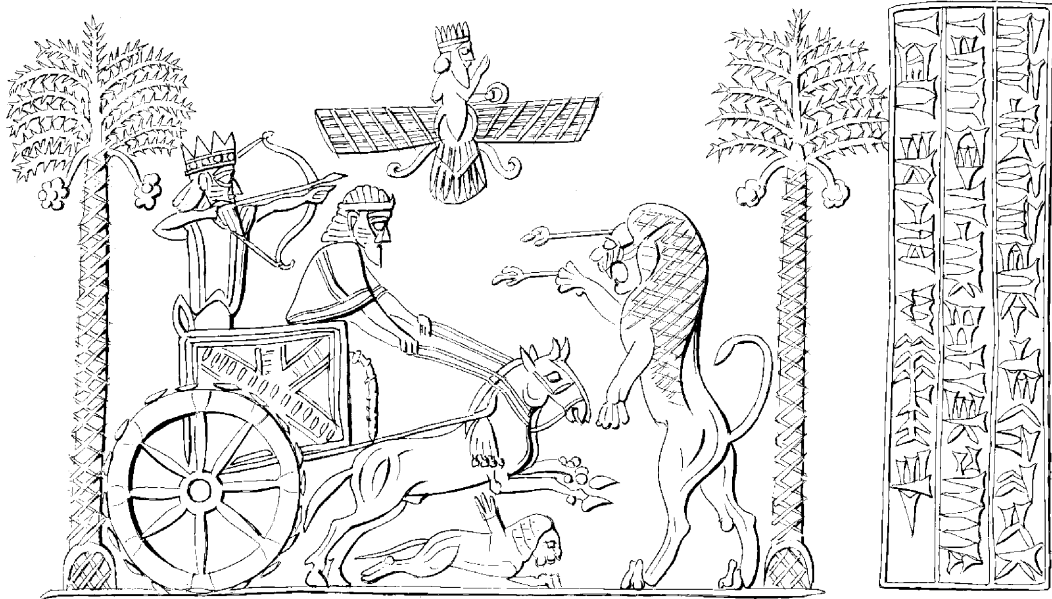


Figure 6.4. Image on an agate cylinder seal of Darius I from Thebes, Egypt (height 3.7 cm). It shows the king hunting lions from a chariot. The trilingual inscription (Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian) reads 'Darius the great king.' (British Museum, Collon 1987: 129–30, no.558. Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

6. The latest Babylonian text dated by Darius is 18+x, December 486 (Sippar); the earliest preserved text dating by Xerxes is 1 December 486 (Borsippa), suggesting some confusion, cf. Zawadski 1992.

60. Darius' mortal illness

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(23); Lenfant, 123.

Darius went back to Persia¹ and made sacrifices and, after an illness of thirty days, he passed away. He had lived seventy-two years and reigned for thirty-one.² Artasyras³ died, too. Bagapates,⁴ after keeping watch at Darius' tomb for seven years, also passed away.

Notes

1. I.e. Persepolis. According to Photius' epitome, Ctesias placed Darius' death almost immediately after the end of the Scythian campaign.
2. In fact, Darius reigned for thirty-six years, as shown by contemporary Babylonian dated documents and stated correctly by Herodotus; see **6, no.59** & n.6.
3. A Hyrcanian and trusted counsellor of Cambyzes, who had supported the conspirators against Bardiya, according to Ctesias; see **4, no.2**; **5, nos.5(13) & 10**.
4. He is said by Ctesias to have been a palace eunuch, close to Cambyzes and involved in the plot against Bardiya; see **4, no.2**; **5, nos.5(13) & 10**. For the role of 'eunuchs' in relation to royal funerals and tombs, see **11, no.68**. For Darius' rock-cut tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam, see **11, nos.16–17**; **fig.11.14**.

THE REIGN OF XERXES

Introduction

Xerxes is perhaps the figure from Persian history most familiar to us. The reason is, of course, that he is the Achaemenid ruler who invaded Greece in 480, but whose army was defeated and withdrew (479). The 'Persian wars' of Greece mark the beginnings of classical Greek culture in political discourse, literature and art, and have thus traditionally been seen as a crucially formative event, a turning point, in European (and, by extension, world) history.¹

The Greek victory against the odds was widely celebrated down the centuries, beginning in the immediate aftermath of the war. There were monuments, dedications and festivals memorialising it, of which those in Athens and Delphi are particularly well documented (ML, nos. 23–7; Raubitschek 1960: 180).² In 1992, two papyri, preserving parts of an elegy by the early fifth-century poet Simonides of Keos celebrating the Battle of Plataea, were edited (Parsons 1992; M. West 1992: Simonides, nos. 10–17(+18?); cf. Boedeker and Sider 1996; 2001); it may well have been performed on the occasion of one such commemorative festival (Rutherford 1996: 174). In 472, the Athenian dramatist Aeschylus, who had fought in the war, carried off the prize at the City Dionysia with a group of plays, one of which was *The Persians*, a tragedy set at the Achaemenid court where queen-mother and aged Persians are shattered by the news of repeated Persian defeats, climaxing in the return of their king, Xerxes, lamenting and in rags (E. Hall 1993; 1996; cf. T. Harrison 2000). The play survives and has been produced over the centuries in many different political contexts (E. Hall 1996: 1–3), so that its message has played an important role in shaping our image of Xerxes and the Persian empire. Most influential has been Herodotus, whose *Histories* were intended to commemorate the series of victories won over the Persian invaders. Xerxes, as the absolute despot of a great empire, which stands in contrast to the small citizen-run Greek polities, their political debates and ideas of freedom, is the central, rather tragic, figure in his account of the debacle of the 'Persian wars' (Books VII–IX). These powerful Greek-generated images and stories have shaped perceptions of Xerxes' reign, even his personality, to the point where the surviving evidence on this period from elsewhere in the empire has been subordinated to it and twisted to fit our preconceptions.³

These factors create exceptional problems in trying to understand Persian history and policies during Xerxes' reign, not helped by the scantiness of the non-Greek material and its non-narrative character for creating a different perspective. It is, thus, inevitable that our picture of political events and developments is dominated and limited by the classical writers, particularly Herodotus' very rich account of the Persian invasion of Greece. What

we need to bear in mind is that the information we derive from this concerns a single episode in one, relatively restricted, area. The evidence of the administrative documents from Persepolis (see **16, nos.18**, n.1; **19–20; 40; 43–4**), as well as that of the archaeology of the Susa and Persepolis palaces, shows no disruption in production or major building activities throughout Xerxes' reign. Such pieces of evidence help to balance our image of Xerxes' reign, reminding us of the dangers of letting a setback suffered in one campaign along the empire's north-western fringe define an entire reign of twenty-one years. Nevertheless, it is inescapable that this is the only event of Persian history in this period that we can define and it must remain the centre-piece of any presentation of Xerxes' reign. It, and subsequent events in the west, thus occupy the larger part of this chapter (**7, Sections C and D**), framed by the extremely limited information on some earlier and later episodes (**7, Sections A, B, E, F**).

In view of Darius' bloody and contested accession to the throne (see **Chapter 5**), securing the succession was politically both a delicate and a vital matter. Two Graeco-Roman writers retail stories of competition for the succession between two contenders, one born before Darius became king, the other (Xerxes) after (**7, nos.2 & 3**). Herodotus (**7, no.2**) attributes Darius' choice of Xerxes to the influence of his mother, Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. One of Xerxes' building inscriptions (**7, no.1**) refers to his selection in a way that suggests it may have been unexpected (because he was not the eldest son), but there is no reference to his mother. Given Darius' own history, his choice of Xerxes, grandson of the empire's heroic founder with no surviving male kin on the maternal side, must have been carefully calculated to help root his dynasty more firmly and eliminate possible challenges. In what is preserved of Ctesias, there is no hint of any rivalry for the throne (**7, no.4**), while Herodotus emphasises that Xerxes had the superior physical characteristics which made him eligible to hold the kingship (**7, no.5**) – echoing one of the standard Persian royal qualities (cf. **11, no.19**).

Shortly before Darius' death in 486, a revolt had broken out in Egypt (**6, no.59**), with which Xerxes had to deal immediately on acceding, although we learn no more about it than that (**7, no.6**). A rather confused account by Ctesias suggests that, at some point before 480, Xerxes also had to face a Babylonian revolt (**7, no.7**); the precise date of this, and a brief, second one, has been debated, but it is now virtually certain that both need to be dated to 484 (see **7, no.7**, n.4). While it is possible that retribution for one of the Babylonian revolts was the removal of a precious metal statue by Xerxes, it is clear that Xerxes did not denude (even less, destroy) any Babylonian cult-centres (**7, no.8**). The Babylonian evidence rather suggests an important restructuring of economic institutions in some of the Babylonian cities involved in the revolts. Whether this was in response to their disaffection or a cause for it is unknown. What seems clear is that it was connected to other fundamental administrative changes aimed at making Persian imperial control more effective.

The planned expedition to Greece is presented, rightly, as continuing Darius' aim of reaching a settlement in Persia's favour in the regions around the north-western frontier. The decision, according to Herodotus, was reached on the basis of advice, information on the political situation and active support proffered by a family jockeying for power in Thessaly, by the exiled Athenian tyrant family and by Mardonius, who had been closely involved in Persian tactics in the Aegean arena in the 490s (**6, nos.21; 49**). A further argument used by Mardonius to persuade Xerxes was on the ideological, rather than practical, plane, i.e. the importance of the king being seen to lead a campaign and, in the course of it, renewing in person the links of loyalty and service owed his position (**7, no.9**). That this was an

important consideration for Persian kings is shown by the ceremonial accompanying Xerxes' progress through Asia Minor and Thrace, with the empire being put, at strategic points, on display (**11, nos.24–5**). Herodotus describes some of the practical preparations for the campaign, ranging from the gathering of essential men, animals, vessels, provisioning depots (**7, no.10**; cf. **7, no.17**, n.1) and securing the route (**7, nos.11–12**) to offering the Greek cities the possibility of accepting Persian overlordship (**7, no.13**), a tactic that met with considerable, though not total, success (**7, nos.14–16**).

The Persian land forces gathered in Cappadocia (**7, no.17**) and moved from there, with the king, to Sardis and on to the bridge that had been prepared at the Hellespont (**7, no.20**), with the king's passage marked by his possible setting up of a cult, just before reaching the Lydian capital, and making spectacular sacrifices at Troy (**7, nos.18–19**). After the army had crossed into Thrace, the Persian fleet arrived at Doriscus, one of the strategic strongholds previously set up by Darius (**6, no.25**). At this point Herodotus describes a review of the Persian forces, in which the entire empire's manpower is enumerated in all its colourful diversity (see **11, no.25**). This fits with his picture of an unimaginably gigantic power bearing down on tiny Greece, and belongs in the realm of dramatic elaboration. While the precise numbers of Xerxes' invasion army must remain unknown, it is clear from the only real land battle fought in Greece (Plataea) that the effective fighting force of the Persian army was around 60,000 men (see Briant 1996a: 543–4 [2002b: 526–8]). Obviously, to this a large body of camp-followers needs to be added (cf. Hdt. VII, 187), but their exact number is unknown. What is clear is that additional contingents were levied during the march through Thrace, a service owed by the various peoples subjected during Darius' campaign (**6, Section C**; **7, no.22**).⁴

The detailed history and topography of the campaign in 480 and 479 has been rehearsed by numerous scholars in the past,⁵ and the various stages and battles are laid out in the passages, primarily from Herodotus, in **7, Section C(c)–(f)**. What emerges extremely clearly is the way the Persians repeatedly and successfully exploited internal divisions among Greek states. The only reason, for example, that the Phocaeans did not join the Persian side was their implacable hatred of the Thessalians, who did (**7, no.37** & n.1). The Persians gained support increasingly as they advanced, with virtually all of central Greece joining them (**7, no.38**), and the Peloponnesians retiring behind the relatively defensible Isthmus, thus forcing the Athenians to evacuate (**7, no.39**). The decision to deploy the Greek fleet at Salamis was taken only in the face of considerable opposition (Hdt. VIII, 56–64). Those who refused to rally to the Persian side had their cities devastated (**7, nos.37; 40**). Many Greeks were tempted to surrender (**7, no.38**), while Peloponnesian Argos became, and remained, a staunch supporter of the Persians (**7, nos.54; 83**).

Persian success at the political level was dented by the Greek victory at sea in the Straits of Salamis (480), after which Xerxes returned to Sardis, from where he continued to direct operations (cf. **7, no.51** (140); Hdt. IX, 3). He also left behind a picked force under the command of Mardonius to prepare for another offensive in spring 479 (**7, nos.44–5**). Although there were some Persian setbacks (**7, no.49**), Herodotus' story of a humiliating retreat by a starving and terrified army fleeing through hostile lands is contradicted by the fact that Thessaly, Paeonia and Macedon remained loyal (**7, no.46**; cf. also **7, nos.22; 23**), with Abdera honoured for its services to the king (**7, no.48**). Herodotus himself undermines this account by reporting an alternative story of, and route for, Xerxes' return to Asia Minor (**7, no.47**), suggesting that he has picked one of several dramatised tales of the vanquished foe's ignominious end. Further, despite Themistocles' attempts, there was no

general Ionian revolt, and the Athenians were only successful in securing the adherence of a tiny number of Aegean islands by brute force (**7, no.50**). Simultaneously, the Peloponnesian strategy of concentrating the defence at the Isthmus continued with the building of the wall across it (Hdt. VIII, 136–44; IX, 7–8), while the Greeks were stopped from venturing further into the Aegean by their fear of Persian naval strength (**7, no.52**). That the Persians still had a reasonable hope of success is shown by their renewed moves to manipulate the chronically factious Greek states (**7, nos.51; 53**; cf. **no.58**), with some success (**7, no.54**) – although this could cut both ways (**7, no.52**(132)).

The Persian defeats at Plataea and Mycale (**7, nos.59–61**) in the summer of 479 stopped Xerxes' attempted extension and consolidation of Persian hegemony and led to real losses. The Persian forces fell back on Sardis, and lost control of the important stronghold of Sestos, Byzantium and part of Cyprus, and the Athenians founded a league to pursue a war of retaliation (**7, nos.66–8; 70**). But the Athenian moves to capitalise on the Persian defeats met with limited success (**7, nos.69–75**): Cimon's spectacular victory at Eurymedon (**7, no.73**) was followed by the disastrous Athenian attempt to expand in Thrace (**7, no.75**) and the refusal by several allies to meet their obligations (e.g. Naxos, Thasos), while the Persians mounted a number of countermoves and were able immediately to refit their navy (**7, no.79**).⁶ The Persian king withdrew from the western front at this point. The reasons are unknown (not perhaps surprising in view of the narrow western focus of our literary sources), but it is clear that he left an army at Sardis to maintain Persian interests (**7, no.76**) and the Milesians may even have suffered a Persian attack on their sanctuary, although the uncertainties loom large (**7, no.78**). Also at this time, the important strategic city of Celaenae (Phrygia) was built up and fortified (**7, no.77**) and, possibly, the government of Cilicia, with its important military and naval base, strengthened by the installation of a loyal Carian (**7, no.80**; see also **fig.7.4**). Continued Persian strength and vigorous action in the north-west is further illustrated by the reorganisation of Hellespontine Phrygia under a new satrap (**7, no.81**; **fig.7.5**), and the installation of loyal Greeks as local city-lords in the Troad, of whom, notoriously, the victor of Plataea, Pausanias, was one (**7, nos.81**, n.12; **82**).⁷ It is further likely that the negative effects of the three defeats were neutralised to some degree by the distribution of looted statues to the various satrapal centres, whence they were not recovered until Alexander's conquest (**7, nos.63; 65**). Much later, Dio Chrysostom provided a (pseudo-)Persian vision of Xerxes' invasion, casting it in a successful light. It is certainly spurious, but it may give us a hint of how the news of the Greek campaign could have been massaged for the empire's internal audience (**7, no.64**). We should also note that regular commercial traffic between some Greek centres and Persian territories continued to flourish after Xerxes' campaign, as indicated by the Aramaic customs document from Egypt, almost certainly dating to 475 (see **14, no.10**), as well as archaeological evidence (see the discussions in Miller 1997, ch.3; *EnlR*, s.v. Greece and Persia: cultural influences).

The recurring image of Xerxes that emerges from his own inscriptions (**7, Section E**) is that of an heir worthy to continue the work started by his father and entrusted to him (note also the Josephus passage: **7, no.89**). He commemorated, completed and extended Darius' palatial structures at Susa and Persepolis (**7, nos.84; 85**; **fig.7.6**), and placed an inscription on the cliff-face overlooking Lake Van where Darius had prepared a surface for it (**7, no.86**). The strong emphasis on dynastic continuity and royal ideals is particularly clear in a text Xerxes inscribed next to that of Darius on Mount Elvend, using the same words (**7, no.87(i)**), as well as in a text repeating, *verbatim*, the royal ideals inscribed on Darius' tomb (DNb/XPl; see **11, no.17**). Most interesting is the much more precise definition which Xerxes gave to

the imperial ideology sketched out by Darius in his Bisitun text (**5, no.1**, paras.72–3; 75–6). Here rebellion against the king was equated with not adhering to the rule of the Persian king's god, Auramazda; as Darius put it when describing a revolt against him: 'By them (sc. the rebels) Auramazda was not worshipped.' What he meant by this is that the rebels threatened the god-defined imperial order and thus had to be punished, not that their religious practices were offensive to the Persian ruler. What he was saying, in effect, is that in order for mankind to partake of blessings on this earth and, after death, in the hereafter, humanity must be loyal to the Persian king, which is elided with reverence for the king's god, Auramazda. This is, in essence, the message delivered in more detail by Xerxes, as commemorated in a set of foundation documents from Persepolis (**7, no.88**). Some have thought that the cult of (OP) *daiva* = 'demons', which Xerxes here says he eliminated, refers to his suppression of local cults in countries that had rebelled. But which one? The argument that it could be Babylonia, which rebelled twice (see **7, no.7**, n.4), cannot be upheld as it is now certain that there was no destruction of Babylonian temples or cults by Xerxes (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; Waerzeggers 2003/4). Our meagre evidence about the revolt in Egypt (**7, no.6**) says nothing about the elimination of any local cults – indeed, there is good evidence for their continuation (see H. Smith 1992).⁸ The destruction of temples in Greece (**7, nos.37; 40**) and perhaps Asia Minor (**7, no.78**) does not fit with the statement that the king replaced the worship of *daivas* with the cult of Auramazda, while Xerxes' sacrifices to Greek gods and use of local rituals and practices contradicts any such notion (**7, nos.19; 40**; Hdt. VII, 54).⁹ Depredations of local temples, when they occurred, were clearly calculated punishments for perceived rebelliousness, a tactic already used by Darius (**6, no.44**). Essentially, what Xerxes does in this text is to elaborate his father's statement about the debt of loyalty owed by subjects to the empire, by emphasising the centrality of the royal role in mankind's redemption. The passage, he says, from the world of the living to the hereafter is mediated through the person of the king – only through fidelity to the Persian monarch and his order can the individual be saved. Noteworthy, also, is the additional statement that Xerxes makes concerning his putting right of 'other things which were done wrong' (**7, no.88**(4c)). This is a declaration of his reign as a good one, with Darius' empire in safe hands, as shown by the list of subjects, which admits to no territorial diminution – rather an increase, with the inclusion of two previously unnamed areas – and the dominance of Persia affirmed. Emphasis on the hegemony of the Persian centre over the imperial lands may also be echoed by the titles given to Xerxes in the date formulae of some contemporary Babylonian documents: 'King of (Babylon), Persia, Media and lands'.¹⁰ All in all, the impression is that, with Xerxes, the imperial ideology crystallised, becoming clearer and sharper.

The problems inherent in the exercise of kingship as well as the relative solidity of the Achaemenid realm are both demonstrated by the transition of rule from Xerxes to Artaxerxes I (**7, Section F**).¹¹ A Babylonian lunar eclipse table provides an almost precise date for Xerxes' death (**7, no.90**), as well as the information that he was murdered by his son. Despite this, the available contemporary dated documents (e.g. **7, no.91**) indicate no perceptible disruption in the transfer of the throne to his successor, although there were revolts in Egypt and Bactria at some point after the new king's accession (**8, nos.2; 6–9**). The Graeco-Roman stories of the murder diverge in detail (**7, no.92**), but all agree in making a certain Artabanus its initiator, with Xerxes' designated crown-prince, Darius, killed in the process, the locus of the murder the innermost chambers of the palace, and Artaxerxes himself unwittingly implicated and exacting revenge by the execution of Artabanus. It is in the nature of such a story that the precise course of events and the real perpetrators can

never be recovered. What is noteworthy is the prominence of Artabanus in the classical literary, and even perhaps artistic, sphere (Hölscher 1973: 48–9), which suggests that stories of his role in the assassination and possible royal ambitions were widely disseminated (**7, no.92(iii); fig.7.7**).¹² But there is no reliable evidence that he was, however briefly, successful in any bid for the throne.¹³ The stories smack rather of an elaborate cover-up by Artaxerxes of his part in his father's murder, and were obviously not uniformly successful as shown by the Babylonian evidence, where the perpetrator is clearly Xerxes' son and no other (**7, no.90**).

Notes

1. At many levels this continues to be the case, as indicated by CAH IV–VI: volume IV covers the history of Persia, Greece and the Mediterranean to 479, in other words stopping soon after the start of Xerxes' reign; volume V deals exclusively with Greek history from 478 to c.400, while volume VI picks up the history of Persia again (in 478), alongside surveys of various regions, Greek political history of the fourth century and the development of Macedon climaxing in Alexander's conquests. This illustrates nicely the way in which the 'Persian wars' are used as the organising principle for presenting historical developments; see also Wiesehöfer 2001.
2. It also gave rise subsequently to the production of forged documents about the Persian wars, see Habicht 1961; note also the pertinent remarks by Hornblower (2001: 137–40). For recent arguments against the authenticity of the famous 'Themistocles Decree' (= ML, no.23), considered genuine by many influential scholars, see Johanson 2001. Note also the way in which Greek pride in the Persian wars was hijacked and manipulated by Rome (Spawforth 1994).
3. See Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989/2002 for a lucid analysis.
4. For discussions of how exaggerated numbers work in Mesopotamian royal inscriptions, particularly the ones from the Assyrian empire, see Odorico 1995; Chambon 2005. For the phenomenally vast train of camp-followers (twice the number of the army) and baggage of the British invasion of Afghanistan in 1838, see P. Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (London, 1990), 192. Note especially the story that one brigadier required sixty camels to transport his camp equipment, while two camels were commandeered by the officers of one regiment to carry their cigars. Some of this might be post eventum slander in the wake of the disastrous retreat (as could the enormous size of the Persian train), but it makes the point that all armies require an enormous support staff.
5. One of the most detailed and still very valuable is Hignett 1963. See now the meticulous and clear reanalysis of the Battle of Salamis, with particular attention paid to the Persian navy, by Wallinga (2005).
6. For the uncertain chronology of the events of this period, see Hornblower 1991, ad loc.
7. Note also the evidence for Themistocles and his descendants being installed, on the same principle, in western Asia Minor, by Artaxerxes I (Nollé and Wenninger 1998/9, cf. **13, no.40**).
8. But note that Smith is now uncertain whether the passage refers to Xerxes or Artaxerxes (personal communication.) However, the continuation of cults in Egypt is not in question.
9. Further Briant 1996a: 564–70 [2002b: 547–53].
10. See further, Joannès 1989a; Briant 1996a: 570–1 [2002b: 553–4].
11. Josephus, *AJ* XI, 6.1 reads: 'On Xerxes' death, the kingdom passed to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes.' Josephus is the only classical writer to suggest that Artaxerxes may have had a personal name differing from his throne-name, and most authorities accept Gutshmid's emendation of 'Cyrus' to 'Asueros', which makes rather better sense (see R. Marcus, *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities* (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA and London, 1978), VI, 403, n.c). However, both *EncIr* (s.v. Artaxerxes I) and Wiesehöfer (1999: 47–8) accept the passage as evidence for Artaxerxes I's adoption of a throne-name.
12. Cf. C. Nepos, *Reges* 1: 'Xerxes died a violent death, killed by his governor Artabanus.'
13. Full discussion in Briant 1996a: 581–4 [2002b: 563–7]; Wiesehöfer 2005.

A. The succession to Darius

1. Darius' choice of successor

XPf. Three OP and one Babylonian texts inscribed on limestone tablets, Persepolis: Kent, XPf; Schmitt 2000: XPf.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 254–6; Stolper 1998b, XPf; Brosius 2000, no.107 (para.4 only).

- §1 A great god (is) Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created blissful happiness for man,² who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing many peoples, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Darius, the king, an Achaemenid.
- §3 King Xerxes proclaims: My father (was) Darius; the father of Darius (was) Hystaspes by name; the father of Hystaspes (was) Arsames by name. Both Hystaspes and Arsames were living; nevertheless, thus was the desire of Auramazda – Darius, who (was) my father, him he made king on this earth.³ When Darius had become king, much that (is) superior he built.
- §4 King Xerxes proclaims: Darius had other sons also;⁴ (but) thus was the desire of Auramazda: Darius, my father, made me the greatest after himself.⁵ When my father Darius went to his (allotted) place,⁶ by the favour of Auramazda I became king in my father's place. When I became king, much that (is) superior I built. What had been built by my father, that I took into my care and other work I added. But what I have done and what my father has done, all that we have done by the favour of Auramazda.
- §5 King Xerxes proclaims: Me may Auramazda protect and my kingdom! And what (has been) built by me and what (has been) built by my father, that also may Auramazda protect.

Notes

1. The surviving versions of this text were found in the so-called Harem at Persepolis and Room 16 of the garrison quarters; the Elamite version, which surely existed, has not been found. The tablets were to serve as commemorative foundation stones (see further, Schmitt 2000: 81).
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
3. For Darius' seizure of the throne, see **Chapter 5**.
4. The implication of Xerxes' statement is that he had brothers, who might have had equal claim to the throne, perhaps even precedence in the process of selecting a successor. Three full brothers of Xerxes are named by Herodotus: Masistes (VII, 82; IX, 107), Hystaspes (VII, 64) and Achaemenes (VII, 7; 97).
5. The OP term used is *mathišta*, which may be echoed in the Greek 'second after the king', as well as in the name of Xerxes' brother, Masistes, see Briant 1996a: 537–8 [2002b: 520–2]. Here it seems to be used simply to indicate that Xerxes was selected to succeed Darius, with no indication as to when this decision was made. There is no evidence to support the thesis advanced by Calmeyer (1976) that Xerxes had become Darius' co-regent by 496, or, indeed, ever was (but note **7, no.87(ii)** & n.4). For the suggestion that echoes of this unusual promotion may be found in the great eleventh-century AD Persian epic *Shah-nama*, see Jamzadeh 2004.
6. I.e. died.

2. Darius' sons compete for the succession

Herodotus VII, 2–3.¹

As Darius was making his preparations against Athens and Egypt,² there arose among his sons a dispute concerning precedence, for, according to Persian law, the king must appoint his successor when he goes on campaign.³ Before Darius became king, he already had three sons from his earlier wife, the daughter of Gobryas;⁴ after he became king, he had four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus.⁵ The eldest of the first three was Artobazanes, and Xerxes of the second family. As they were not from the same mother they were at odds with each other: Artobazanes claiming that he was the eldest of all the children and that it was customary among all mankind for the eldest to have precedence, while Xerxes claimed that he was the son of the daughter of Cyrus, and it was Cyrus who had established freedom for the Persians.

(3) Darius had not yet expressed his opinion when it happened, at this very time, that there came to Susa Demaratus, son of Ariston, who had been deprived of his kingship in Sparta, and had imposed banishment from Lacedaemon on himself. As soon as he learned of the quarrel between Darius' sons, he went to Xerxes, so the story goes, and advised him to say, in addition to the claims he had already presented on his own, that he, Xerxes, had been born when Darius was already king and held power in Persia, while Artobazanes was born when Darius was just a private individual. It was neither right nor just that someone else should have the kingship rather than he. For certainly in Sparta, Demaratus said, if there were sons born to a father before he was king and another son was born later, when the father had already succeeded to the throne, then the succession passed to the later-born son. Xerxes followed Demaratus' advice, and Darius acknowledged that his plea was just and appointed him king. However, I think that, even without this advice, Xerxes would have become king; for Atossa was all powerful.

Notes

1. Herodotus' later story, which adds the figures of the exiled Spartan king, Demaratus, and Xerxes' mother, Atossa, as decisive actors in Xerxes' selection to succeed Darius, has clearly been imaginatively elaborated. But the fundamental point, i.e. that Xerxes was not the oldest son and that his appointment to the succession was unusual, seems to echo Xerxes' own statement (see **7, no.1**).
2. See **6, no.59** & n.4.
3. There is no indication anywhere else that this was a Persian rule or custom. It sits, in any case, rather oddly here, given that Herodotus has already described Darius' much earlier Scythian campaign at length (see **6, Section B**), where nothing is said about succession arrangements. For a setting of the dispute after Darius' death, see **7, no.3**.
4. Gobryas was one of the seven conspirators against Bardiya; see **5, nos.1**, para.68; **9(70)**. For his daughter's possible name (Apame), see **5, no.14**, n.1.
5. For Darius' marriages with the daughters of Cyrus and Bardiya, see **5, no.14**. Herodotus' story implies that these were the only groups of legitimate male progeny in Darius' family. However, two sons, born to Darius by Cyrus' other daughter, Artystone, are named in the context of Herodotus' description of Xerxes' army parade at Doriscus (**11, no.25(69)** & **(72)**); Bardiya's daughter, Parmys, bore him Ariomardus (**11, no.25(78)**); while by his niece and wife, Phratagune, he fathered Abrocomas and Hyperanthes (**7, no.31**).

3. Darius' sons dispute the succession after his death

Justin II, 10.1–10.

Darius died in the midst of his preparations to renew the war,¹ leaving several sons born both during and preceding his reign. Among the latter, Ariaramnes, who was the oldest, claimed the throne by reason of his age: order of birth and nature itself had established this law among all people. But Xerxes wanted to move the debate, not to the issue of rank, but to the timing of their birth. In his view, Ariaramnes was certainly Darius' first-born, but while Darius was still a subject, whereas he was the first-born of Darius as king. For that reason, his older brother was entitled to claim the private property which their father had owned, but not the throne; but it was he who was the first child born to his father after his accession to the throne. Moreover, when Ariaramnes was born, not only his father but also his mother were still private people, as well as his maternal grandfather,² while his own mother was a queen and he had never seen his father except in his role as king. Further, his maternal grandfather was Cyrus, who was not the heir but founder of the huge empire. Even were it to be supposed that the two brothers had equal rights because of their father, he would still win out because of his mother and maternal grandfather. With everyone's agreement, they took the dispute to their paternal uncle, Artaphernes,³ to act as family judge. Having examined the case in his home, he gave preference to Xerxes. The princes maintained a completely fraternal attitude throughout the dispute; neither did the victor display haughtiness nor the vanquished resentment. Even during their quarrel, they sent each other presents and invited each other to feasts, where trust just as much as conviviality reigned. And the decision was reached without them having recourse to any other arbiters or addressing offensive words to each other.

Notes

1. Sc. against Greece, see **6, no.59**.
2. As this story must, at least in part, be related to the one given by Herodotus (**7, no.2**; but note the setting after Darius' death), it is assumed that, despite the different name, Ariaramnes was the grandson of Gobryas.
3. Darius' brother and satrap of Sardis (see Hdt. V, 25; cf. **6, no.20**, n.1, for his appointment); note the remarks by Kienast (2002: 28, n.91).

4. Xerxes' court and family

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(24); Lenfant, 123.

His (sc. Darius') son Xerxes took over power, and Artapanos, son of Artasyras, became his most influential advisor, just like his father had been with Xerxes' father,¹ as did the older Mardonius.² Among his eunuchs, the most important was Natakas.³ Xerxes married Ames-tris, the daughter of Onophas,⁴ and had a son, Dariaios, and another two years later, Hystaspes, and yet another, Artoxerxes. He also had two daughters, one called Amytis like her grandmother,⁵ the other Rhodogune.

Notes

1. Ctesias' account (at least as far as it is preserved for us) carefully logs the names of the leading courtiers at the Persian court. For the role assigned to Artasyras in the murder of the pretender by Ctesias, see **5, no.10**; for his death at the same time as Darius, see **6, no.60**.

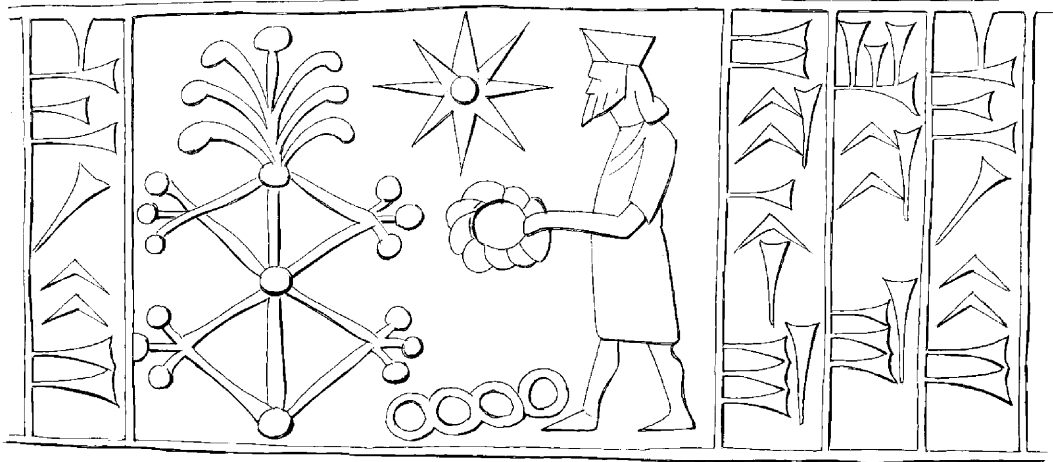


Figure 7.1 Cylinder seal of Xerxes, Musée des Armures, Brussels (SXE; Weissbach 1911: xxx & 130–1; Schmitt 1981; Brosius 2000, no.62). The seal, somewhat crudely cut, is of lapis lazuli; height 2.7 cm. The Old Persian inscription reads: ‘I Xerxes’, contra Weissbach’s scepticism, see Mayrhofer 1978, 4.10. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

2. Presumably Ctesias means Darius’ nephew and son-in-law, son of his close associate Gobryas, son of Mardonius (see **5, no.1**, para.68), well known from Herodotus’ account of the Persian campaigns in the Aegean (**6, nos.21; 26; 49(43); 51(94)**), his role in the invasion of Greece and death at Plataea (**7, nos.9(5); 24(121); 44–6; 51–5; 57–9**). He also appears in the Persepolis Fortification texts (PFT, Glossary, s.v. Mardunuya); for an estate that may have been his, see **16, no.68**.
3. For his possible involvement in looting the Didyma temple later, see **7, no.78(i)**.
4. Hdt. VII, 61 names her father as Otanes, probably to be identified with the Persian commander of that name, son of Sisamnes (**6, nos.20; 38**). Alternatively, he could be identified with the initiator (according to Herodotus) of the plot to unmask the impostor Smerdis (**5, nos.7; 9; 11**). Ctesias certainly seems to identify Amestris’ father with the conspirator Onophas (see **5, no.10**).
5. Ctesias must be referring to the daughter of Astyages, who, in his version of Cyrus’ rise to power, was married to Cyrus the Great (**3, no.8**). Through Xerxes’ mother, Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, she would thus be the elder Amytis’ great-granddaughter.

5. Xerxes’ suitability to rule

Herodotus VII, 187.2.

And of those myriads of men, in terms of handsomeness and physical stature, none was more worthy to hold that power (sc. kingship) than Xerxes.¹

Note

1. Several Persian kings appear in classical writers as exceptionally handsome, tall and just. This seems to reflect the typical attributes ascribed to kings, also found in royal inscriptions and echoed by classical writers (see further, **11, nos.17–19**).

B. Revolts in Egypt and Babylonia

6. The Egyptian revolt suppressed

Herodotus VII, 5; 7.

When Darius was dead, the kingship devolved upon his son Xerxes.¹ At first, Xerxes was not keen to make war on Greece, but wanted to gather his army against Egypt.

(7) First in the year after Darius' death,² he (sc. Xerxes) attacked the rebels. Having subdued them and made all Egypt's servitude harsher than it had been in Darius' time, he entrusted it to Achaemenes, his own brother, Darius' son.³ Achaemenes now administered Egypt; he was later murdered by Inaros, son of Psammetichus, a Libyan.⁴

Notes

1. I.e. 486. The earliest Babylonian text dated by Xerxes' reign is 1 December 486.
2. I.e. in 485. The revolt had begun already before Darius' death (**6, no.59**). There is no certain reference to it in Egyptian texts, although it has been suggested that a ruler called Psammetichus (IV) be placed here (Cruz-Urbe 1980, followed by Beckerath 2002), but the tentative nature of such an identification has been rightly stressed by Spalinger (*LÄ* IV, 1, 173–5). The mentions of Xerxes in the much later Satrap Stele of 311 (Brugsch 1871) cannot be related to this revolt in any certain way, if it is indeed he who is named there (see Goedicke 1985).
3. Full brother of Xerxes, see Hdt. VII, 97.
4. In the course of the Egyptian revolt of 464/3–454, see **8, nos.6–7**.

7. Revolt in Babylonia

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(26); Lenfant, 124.

First¹ he (sc. Xerxes) went to Babylon and wanted to see the tomb of Belitanas.² Thanks to Mardonius he saw it, but failed to fill the sarcophagus with oil, as prescribed.³ Xerxes went off to Ecbatana and there received news of the revolt of the Babylonians and the murder of their governor Zopyrus.⁴ This is what Ctesias says about him, disagreeing with Herodotus. What he (sc. Herodotus) says about Zopyrus, apart from the mule giving birth, Ctesias attributes to Megabyzus, Xerxes' son-in-law, husband of Amytis, his daughter. So Babylon was taken thanks to Megabyzus.⁵ Xerxes bestowed many presents on him, in particular a golden mill-stone weighing six talents, which is one of the most royal gifts among the Persians.⁶

Notes

1. Ctesias places this before Xerxes' Greek campaign; according to Photius' epitome, he does not mention the Egyptian revolt.
2. This is thought to be a garbled reference to the ziggurat of Babylon, associated with the sanctuary of Bel-Marduk, patron-god of Babylon and chief of the Babylonian pantheon.
3. According to Aelian, *VH* 14.3 (i.e. Ctesias, Lenfant, F13b), failure to fill the sarcophagus with oil was a bad omen – but it is unclear whether this is the one of Belitanas. No such ritual is attested in Babylonian sources, although anointing foundation deposits of important buildings is (note also the widespread practice of oil divination (lecanomancy) – an old established practice in Mesopotamia, *RLA* X, 83–4). Could this be a reference to Xerxes performing a ritual (or divinatory) act in Babylon?

4. This is virtually the only clear reference to a revolt of Babylonia in Xerxes' reign. Two short-lived kings, Bel-shimanni and Shamash-eriba, attested in Babylonian dated documents are normally placed in Xerxes' reign, although the evidence for placing the latter there is somewhat hazy (see Kuhrt 1997). Since 1962 the revolts have been dated to 484 and 482 respectively, on the basis of a supposed change in Xerxes' titulary. That argument can no longer be maintained (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; Rollinger 1998a; 1999; **7, Introduction**). Moreover, a text from Babylon in the British Museum dates to Month VI of Xerxes' fourth regnal year (29.8–27.9.482) – the period during which Shamash-eriba had been thought to reign (Waerzeggers 2003/4). It has been suggested to redate the rebellions to 481 and 479 respectively (Briant 1992), which would be attractive in making sense of Xerxes' movements after Mycale (see below, **7, no.78(i)**, n.4). Following this hypothesis, the revolt preceding Xerxes' Greek campaign would be that of Bel-shimanni, which lasted little more than fifteen days (10+x.8.481–29.8.481). However, recent analysis of material, especially the Borsippa texts, by C. Waerzeggers shows that Briant's proposed redating is impossible and that the two revolts should, almost certainly, be dated to 484 (London Centre for the Ancient Near East Seminars, February 2003; see now Waerzeggers 2003/4 for presentation of all the evidence, arguments and implications).
5. Herodotus III, 153–8 describes a siege of Babylon by Darius, which was only broken by Zopyrus' heroic self-mutilation inducing the Babylonians to trust him and thus allowing him to betray the city to the Persians. The whole story (for which there is no corroboration) was attributed by Ctesias to Zopyrus' son, Megabyzus, about whom he recounted a lengthy saga later (see **8, no.10**; **13, no.30**). For his role in Xerxes' invasion of Greece, see Hdt. VII, 82; **7, no.24**(121); cf. also **7, no.78(i)**. For his command in Egypt under Artaxerxes I, see Hdt. III, 160 and **8, nos.6–7**.
6. About 180 kg; for the system of gift-giving, see **13, Sections B–D**.

8. A possible reprisal for Babylon's revolt?

Herodotus I, 183.¹

In the temple of Babylon there is a second shrine lower down, in which is a great seated cult-statue of Bel,² all of gold on a golden throne, supported on a base of gold, with a golden table standing beside it. I was told by the Chaldaeans that, to make all this, more than twenty-two tons of gold were used. Outside the temple is a golden altar, and there is another one, not of gold, but of great size, on which sheep are sacrificed. The golden altar is reserved for the sacrifice of sucklings only. Again, on the larger altar the Chaldaeans offer something like two and a half tons of frankincense every year at the festival of Bel. In the time of Cyrus there was also in this sacred building a solid golden statue of a man³ some fifteen feet high – I have this on the authority of the Chaldaeans, though I never saw it myself. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had designs upon it, but he never carried it off because his courage failed him; Xerxes, however, did take it and killed the priest who tried to prevent the sacrilege.

Notes

1. The passage comes in Herodotus' description of the city of Babylon. A majority of scholars has assumed that the action attributed by Herodotus to Xerxes (pillaging a statue from Babylon's main temple) was punishment for its revolt(s). In fact, Herodotus makes no mention of a Babylonian revolt in Xerxes' reign, either here or anywhere else. The contrast drawn by Herodotus between Darius' plan to take, and Xerxes' actual seizure of, the statue casts some doubt on the historicity of the episode as a whole, since Herodotus (like Aeschylus in *The Persians*, too) repeatedly plays on the idea that Darius' actions and plans foreshadow those of Xerxes, who pushes them to their inevitable, disastrous conclusion (cf. **6, Introduction**).
2. Gr. *agalma* is the term, used exclusively for a cult-statue; see discussion in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987: 71–2. It should be noted that Herodotus is writing as though he has seen it, i.e. that the

cult-statue of Bel-Marduk was in its proper position in the Marduk temple at Babylon in his time (440–430).

3. Gr. *andrias* is the more general term for a statue, which can be either divine or human. If the incident really occurred, then it could have been a dedicatory statue of a minor deity or worshipper. On the relative uses of *agalma* and *andrias*, see the detailed analysis by Briant 1998b: 215–20.

C. The Greek campaign

(a) The planning of the campaign

9. The decision to invade

Herodotus VII, 5–6.1–2, 4–5.

Present at this time¹ and wielding the greatest power of all Persians was Mardonius, son of Gobryas² – Xerxes’ cousin, son of Darius’ sister – who put forward arguments of this kind: ‘My lord, it is not right that the Athenians, who have done so many evils to the Persians, should not pay the penalty for what they have done.’³ For now, do what you have in hand; but once you have put down Egypt’s insolence,⁴ make war on the Athenians, so that your praise may be in the mouths of men and that later they will hesitate to make war on your land.’⁵ This was his argument for vengeance, but he always added that Europe was such a lovely country and produced every kind of cultivated tree and was so exceedingly fertile that the king, alone of mortals, was worthy to own it.

(6) He said this because he was always keen on new ventures and wanted himself to be governor of Greece. And in time he worked upon Xerxes and persuaded him to do as he suggested. He also had other support in persuading Xerxes. First, messengers from Thessaly, sent by the Aleuadae (the kings of Thessaly),⁶ arrived, inviting the king into Greece and eagerly offering all help. Then there were those of the Pisistratids,⁷ who had come up to Susa and used the same arguments as the Aleuadae – in fact, offering even more than they. They brought with them Onomacritus, an Athenian oracle-interpreter and editor of the oracles of Musaeus,⁸ after making up their quarrel.⁹ He now came up with the Pisistratids, and, whenever he came into the king’s presence, the Pisistratids would make solemn statements about him and he would read from the oracles. If there was anything among them that related to disaster for the barbarians, he would omit it; he chose the most propitious omens, spoke of the bridging of the Hellespont to be done by a Persian and expounded on the course of the campaign. So he, with his prophecies, tried to persuade the king, as did the Pisistratids and the Aleuadae proffering their ideas.

Notes

1. I.e. the start of Xerxes’ reign, December 486.
2. Mardonius had been intimately involved in Persian strategy in the north-west under Darius: see **6, nos.21; 26** (Thrace); **6, no.49** (Ionia); for the estate of a Mardonius in Babylonia in Xerxes’ reign, see **16, no.68** (the owner is unlikely to be identical with the Herodotean Mardonius, as the text dates after Mardonius’ death at Plataea); for further references see **7, no.4**, n.2.
3. Again and again Herodotus reminds his Athenian audience of the supposedly personal hostility the Persians bore them for the burning of Sardis at the start of the Ionian Revolt (**6, no.35**), to which their victory at Marathon was now added (**6, no.56**).
4. For the Egyptian revolt, see **7, no.6**.

5. For the importance of the king being seen to lead campaigns, see Briant 1988b; 1996a: 542–3 [2002b: 524–5]; cf. **11, nos.32–4; figs.11.33–11.35**.
6. A powerful family from Larissa striving to establish control over all Thessaly, see How and Wells 1912 ad loc.
7. The family of the Athenian tyrant, Pisistratus, who had been seeking Persian help to re-establish themselves in control of Athens for over twenty years (**6, nos.29; 51**). They had acted as expert guides to the Persian army at Marathon (**6, no.55**).
8. A mythical seer. It is possible that the collection of oracles in Athenian temples, referred to by Herodotus earlier (V, 90), went under his name, and that Onomacritus had been the compiler (or forger; see How and Wells 1912 ad loc.).
9. Herodotus here describes the quarrel briefly, which concerned Onomacritus' interpolation of an oracle.

10. Gathering the Persian forces

Herodotus VII, 8; 19.2; 21.2.

'These are the acts with which you will please me.¹ As soon as I tell you the time at which you should come, every one of you should come most eagerly. To him, who has his contingent best equipped, I shall give gifts that are considered the most honourable among us.² This is how it must be done.'

(19) When the magi had made the interpretation,³ every one of the assembled Persians at once went off to his seat of government and was very zealous in carrying out his instructions, because each one wanted to win the gifts offered; and so Xerxes collected his army, searching through every spot of the continent.

(21) One group supplied ships, while another was enlisted in the infantry; yet others provided horsemen, and still others horse transports, while themselves marching with the army; still more supplied large ships for the bridges, and others grain and boats.

Notes

1. This is the end of Xerxes' speech setting out his reasons for the Greek campaign, in which he rehearses his motivation: the Persian royal tradition is to make war; Greece is a large and fertile country; the campaign will be the fulfilment of Darius' plans; vengeance on Athens; expansion of the Persian empire to embrace the whole earth. This is, of course, Herodotus' partisan view; see Wiesehöfer 2004a for a more realistic assessment of Xerxes' war aims.
2. On royal gift-giving, see **13, Sections B & D**.
3. I.e. of Xerxes' second dream relating to the plan to invade Greece.

11. Securing the route for the army and the fleet

Herodotus VII, 22.1; 24.

Then, since the first expedition had come to grief sailing around Athos,¹ preparations had been under way for three years or so at Athos. Triremes were anchored off Elaeus in the Chersonese; men from these, made up of all the peoples in the army, were set to work to dig a channel; they worked under the lash and in relays; and those living around Athos also dug. Bubares, the son of Megabazus,² and Artachaeus, son of Artaeus,³ Persians, supervised the work.⁴

(24) But I reckon Xerxes made them dig the canal out of arrogance, because he wanted to display his power and leave a memorial. For with no trouble it was possible to pull the ships over the isthmus; but he ordered them to dig a channel for the sea wide enough for

two triremes to sail together through it while under oars. The same people ordered to work on the channel also had to build a bridge over the Strymon river.

Notes

1. The expedition under Mardonius to reassert Persian control in Thrace in 492 after the Ionian Revolt; see **6, no.21**.
2. For the role of Megabazus in Thrace previously, and his son, see **6, nos.17–19**.
3. For his death in 480, lavish burial and local hero cult, see **7, no.23**.
4. Herodotus continues with details of the topography of the region and digging of the canal. Greek archaeologists have recently reported finding traces of what is thought to be Xerxes' canal (reported on J. Sasson's Ancient Near Eastern bulletin board in 2001).

12. Bridging the Hellespont

Herodotus VII, 33.1; 34; 35–6.1.

Meanwhile, his men were building the bridge over the Hellespont, linking Asia to Europe. Now there is in the Hellespontine Chersonese, halfway between the cities of Sestos and Madytus, a broad headland running out into the sea opposite Abydos.

(34) At this headland, beginning from Abydos, those who were ordered to do so constructed the bridge: the Phoenicians made one of white linen, the Egyptians another of papyrus.¹ It is seven stadia² from Abydos to the opposite side. When the strait had been bridged, a great storm blew up, smashing it and breaking it apart.

(35) When Xerxes learnt this, he was furious and ordered three hundred lashes to be laid upon the Hellespont and to lower into the sea a set of fetters.³ I have even heard that he sent branders to brand the Hellespont.⁴ And he ordered those doing the whipping to speak these barbarous and sacrilegious words: 'O bitter water, the lord lays this punishment upon you because you have harmed him although he has done you no harm. And King Xerxes will cross you, whether you will or no. It is only right that no one sacrifices to you, because you are a turbid and salty river.'⁵ So Xerxes ordered the sea to be punished, and he ordered the beheading of the supervisors of the building of the bridge.

(36) So they did that, those who were given this thankless task, while other builders made the bridge. They built it like this: they placed penteconters and triremes next to each other, three hundred and sixty to support the bridge on the side nearest the Euxine and three hundred and fourteen for the other bridge.⁶

Notes

1. The reference is to the ropes used for the bridge.
2. About 1.5 km.
3. Boyce (1982: 166) suggests that this was a ritual act, related to the Iranian belief that salt water is sweet water contaminated by the forces of chaos (*OP drauga*).
4. For the practice of branding (as punishment and/or mark of ownership), see **7, no.31**, n.6; **14, no.13**; **16, no.65**; **17, no.19**.
5. In fact, Xerxes made sacrifices to the Hellespont when he crossed it with his army; see **11, no.53**.
6. The one built closer to the Aegean.

13. Xerxes requests the Greeks to surrender

Herodotus VII, 32.

When he (sc. Xerxes) came to Sardis, he first of all sent off heralds to Greece to demand earth and water¹ and to give orders in advance for the preparations of meals for the king.² Only to Athens and Sparta he sent no messengers to demand earth and water;³ everywhere else he sent them. The reason he sent for earth and water this second time was that he was certain that those who had not given them before, when Darius sent, would certainly do so now, out of fear. So, because he wished to be accurately informed about this, he sent.

Notes

1. See **6 no.10**, n.6, for the significance of the tokens, **6, no.30** for Athens' presentation of them in Sardis, c.507, and **6, nos.50; 51** for Darius' partial success in obtaining them from several Greek states.
2. See further on the king's dinner, **12, Section D**.
3. See **7, no.14** for the reason.

14. The Greek response to Xerxes' request

Herodotus VII, 131–2.1; 133.1.

The heralds he (sc. Xerxes) had sent to Greece to demand earth and water¹ came back,² some empty-handed but some bringing earth and water.

(132) Of those who gave them, there were the Thessalians, Dolopians, Enienes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnetes, Leians, Achaeandes of Phthiotis, Thebans and the rest of the Boeotians except the Thespians and Plataeans.

(133) But Xerxes sent no heralds for the demand of earth to Athens and Sparta, for the following reason. Previously, Darius had sent them for this purpose,³ but the one had thrown those making the demand into a pit,⁴ and the other, hurling them into a well, told them to get earth and water from there to take to the king. For these reasons, Xerxes sent no one there to make the request.

Notes

1. They were sent off by Xerxes from Sardis (**7, no.13**).
2. Xerxes' ambassadors reported back to him when he was camped at Pieria in Macedon.
3. See **6, nos.50; 51**.
4. The place where criminals were thrown in Athens.

15. All of Thessaly joins the Persians

Herodotus VII, 172.1; 174.

The Thessalians at first medised only out of necessity, as they showed clearly they did not like the machinations of the Aleuadae.¹

(174) (But) being abandoned by their allies,² they now medised with enthusiasm, and being no longer in two minds they proved themselves very valuable men to the king.

Notes

1. The Aleuadae family had been involved in urging Xerxes to invade Greece: **7, no.9(6)**, cf. Hdt. VII, 130.
2. While Xerxes was still at Abydos, the Greeks had responded to an appeal from the Thessalians for protection by sending a contingent to the Pass of Tempe. However, they withdrew on the advice of Alexander of Macedon, leaving the Thessalians exposed (Hdt. VII, 172–3).

16. Many Greeks are tempted to surrender

Herodotus VII, 138.

The king's expedition was in name directed against Athens,¹ but it was sent against all Greece. Although the Greeks knew this far in advance, they did not all respond in the same way. Some of them gave earth and water² to the Persian, and were sure that they would suffer nothing unpleasant at the hands of the barbarian.³ But others, who had not given these symbols, became terribly afraid, as there were not enough ships in Greece to meet the invader, nor were many of these people willing to take up the war vigorously; they wanted to medise.

Notes

1. See **7, no.9(5)** & n.3.
2. See **7, nos.13** & n.1; **14(132)**.
3. See **7, no.14(132)** for a list of those who gave earth and water. Note also Hdt. VII, 148–52 (cf. **7, no.83**), for Argos' possible medism at this stage, and VII, 163 for Gelo of Syracuse's willingness to give earth and water to Xerxes should he be victorious.

(b) The march to Greece

17. The contingents gather to set forth

Herodotus VII, 26.1–2.

While these people were working at their appointed tasks,¹ the land army was marching, along with Xerxes, to Sardis, having set out from Critalla in Cappadocia. For at this place the whole army that was to march with Xerxes by land had been ordered to assemble. Now which of the governors brought the most splendidly equipped troops to win the rewards of the king, I cannot say.² I don't even know if it was ever decided. But when they crossed the Halys, they entered Phrygia, and marching through this country they came to Celaenae.³

Notes

1. Herodotus has just described the provisioning of the Persian depots and forts set up in Thrace by Darius; see **6, no.25**.
2. See **7, no.10**.
3. Celaenae was a major royal centre in Phrygia, rich in its water supplies, with a citadel, royal palace and wild game park; the first two are said by Xenophon to have been built by Xerxes on his return from Greece, see **7, no.77; 11, no.21 (iii)**, cf. Hdt. VII, 26.3.

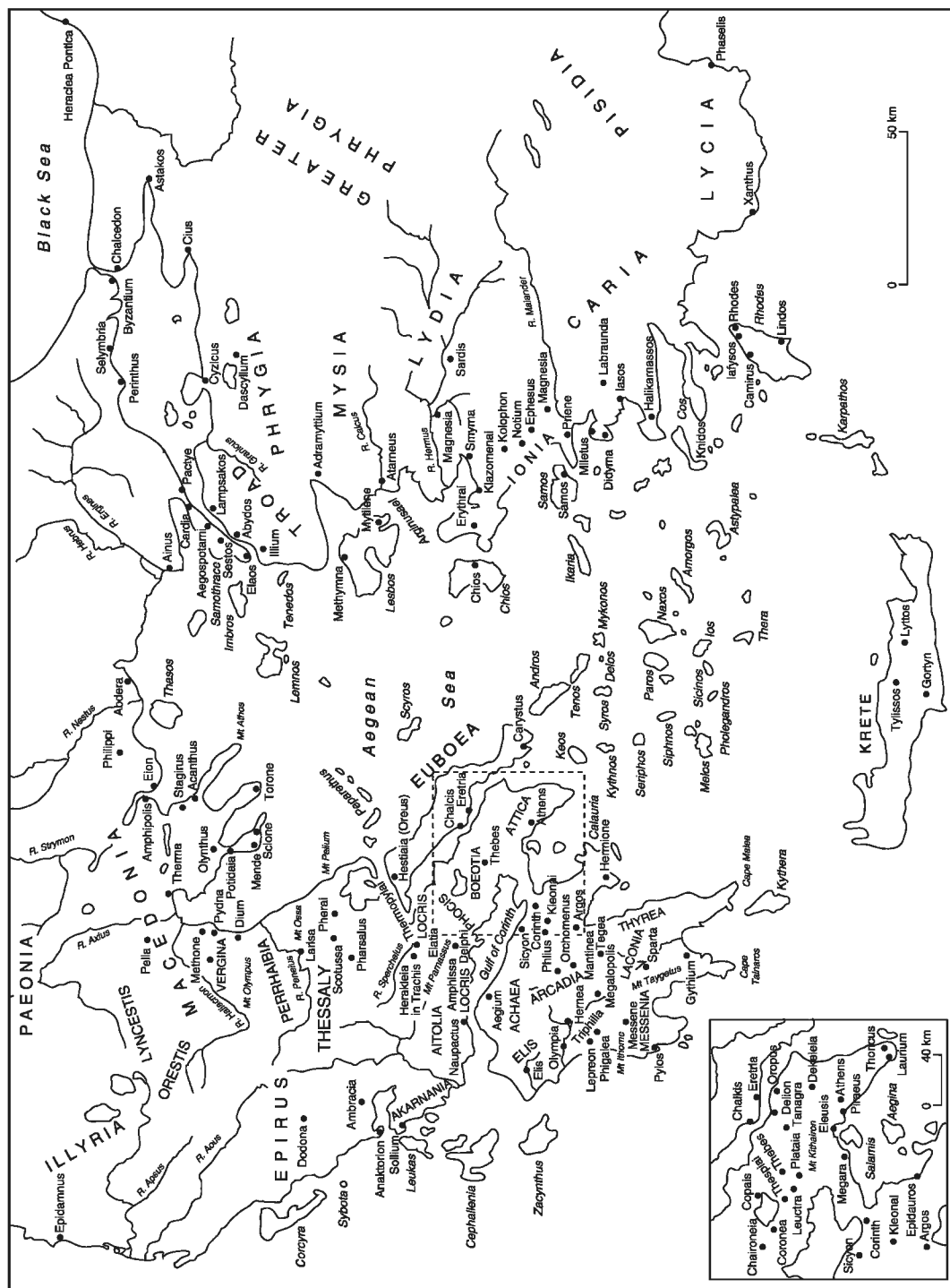


Figure 7.2 Map of western Asia Minor, the Aegean, Thrace and Greece. (After Hornblower 2002.)

18. Xerxes reaches Sardis

Herodotus VII, 31.

From Phrygia he passed into Lydia. Here the road divides, the left one going in the direction of Caria and the right one to Sardis. Xerxes went by this road and found a plane tree which, for its beauty, he adorned with gold¹ and then entrusted it to a steward who was immortal;² the day after he came to the chief city of the Lydians.

Notes

1. This episode is reported and commented on by many ancient writers; it also figures prominently in Handel's opera *Serse*. For discussion, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1994b; Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Henkelman 2003; for the association of the Persian king with trees, see Briant 1996a: 246–9 [2002b: 234–7], cf. **11, no.30**. Xerxes' act here is one of a series marking and memorialising the king's passage (cf. **7, nos.11** (24); **17**, n.3; **19; 22**).
2. The fact that he could have been a member of the famous élite regiment of the Persian army (see **11, no.24**) has been doubted, see How and Wells 1912 ad loc. A possible way to understand the passage is that Xerxes founded a cult, with a permanent guardianship.

19. Xerxes honours the gods and heroes of Troy

Herodotus VII, 43.

When Xerxes came to the river (sc. Scamander), he climbed up to Priam's Pergamum,¹ which he was eager to see. Having observed it and enquired about it all, he sacrificed a thousand head of cattle to Athena of Ilium, and the magi offered libations to the heroes.²

Notes

1. Troy's citadel. For the evidence of cult and settlement at Ilium in the Achaemenid period, see Berlin 2002.
2. This chimes with Herodotus' statement at the beginning of his work that the Persians maintained they were avenging the Greek destruction of Troy, cf. T. Harrison 2002: 553 with references; for the connections made by Greeks between 'barbarians' and Trojans, see Lenfant 2004.

20. The crossing of the Hellespont

Herodotus VII, 55.

They crossed over, all the horse and foot by the bridge nearest to the Pontus, while the baggage animals and the service train went by the bridge next to the Aegean. In the van were the Ten Thousand Persians,¹ all of them wearing garlands, and behind them a mixed crowd of all peoples.² These were the troops that crossed that day, and, on the next, first came the cavalry and those that carried their spears reversed;³ they, too, wore garlands. After that came the sacred horses⁴ and the sacred chariot⁵ and, behind them, Xerxes himself with his bodyguard and his thousand horsemen, and behind them all the rest of the army.⁶

Notes

1. I.e. the Immortals; see **11, no.24**.
2. For a display of the Persian army including all the peoples, see **11, no.25**.
3. See **11, no.24** for this Persian parade practice.
4. The highly prized Nesaean horses, bred in Media, see **7, no.57; 11, no.24** & n.3.
5. See **11, nos.22** & n.6; **24**.
6. Hdt. VII, 56 says that the crossing took seven days and that it was done 'under whips'. This creates an impression of soldiers being flogged onwards in their march. If we compare it to Xenophon's description of Cyrus' procession (**11, no.22(9)**), it is perhaps more likely that whips were used to regulate the mass of soldiers moving across a fairly narrow bridge.

21. The fleet arrives at Doriscus¹

Herodotus VII, 58.1; 59.

The fleet sailed out of the Hellespont and went along the coast, doing the opposite of the land army. Because the fleet sailed west, making their descent on the Cape of Sarpedon, where they had instructions to wait for his (sc. Xerxes') coming.

(59) All of the ships having arrived at Doriscus, the captains brought them to the beach near Doriscus by command of Xerxes. To this beach the commanders brought in their ships and hauled them up to dry. Then, at this time, he held a review of the army at Doriscus.²

Notes

1. For the royal fortress and guard station set up here by Darius, see **6, no.25**.
2. See **11, no.25** for the review.

22. The march through Thrace

Herodotus VII, 115.

As the army marched away from the Strymon,¹ it passed, towards the west, a stretch of coast in which there is the Greek city Argilus. This area and the country above it are called Bisaltia. From there Xerxes kept on his left the gulf near Posidium and passed through the plain of Syleus (as it is called) and, passing by the Greek city of Stagirus, he came to Acanthus. Xerxes brought with him every one of those peoples and those who live around Pangaeus, and, as in the case of those I mentioned before, taking to serve with the fleet those from the coastal region and, with the army, those from further inland.² This road by which King Xerxes led his army the Thracians do not plough or sow, but hold in great reverence, right down to my own time.³

Notes

1. For the building of a bridge over the Strymon, see **7, no.11(24)**; for ceremonies performed at its crossing, see **11, no.47**.
2. See **6, no.28**, where Herodotus names the Thracian groups made tributary by the Persians after Darius' Scythian campaign (cf. **6, no.26**) and hence obliged to furnish contingents for Persian campaigns as required.
3. The entire route of the royal passage was marked and remembered, as Herodotus' fairly detailed itinerary indicates; see also **7, nos.17**, n.4; **18**, n.1; **19**. For the political significance of the king's movement around the empire, see Briant 1988b; **11, nos.26–7**.

23. Xerxes honours Acanthus for its support

Herodotus VII, 116–17.

When he came to Acanthus, Xerxes proclaimed the Acanthians to be his guest-friends.¹ He presented them with a Median garment,² and praised them, noting that they were eager with respect to the war and hearing of their digging the canal.³

(117) When Xerxes was in Acanthus, it happened that there died of an illness the chief architect of the canal, Artachaees, a man of note with Xerxes and a member of the Achaemenid family;⁴ he was the tallest man among the Persians – for he lacked only four fingers of five royal cubits⁵ – and had the loudest voice in the world. Xerxes was much affected by this calamity and gave him a magnificent funeral and burial; and the whole army piled up the burial mound. To this Artachaees the Acanthians, in accordance with an oracle, sacrifice as a hero, and call on his name. So King Xerxes grieved for the dead Artachaees.

Notes

1. For discussion of Gr. *xenos/xenia*, see Herman 1987.
2. A high mark of honour, as shown by the annual presentation of a Median dress to Otanes, for his role in the plot against Bardiya (**5, no.11**(84)). For the Persian system of gift-giving, see **13, Sections B & D**.
3. At Mount Athos, **7, no.11**.
4. For Artachaees' son in command of the Persian fleet in 479, see **7, no.52**(130); **61**(102); for the Achaemenid family or clan, see **5, Introduction**; for honours and ranking in the empire, see **13, nos.6–7**.
5. The royal cubit is approximately 50 cm, which makes Artachaees about 2.40 m tall – probably a way of symbolising his nobility.

24. The order of marching and the fleet sent ahead

Herodotus VII, 121–2; 124; 127.1.

After Acanthus, Xerxes gave orders to the generals that the fleet should wait for him in Therme and sent the ships away on their course. He had learnt that this was the shortest way. As far as Acanthus the army marching from Doriscus had been drawn up as follows: Xerxes had divided up his whole land army into three sections. One of them he ordered to march along the sea, alongside the fleet. This part was under the command of Mardonius¹ and Masistes;² the other third of the army marched inland under Tritantaechmes³ and Gergis.⁴ The third section, with whom Xerxes himself was marching, passed between the two; it was under the command of Smerdomenes⁵ and Megabyzus.⁶

(122) Now the fleet, when despatched by Xerxes, sailed through the canal at Athos, the canal which reached through to the gulf on which are the cities of Assa, Pylorus, Singus and Sarte; after that, when it had taken on troops from these cities, too, it sailed directly to the Thermaic Gulf and, rounding Ampelus, the cape of Torone, it passed the Greek cities of Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Meczyberna and Olynthus, from all of which it took on ships and troops.

(124) The fleet here lay off the river Axius and the city of Therme and the cities between them, waiting for the king; and Xerxes and the land army marched from Acanthus, taking the shortcut across the land, since he wanted to get on to Therme.

(127) When Xerxes came to Therme, he quartered his army there.

Notes

1. Xerxes' cousin and brother-in-law; for Mardonius' family and his activity in the north-western area after the end of the Ionian Revolt, see **6, nos.21; 49(43)** & n.4; for his role in persuading Xerxes' to mount the campaign, see **7, no.9(5)**; for references to his subsequent action in Greece (and death), see **7, no.4**, n.2.
2. Xerxes' full brother, see **7, no.1**, n.4.
3. Cousin of Xerxes, son of Darius' brother, Artabanus (Hdt. VII, 82); perhaps to be identified with the Tigranes, son of Artabanus, who figures in two manuscript variants of Hdt. VIII, 26 (see OCT, ad loc.). If so, he may also have been the commander of the Median contingent (**11, no.25(62)**) and the Persian general killed at Mycale (**7, no.61**). Whether he could also be the same as the governor of Babylonia mentioned by Herodotus (I, 192) is rather less certain.
4. Gergis, son of Ariazus, is listed as one of the supreme commanders of the army at Hdt. VII, 82.
5. Another of Xerxes' cousins, son of Otanes (s. Sisamnes (2)), nephew of Darius, according to Hdt. VII, 82, and one of the chief army commanders.
6. Member of the Persian high command and son of Zopyrus (Hdt. VII, 82); later commander in Egypt during the Inaros revolt (Hdt. III, 160); see further **7, nos.7** & n.5; **78; 8, nos.6–7; 13, no.30**.

(c) The Persian advance into central Greece**25. Persian and Greek forces move into position**

Herodotus VII, 177; 179; 183.

As soon as they (sc. the Greeks) learned that the Persian was in Pieria,¹ they broke up their assembly at the Isthmus and advanced, some by land to Thermopylae and others by sea to Artemisium.

(179) But Xerxes' fleet started from the city of Therme; their ten fastest sailing ships went direct to Sciathus, where three Greek ships were on advance guard, a Troezenian, an Aeginetan and an Attic one. When they sighted the Persian ships they took to flight.²

(183) The Greeks stationed at Artemisium learned all this by means of beacons from Sciathus. When they learnt it, they were terrified and changed their anchorage from Artemisium to Chalcis, to keep guard over the Euripus, leaving a day-watchman on the heights of Euboea. Of the ten barbarian ships, three were wrecked on the reef between Sciathus and Magnesia, called the Ant. Then the barbarians brought out a white pillar and set it on the reef.³ As the way was now clear, their whole fleet sailed out from Therme, eleven days after the king himself had marched from there. Pammos of Scyros was their main guide to the reef in their passage. The barbarians sailed all day long and reached Sepias, in the land of Magnesia, and the beach that lies between the city of Casthanea and the cape of Sepias.

Notes

1. See **7, no.14**, n.2.
2. Herodotus VII, 180–2 describes the fate of all three, which were captured, two with their crew: one man was publicly executed, another carefully tended for his wounds, while the others became captives; see further **12, no.12(ii)**.
3. To signal the danger.

26. Part of the Persian fleet destroyed in a storm

Herodotus VII, 188; 190; 191.1; 192.1.

The first ships to arrive lay close by the land, and the others, beyond them, lay at anchor. As the beach was not large, the ships lay eight deep, with their prows towards the sea. That is how it was that night; but with the dawn, not a cloud or breath of wind in the sky, the sea started to boil up, and a great storm and strong east wind, called by the locals a 'Hellespontian', fell on them. Those who noticed the rising wind and those whose anchorage made it possible pulled their ships on shore before the storm got them, and so they and their ships survived. But where the storm caught the ships afloat, some were driven on the rocks of Pelion, called the Ovens, and some on the beach. Yet others came to grief on the Sepiad headland itself, and others were wrecked at the city of Meliboea, and others at Casthanaea. There was no resisting this storm.

(190) In this disaster they say that, at the least, there were no fewer than four hundred ships lost, and of men the loss was beyond counting, as well as a great quantity of goods.

(191) The losses of corn-carrying transports and other freighters was without number, so that the commanders of the fleet, fearing that they were in such bad shape that the Thessalians might attack them, built a high wall round their ships, made of the wreckage of the others, because the storm raged for three days.

(192) Then on the fourth day the storm ceased.

27. Persian ships captured by Greeks

Herodotus VII, 192–3.1; 194.1; 194.3–195.

The day-watchers on the Euboean heights¹ ran down from their positions on the second day after the storm started and told the Greeks all that had happened in the shipwreck. Then the Greeks, when they heard this, prayed to Poseidon the Saviour and, after pouring libations, hurried back as quickly as possible to Artemisium, under the impression that very few ships would be left there to oppose them.

(193) So for the second time they came to Artemisium² and lay there. When the wind ceased and the waves died down, the barbarians got their ships to sea and sailed along the mainland and, rounding the cape of Magnesia, sailed straight into the gulf that stretches toward Pagasae.

(194) Fifteen of these Persian ships were much later than the rest at putting out to sea, and they glimpsed the ships of the Greeks at Artemisium. The barbarians thought that they were their own ships and sailed into the midst of their enemies. The Persian commander was Sandoces, son of Thamasius, governor of Cyme in Aeolis.³ (. . .) The Greeks saw the Persian ships approaching, realised they had made a mistake, and, putting to sea, took them captive easily.

(195) Sailing on one of these ships, and captured on it, was Aridolis, tyrant of Alabanda in Caria, and in another the Paphian general Penthylus, son of Demonous, who had brought twelve ships from Paphos⁴ and lost eleven of them in the storm off Sepias;⁵ with his one remaining ship he sailed to Artemisium and was captured there. These men the Greeks questioned on everything they wanted to know about Xerxes' army and got the information; then they sent them in fetters to the Isthmus of Corinth.

Notes

1. See 7, no.25(183).

2. See 7, no.25.

3. Herodotus gives him the title *hyparchos*; at the time of the Ionian Revolt, Cyme was ruled by Aristagoras, son of Heracleides (6, no.32(37)). The possibility is that Cyme was part of the region governed by Sandoces, himself subject to the satrap in Sardis.
4. In Cyprus.
5. See 7, no.26.

28. Xerxes moves through Thessaly and Achaëa¹

Herodotus VII, 196; 197.1;197.4.

The barbarian fleet came to Aphetæ. Xerxes and the land army journeyed through Thessaly and Achaëa and reached Malis three days after the fleet arrived. In Thessaly he arranged a contest, matching his own horses against those of the Thessalians, having heard that these were the best in Greece. But the Greek mares were much inferior.

(197) When Xerxes came to Alus in Achaëa,² his guides, wanting to explain everything to him, recounted a local story, which has to do with Zeus the Devourer.³ (. . .) Xerxes, when he heard all that had happened, when he came to the grove, kept away from it and ordered all his army to do so, and treated with reverence both the house and sacred enclosure of the descendants of Athamas.⁴

Notes

1. I.e. Thessalian Achaëa in Phthiotis.
2. or, more usually, Halus, see How and Wells 1912, ad loc.
3. For discussion of the ritual, involving human sacrifice, described by Herodotus, see How and Wells 1912, ad loc.; Parker 1983: 259; Burkert 1985a: 235 .
4. The legendary protagonist of the story.

29. Persian and Greek forces confront each other at Thermopylae

Herodotus VII, 201; 207; 210–12.

King Xerxes camped in the part of Malis that belongs to Trachis, and the Greeks camped in the pass itself. This place is called Thermopylae,¹ though the local inhabitants and neighbours call it The Gates. So each camped in these places, Xerxes being master of all the country to the north of Trachis, and the Greeks in control of the south and west, towards this part of the mainland.

(207) The Greeks at Thermopylae, when the Persian approached the pass itself, were terrified and debated whether to stay or go. The other Peloponnesians thought they should go to the Isthmus to guard it; but Leonidas,² when the Phocians all around him were furious at this plan, voted to stay and send messengers to the cities demanding their help as they were too few to resist the Medes.

(210) Xerxes let four days go by assuming that the men (i.e. the Greek army) would run away. But on the fifth day, when they had not gone, but seemed to be staying on out of sheer impudence and suicidal folly, he sent the Medes and Cissians³ against them. He was furious and charged them to take the Greeks alive and bring them into his presence. The Medes rushed against them at full charge, with many falling, but others replaced them, and they did not stop although faring disastrously. This showed everyone, in particular the king, that while he might have many men, he had but few warriors. The engagement lasted all day.

(211) After the Medes had been roughly handled, they withdrew. Then the Persians, whom the king called the Immortals,⁴ took over. They were commanded by Hydarnes⁵ and expected to succeed easily. But when they encountered the Greeks, they did no better than the Medes, but just the same. For they were fighting in a narrow stretch and using shorter spears than the Greeks and could not make use of their greater numbers. The Lacedaemonians made a notable stand, and showed themselves to be skilled fighters against unskilled. At times they would turn their backs, as though they were taking flight all together; but when the barbarians saw them fleeing and fell on them with shouts and noise, they turned round to face the barbarians, destroying countless numbers of the Persians. A few of the Spartans themselves also fell at this point. As the Persians did not succeed in gaining control of the pass, neither by attacks in regiments nor any other way, they finally withdrew.

(212) During these encounters in the battle, they say that the king, as he watched, leaped up three times from his throne⁶ afraid for his army. That was how they fought then, and the next day the barbarians fared no better. Because the Greeks were few, they hoped that they had been wounded and would not be able to raise their hands against them and attacked. But the Greeks were arranged by contingents and peoples, and each fought in turn, save the Phocians. These were stationed on the mountain, guarding the path. When the Persians found the Greeks to be the same as the previous day, they withdrew.

Notes

1. Meaning 'Warm Gates'.
2. The Spartan king, chief commander and Greek hero of the battle. For his full genealogy (descended from Heracles) and his unexpected accession to kingship, see Hdt. VII, 204–5.
3. See **17, Introduction**, for Zagros contingents in the Persian armies.
4. See **11, no.24**.
5. Son of the Hydarnes (Hdt. VII, 83) who was one of Darius' helpers (**5, no.1**, para.68). He also appears in an incident involving Miltiades shortly after 490 (Hdt. VI, 133), and is described by Herodotus (VII, 135) as 'general over the inhabitants of the seacoast in Asia' at a date that seems to precede Xerxes' invasion. His brother may have been Sisamnes ((2) s. Hydarnes), commander of the Areian contingent in the Persian army (**11, no.25**(83)).
6. Xerxes is described at the Battle of Salamis, watching the progress of the fighting and noting those who distinguished themselves (Hdt. VIII, 88; **7, no.43**). For the significance of fighting under the eyes of the king, see **13, no.18(i)**.

30. The Persians circumvent the Pass of Thermopylae

Herodotus VII, 213.1; 215; 217–18.

The king was at a loss as to how to handle this state of affairs,¹ when Ephialtes, son of Eurydemus, a man from Malis, came to speak with him. He thought that he would obtain a great reward from the king, and so told him of the path leading over the mountain to Thermopylae and destroyed those standing steadfast there.

(215) Xerxes, satisfied with what Ephialtes promised to achieve, was delighted and immediately sent Hydarnes² and those under his command. They set out from the camp about the time the lamps are lit.

(217) Along this path the Persians marched all that night, after crossing the Asopus; they kept the mountains of Oeta on their right and, on their left, those of Trachis. Dawn was breaking as they reached the top of the mountain. As I said before,³ a thousand Phocian

hoplites⁴ were guarding this part of the mountain, protecting their own country and guarding the path. For the lower pass was held by those I have mentioned, but the path over the mountains was guarded by Phocian volunteers, who had given Leonidas their promise.

(218) The Phocians realised the Persians had climbed up in this way: the Persians escaped notice as they were climbing because the whole mountain was covered in oak trees. But there was no wind and the noise increased, as was natural with the leaves lying under their feet, so the Phocians jumped up, took up arms and the barbarians were already upon them. When they saw men arming themselves, they were astonished, because they assumed that no one was here to oppose them and now were encountering an army. Hydarnes feared that the Phocians were the Lacedaemonians and asked Ephialtes of what country they were. When he had got things straight, he drew up the Persians in battle order. A multitude of arrows fell thick upon the Phocians, who fled to the summit of the mountain, imagining that the attack was primarily intended against them and so prepared to die. That is what they thought, but the Persians with Ephialtes and Hydarnes took no notice of the Phocians and hurried down the mountain.

Notes

1. See **7, no.29**.
2. See **7, no.29**, n.5.
3. See **7, no.29**(212).
4. Heavy-armed soldiers, see **7, no.59**, n.6.

31. The final Persian assault and victory

Herodotus VII, 223–5; 233.

At sunrise, Xerxes made his libation, waited for the time when the market place was at its fullest,¹ and made the attack. This is how Ephialtes had told him to do it; for the descent from the mountain was quicker and much shorter than the way round and the ascent. The barbarians with Xerxes attacked, while the Greeks with Leonidas, like men going on their way to death, advanced much further than at first to the broader part of the pass. They had been guarding the defensive wall, and on previous days they had drawn back to the narrow part to fight. Now they joined battle outside the narrow section, and many barbarians fell; for behind their regiments their commanders flogged them with whips in their hands, pushing them forward continuously.² Many of them fell into the sea and perished; still more were trampled to death by their fellows; no attention was paid to who was killed. For the Greeks, who knew that death was coming to them from those who had circumvented the mountain, displayed all their fighting quality to the barbarians to the full, recklessly and desperately.

(224) Most of them already had their spears broken by now, and were slaying the Persians with swords. And Leonidas fell in this struggle, having shown himself the best of men, and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I know, as worthy men; indeed, I know the names of all three hundred. Of the Persians, too, there fell among many other famous men, two of Darius' sons, Abrocomas and Hyperanthes, born to Darius by Phratagune, the daughter of Artanes.³

(225) So two of Xerxes' brothers died fighting. And over the body of Leonidas there was a mighty struggle between the Persians and Lacedaemonians, until the Greeks, by virtue of their bravery, dragged him away, and routed the enemy four times. This struggle continued

until those with Ephialtes arrived. As soon as the Greeks realised that they had come, the fighting changed. They moved back into the narrow part of the road and, moving behind the wall, they stationed themselves on the hill, all together save the Thebans. This hill is in the entrance, where now the stone lion in honour of Leonidas stands. In that spot there they defended themselves with daggers, those who still had them, and with hands and mouths, while the barbarian missiles buried them. Some attacked from the front and threw down the defensive wall, while others, who had come round the mountain, completed the encirclement.

(233) The Thebans, whom Leontiades⁴ commanded, fought on as long as they were with the Greeks; but they fought under compulsion against the king's army, and when they saw that the Persians had the upper hand and that the Greeks who were with Leonidas were hurrying to the hill, they separated from them and, stretching out their hands, they approached the barbarians, saying quite truthfully that they had medised and had been among the first to give earth and water⁵ to the king, but had been forced to come to Thermopylae and were blameless with respect to harming the king. That is what they said and escaped with their lives, because they had the Thessalians as witnesses to what they were saying. But they were not entirely successful, because, when the barbarians caught some of them approaching them, they killed them, and most of them, on Xerxes' orders, were marked with the royal mark,⁶ beginning with their general Leontiades.

Notes

1. Greek expression of time, i.e. full morning.
2. The motif of Persian subjects being made to work or fight under the whip is a recurring one in Herodotus (e.g. VII, 22.1 (cf. **7, no.11**); 56.1; 103.4), serving to stress one of his points, i.e. the difference between free men and subjects. There is no other evidence for Persian soldiers fighting under physical duress (and cf. **7, no.20**, n.6).
3. Artanes was Darius' brother, so Phratagune was both his niece and his wife; see further, **13, no.2(v)**.
4. Hdt. VII, 205 names Leontiades, son of Eurymachus, as the commander of the Theban contingent at Thermopylae, urged to participate in order to counteract suspicions of medism.
5. See **7, nos.13 & n.1; 14**.
6. Gr. *estixan stigmata basilea* is usually translated as 'branded with the royal brand'. In fact, it is not known how the mark was applied; tattooing is equally possible. Herodotus (VII, 35) refers to a story that Xerxes had the Hellespont 'marked' (Gr. *stigeas . . . stixontas*, see **7, no.12**). The relationship expressed by this marking is one of ownership and is paralleled by a reference in an Aramaic document to marking workmen with an estate-owner's mark (**16, no.65**, cf. Briant 1996a: 472–3 [2002b: 458]; further **14, no.13; 17, no.19**), as well as to a practice attested in Babylonian documents of marking slaves and temple oblates with the names or symbols of their owners, see Stolper 1998a. The action here may indicate that the Thebans taken captive became slaves, as was the usual fate of war captives.

32. The Greek and Persian fleets face and engage each other

Herodotus VIII, 4; 6–7; 10.

The Greeks, who had come to Artemisium, when they saw the many ships lying at anchor at Aphetae and everywhere full of soldiers (while in fact the affairs of the barbarians had not gone well contrary to their expectations)¹ were terrified and wanted to run away from Artemisium into the Greek interior. The Euboeans knew what they were planning and

begged Eurybiades² to remain for a little while, until they could evacuate their children and household staff. When they failed to convince him, they moved over to offering a bribe of thirty talents to Themistocles, the Athenian commander, on condition that they (sc. the Greeks) remain and fight in defence of Euboea.

(6) So they remained in Euboea and fought the sea-battle. And it went like this. When the barbarians came to Aphetae in the early afternoon, knowing already that the Greek ships, few in number, were positioned at Artemisium, they were eager to attack, expecting to capture them. But they decided not to make for them head on, in case the Greeks, seeing them bearing down, should run away in flight and night overtake them. They would then certainly get away, whereas, according to what they (sc. the Persians) say, not so much as a fire-bearer³ should escape with his life.

(7) So they managed it like this. They detached two hundred ships from the total and sent them out of Sciathus, so that they would not be spotted by the enemy as they sailed round Euboea, by Capherus and around Geraestus into the Euripus. Like that they would trap them (sc. the Greeks), one detachment going there and blocking their retreat, while they themselves attacked them head on. This was their plan, and so they sent off the ships with these directions. They themselves did not intend to attack the Greeks that same day, nor before they got a clear signal, from those sailing around, that they had arrived. So they sent them off, and held a review of the remaining ships at Aphetae.⁴

(10) When Xerxes' soldiers and general saw the small Greek fleet attacking them, they thought they must be mad and launched their own ships, expecting to capture them easily; and they were right to think so, as they saw how small was the number of Greek ships, while their own numbered far more and better sailing ships. Confident in their belief, they encircled them in their centre.⁵

Notes

1. See 7, no.26.
2. Spartan commander of the Greek fleet. Hdt. VIII, 2 explains that the allied Greeks refused to be commanded by the Athenians.
3. The fire-bearers signalled with torches the outcome of battles.
4. Although the Persian plan was betrayed to the Greeks by the diver Scyllias of Scione, the Greeks took no action until late the following afternoon, while the Persian detachment moving towards the Greek rear came to grief on the Euboean Hollows (Hdt. VIII, 8–9; 13).
5. This inconclusive engagement was broken off by nightfall, to be followed by a second brief skirmish on the next day (Hdt. VIII, 10.2–12; 14).

33. *The Persian fleet victorious against the Greeks*

Herodotus VIII, 15–16; 18; 21.2.

On the third day, the commanders on the barbarian side, angry that they should have incurred such damage from so few vessels, and afraid of Xerxes' reaction,¹ did not wait for the Greek attack but issued battle orders and put their ships into action at midday. And it turned out that these same three days saw these sea fights and also the land battle at Thermopylae. And the whole struggle for those at sea was for the Euripus, just as for those with Leonidas it was to guard the pass.² For them the word given was, 'The barbarians must not enter Greece', while for the Persians it was, 'The Greek army must be destroyed so that control of the channel is gained.'

(16) So now Xerxes' men were ordered to sail forth, while the Greeks stood firm off Artemisium. The barbarians formed a crescent to encircle the ships and so trap them. Then the Greeks sailed forth and they engaged. In this sea-battle they were equally matched. For, because of the size and numbers of Xerxes' army they came to grief, with the ships in confusion and crashing into each other. But they held on and did not yield, because they thought it terrible to be put to flight by so few ships. Many Greek ships were destroyed, as were many men, but many more ships and men of the barbarians. And so both fought and parted.

(18) When they separated, both were glad to get to harbour. The Greeks, when they stopped and retreated from the battle, had the dead and wrecks. They had been roughly handled (not least the Athenians, half of whose ships were damaged) and decided to take refuge in the Greek interior.

(21) Abronichus, son of Lysicles, the Athenian was with Leonidas, ready with a triaconter to announce to those at Artemisium if anything new happened with the land army. And this Abronichus came and told what had happened to Leonidas and his army. When they heard this, they did not delay their departure any longer, but withdrew in the order in which each had been drawn up, the Corinthians first and the Athenians last.

Notes

1. Xerxes was himself at Thermopylae, see **7, nos. 29–31**. It is only at this point that Herodotus reveals that the naval and land battles were fought over the same three days.
2. I.e. both were narrow defiles, which could prevent the Persians penetrating further into Greece.

(d) Persian successes and setbacks

34. The Persians conquer north Euboea

Herodotus VIII, 23.

Directly after this, there came to the barbarians in a small boat a man from Histiaea to tell them of the Greek retreat from Artemisium. Not trusting the messenger, they kept him under guard and sent fast ships as scouts. When they reported back that it was so, the whole force sailed off to Artemisium at sunrise. They stopped there until midday, then sailed to Histiaea. When they got there they took the city of Histiaea, and overran all the villages along the coast in the district of Ellopia,¹ which was part of Histiaeian territory.

Note

1. An old name for the whole of north Euboea.

35. Xerxes displays the corpses of the defeated

Herodotus VIII, 24–5.

While they were there, Xerxes, having prepared the corpses, sent a herald to the fleet.¹ When the herald crossed over to Histiaea, he assembled the whole camp and said: 'Allies, King Xerxes gives, to any of you who wishes to do so, permission to leave your post and come and view how he fights against people who are out of their minds and think they can overthrow the king's power.'²

(25) After this announcement, nothing was rarer than a boat – so many wanted to go and view the scene! They crossed, went through the corpses and observed. They spent the day sightseeing, and the next sailed away to Histiaea and the ships, while those with Xerxes set off on their route.

Notes

1. I.e. the Persian fleet which had just won at Artemisium and conquered Histiaea (7, nos.33; 34).
2. I.e. to reinforce the morale of his army, the members of the fleet are invited to view the enemy dead at Thermopylae. According to Herodotus (in the sentence preceding this), Xerxes had carefully set the scene so that it looked as though the Persian casualties were relatively slight.

36. Greek deserters supply information to the Persian army

Herodotus VIII, 26.1.

There came to them (sc. Persians) a few deserters from Arcadia, in desperate need and wanting to work for the king. The Persians brought them into the king's presence and asked what the Greeks were doing.¹

Note

1. Herodotus uses the episode to draw a contrast between the wealthy, but ultimately weak, Persians and the poor, but brave and strong, Greeks, as the Arcadians report that the Greeks compete at the Olympics for an olive-wreath, not money. From the point of view of Xerxes' campaign, more significant is the fact that, following the Persian victories on land and sea, local peoples increasingly moved to support and help the Persian side.

37. The Persian advance through Doris and Phocis

Herodotus VIII, 31; 32.2.

The Thessalians were so furious with the Phocians that they now acted as guides to the barbarian on his journey.¹ From Trachis into Doris they pushed on. This Dorian land the barbarians did not harm in their invasion, for the people had medised and the Thessalians thought they should be spared.

(32) The barbarians overran the whole territory of Phocis, because the Thessalians guided the army that way. Whatever they occupied, they set ablaze and ravaged, and they set fire to both cities and sanctuaries.²

Notes

1. Herodotus has just explained (VIII, 27–30) the bitter hostility that existed between the Phocians and Thessalians. He even expresses the opinion that if Thessaly had supported the Greeks, Phocis would have supported the Persians out of sheer spite. Story and sentiment illustrate brilliantly the internecine strife endemic in Greek society, which the Persians exploited to their own advantage (see 7, **Introduction**).
2. In the light of what has gone before (see n.1) and subsequent events (Hdt. VIII, 33), it is clear that the Persian devastation was neither random nor all-embracing, but precisely targeted, as becomes clear in the case of Phocis, which offered resistance because of their hatred for the Thessalians. Note, for example, that Delphi was not destroyed (Hdt. VIII, 35–9).

38. Boeotia joins the Persians

Herodotus VIII, 34.

The barbarians passed by Parapotamii and came to Panopoea. There the army divided and separated. The larger and stronger part of the army marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and into Boeotia, into the territory of Orchomenus. All the people of Boeotia medised, and some Macedonians, who had been instructed to do so and sent by Alexander,¹ saved the cities. They saved them by making it clear to Xerxes that the Boeotians were on the Median side.

Note

1. For Macedon as a Persian client kingdom, see **6, nos. 19; 24.**

39. The Greeks withdraw to the Peloponnese and Attica is evacuated

Herodotus VIII, 40–41.1.

The Greek naval force left Artemisium and put in at Salamis at the request of the Athenians. The Athenians asked them to do this so that they might evacuate their children and women from Attica and also to plan what to do. Because, as matters stood, they had to take council since they had been deceived in their judgement. For they had expected to find the Peloponnesians, in full strength, awaiting the barbarians in Boeotia; but they found things not to be like this. Instead they heard that they were fortifying the Isthmus,¹ showing they were only concerned with the survival of the Peloponnese; that is what they were going to guard and let the rest go. That is what the Athenians knew when they asked the Greeks to put in at Salamis.

(41) The rest put in at Salamis, while the Athenians went home. After they got there, they made a proclamation that every Athenian should, as far as possible, save their children and household staff. Then most sent them off to Troezen, some to Aegina and some to Salamis.

Note

1. A recurring theme of Herodotus' description of the Persian invasion is the constant attempt by Athens to persuade the Peloponnesians not to abandon them by retiring beyond the Isthmus, which offered the possibility of mounting a successful defence; cf. Hdt. VIII, 49; 56–7; 70–4; **7, no. 51**, n. 5. Only after lengthy debates and hesitations was the decision to fight in the Salamis straits taken (Hdt. VIII, 42–64), with which not all agreed.

40. Athens falls to the Persians

Herodotus VIII, 51–3.

From the crossing of the Hellespont, from which the barbarians began their march, they had spent one month in their passage into Europe; then, in three more months, they were in Attica, when Calliades was archon in Athens.¹ The city they captured was empty; in it were only a few Athenians, whom they found in the temple. They were temple stewards and poor men, who had barricaded the acropolis with doors and planks to defend themselves from

the attackers. They had not left for Salamis because of their poverty, and, besides, they thought they had discovered the meaning of the oracle the Pythia had given that the wooden wall would be impregnable. This was the very refuge according to the prophecy and not the ships.²

(52) The Persians established themselves on the hill opposite the acropolis, called the Areopagus by the Athenians, and laid siege to it like this: they wrapped tow around the arrows, set them alight and fired them into the barrier. There the besieged Athenians still defended themselves, although they were in the worst straits and had been betrayed by the barrier. They rejected the overtures of the Pisistratids³ to surrender, but defended themselves by various means, particularly by launching boulders against the barbarians advancing on the gates, so that, for some time, Xerxes was at a loss, as he could not capture them.

(53) But, in time, the barbarians found a way out of their quandary. According to the prophecy, the whole of Attica on the mainland would be subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, but behind the gates and access road, there was no guard as no one thought that anybody could climb up that way. Here some climbed up, near the shrine of Aglauros, daughter of Cecrops,⁴ although the spot was very steep. When the Athenians saw them climbing up to the acropolis, some threw themselves off the wall and perished, while others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had reached the top first turned to the gates, opened them and massacred the suppliants. When they had all been overwhelmed, they plundered the shrine and burnt down the whole acropolis.

Notes

1. 480; annually elected archons gave their names to the years in Athens, but this is the only instance of such a date in Herodotus.
2. Earlier the Athenians had received an oracle from Delphi that promised that only a wall of wood would survive the Persian sack (Hdt. VII, 141). Themistocles had argued, largely successfully, that this referred to ships (Hdt. VII, 143).
3. The Athenian tyrant family, who had been in exile at the Persian court since 507 (**6, no.29**). They figure over and over again in Herodotus (see **6, no.51**; **7, no.9(6)**) urging the Persian king to invade Greece, with the aim of regaining their position. They also helped to provide expert information on Persian action in the region (see **6, no.55**). An obvious way to anchor Persian control was through installing local individuals as rulers, whose power was directly dependent on Persian support (cf. for example, **6, no.2**).
4. Mythical king and ancestor of the Athenians.

41. News of the Persian victory relayed to the royal centre

Herodotus VIII, 54.

When Xerxes had taken Athens in its entirety, he sent a horseman to Susa to tell Artabanus¹ of his current good fortune. After sending off the herald, he called together the Athenian exiles² on the following day, ordered them to go up to the acropolis and make sacrifices according to their own customs.³

Notes

1. Xerxes' uncle, Artabanus, was initially opposed to the Greek campaign, according to Hdt. VII, 10–18, and was left in charge of affairs in Persia, see Hdt. VII, 46–53. For the Persian express messenger service, see **15, nos.21–2**.

2. Most prominently among them the Pisistratids, who had been hoping to be reinstalled with Persian help; see **6, nos.29; 51; 7, nos.9(6); 40(52)**.
3. Note the important fact that Xerxes does not offer worship himself. He orders local people to worship in the customary fashion. There is no way (contrary to some suggestions) that the destruction of the temple on the Athenian acropolis can be identified as the sanctuary of the 'demons', referred to in Xerxes 'daiva' inscription (**7, Introduction; no.88**).

42. Xerxes' fleet and more troops arrive in Attica

Herodotus VIII, 66–7.1.

Those under command to join Xerxes' fleet, after crossing back to Histiaea from Trachis where they had viewed the Laconian disaster,¹ waited three days, sailed through the Euripus, and reached Phalerum² in the next three days. It seems to me that the numbers coming into Athens, by land and sea, were no less than those who had come to Sepias and Thermopylae. Because I set against those killed in the storm and at Thermopylae and in the naval battle off Artemisium those who had not previously been on the side of the king: Melians, Dorians, Locrians and Boeotians were there in full strength, except the Thespians and Plataeans; further the Carystians, Andrians and Tenians and the rest of the islanders, except for the five I named earlier.³ For the further the Persian penetrated into Greece, the more people followed him.

(67) When they got to Athens, all except the Parians, who had been left behind on Cythnus watching to see which way the war would go – when the rest got to Phalerum, Xerxes personally went down to the fleet, wanting to make contact and find out the opinion of those who had just sailed in.⁴

Notes

1. See **7, no.35**.
2. The chief harbour of Athens, before the building of Piraeus about twenty years later.
3. See Hdt. VIII, 46.
4. Hdt. VIII, 67.2–69 then describes the lengthy Persian council of war.

43. A later account of the Battle of Salamis

Diodorus Siculus XI, 17.1–3; 18–19.3.¹

Themistocles, perceiving that the admiral, Eurybiades, was unable to overcome the mood of his forces,² and yet recognising that the narrow quarters at Salamis could be a great help in achieving the victory, contrived the following ruse: He induced a certain man to desert to Xerxes and to assure him that the ships at Salamis were going to slip away from that region and assemble at the Isthmus.³ Accordingly, the king, believing the man because what he reported was in itself plausible, made haste to prevent the naval forces of the Greeks from making contact with their armies on land. Therefore he at once despatched the Egyptian fleet with orders to block the strait which separates Salamis from the territory of Megaris.⁴ The main body of his ships he despatched to Salamis, ordering it to establish contact with the enemy and by fighting there decide the issue. The triremes were drawn up by peoples one after another, in order that, speaking the same language⁵ and knowing one another, the several contingents might assist each other easily. When the fleet had been drawn up in this

manner, the right wing was held by the Phoenicians and the left by the Greeks who were with the Persians.

(18) When at last Eurybiades and Themistocles had completed the disposition of their forces, the left wing was held by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who in this way would be opposed to the ships of the Phoenicians; for the Phoenicians possessed a distinct superiority by reason both of their great number and of the experience in seamanship which they inherited from their ancestors. The Aeginetans and Megarians formed the right wing, since they were generally considered to be the best seamen after the Athenians and it was believed that they would show the best spirit, seeing that they alone of the Greeks would have no place of refuge in case any reverse should occur in the course of the battle.⁶ The centre was held by the rest of the Greek forces.

This, then, was the battle-order in which the Greeks sailed out, and they occupied the strait between Salamis and the Heraclium;⁷ and the king gave orders to his admiral to advance against the enemy, while he himself moved down the coast to a spot directly opposite Salamis from which he could watch the course of the battle.⁸ The Persians, as they advanced, could at the outset maintain their line, since they had plenty of space; but when they came to the narrow passage, they were compelled to withdraw some ships from the line, creating in this way much disorder. The admiral, who was leading the way before the line and was the first to begin the fighting, was slain after having acquitted himself valiantly.⁹ When his ship went down, disorder seized the barbarian fleet, for there were many now to give orders, but each man did not issue the same commands. Consequently, they halted the advance, and holding back their ships, they began to withdraw to where there was plenty of room. The Athenians, observing the disorder among the barbarians, now advanced upon the enemy, and some of their ships they struck with their rams, while from others they sheared off the rows of oars; and when the men at the oars could no longer do their work, many Persian triremes, getting sidewise to the enemy, were time and again severely damaged by the beaks of the ships. As a result, they ceased merely backing water, but turned about and fled precipitately.

(19) While the Phoenician and Cypriot ships were being overcome by the Athenians, the vessels of the Cilicians and Pamphylians, and also of the Lycians, which followed them in line, at first were holding out stoutly, but when they saw the strongest ships taking to flight they likewise abandoned the fight. On the other wing the battle was stubbornly fought and for some time the struggle was evenly balanced; but when the Athenians had pursued the Phoenicians and Cypriots to the shore and then turned back, the barbarians, being forced out of line by the returning Athenians, turned about and lost many of their ships. In this manner, then, the Greeks gained the upper hand and won a most renowned naval victory over the barbarians; and in the struggle forty ships were lost by the Greeks, but more than two hundred by the Persians, not including those which were captured together with their crews.

Notes

1. Hdt. VIII, 70–106 contains his long and detailed account of the Greek and Persian naval dispositions and the Persian defeat at Salamis, filled with a series of dramatic episodes and heroic exploits. The Diodorus section is, in some respects, clearer because more succinct, although it lacks Herodotus' dramatic colour. Diodorus used the fourth-century historian Ephorus of Cyme for his account of archaic and classical Greek history, whose version of the Salamis battle largely converges with that of Herodotus. See now Wallinga 2005 for a sober analysis of the Salamis battle, dispelling many confusions.

2. In the previous section (XI, 16), Diodorus had said that the crews of the Greek fleet at Salamis were terrified to the point of disobeying their commanders.
3. Where, according to D.S. XI, 16.3, the wall had been completed (cf. **7, no.39**(40) & n.1).
4. More usually called Megara, see **fig.7.2**.
5. For multilingualism and language use in the empire, see **17, Section B**.
6. I.e. their home cities would be lost, should the Persians prevail (see **fig.7.2**).
7. This was the narrowest passage separating the island from Attica.
8. Cf. Xerxes' throne at Thermopylae, **7, no.29**(212).
9. This must be Ariabignes. Herodotus names him as one of the chief naval commanders (VII, 97), as well as noting his death at Salamis (VIII, 89.1). He was the son of Darius and Gobryas' daughter, and so Xerxes' half-brother.

(e) Xerxes returns to Sardis

44. Xerxes' directions

Herodotus VIII, 107.1.

After entrusting his children to Artemisia,¹ to take them to Ephesus, Xerxes summoned Mardonius² and bade him take whatever men he pleased out of his army and to try to match deeds to the things he had professed. That was as far as things went during that day; but that night, at the king's command, his admirals put out to sea from Phalerum, making for the Hellespont as quickly as each could, to guard the rafts for the king to cross over.³

Notes

1. At VIII, 103, Herodotus says that several of Xerxes' bastard children had come with the army. The Carian dynast, Artemisia, had commanded a contingent of ships at Salamis; according to Herodotus (VIII, 68; 101–2), Xerxes valued her advice highly; for a notorious exploit during the battle attributed to her, see Hdt. VIII, 87–8.
2. Xerxes' brother-in-law; for Mardonius' family and his activity in the north-western area after the end of the Ionian Revolt, see **6, nos.21; 49**(43) & n.4; for his role in persuading Xerxes' to mount the campaign, see **7, no.9**(5); for his army command under Xerxes, **7, no.24**(121); for his subsequent action and death in Greece, see **7, nos.45; 51; 53; 55; 58; 59**.
3. The centrality of concern for the king's safety emerges several times in Herodotus' account; see Hdt. VIII, 99; 102.

45. Mardonius prepares for another offensive in spring

Herodotus VIII, 113.

Those who were with Xerxes waited a few days after the sea-battle and then marched into Boeotia by the same road they had come. For Mardonius resolved to escort the king on his way, and it was now an unseasonable time of year for making war, and he thought it better to winter in Thessaly and with the spring have a try at the Peloponnese. Arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius selected his men: first the Persians, all those called Immortals,¹ except for their commander Hydarnes,² who refused to be separated from the king. After the Immortals he picked, from among the rest of the Persians, the cuirassiers and the thousand horsemen;³ also Medes, Sacae, Bactrians and Indians, both infantry and the rest of the cavalry. These he picked as entire regiments; of the other allies, he chose only a few here and there, picking some for their good appearance, others for a good service he knew of. The largest number he chose was the Persians, men wearing torques and bracelets,⁴ and then the Medes; they

were not inferior in number to the Persians, but inferior in strength. So that, in total, he had three hundred thousand, including the cavalry.⁵

Notes

1. See **11, no.24**.
2. See **7, nos.29** & n.5; **30**.
3. Attached to the person of the king, see **7, no.20**.
4. For the significance of personal ornament, see **13, nos.22; figs.13.3 & 13.5**.
5. For discussion of the numbers, see **7, Introduction**.

46. The march to the Hellespont

Herodotus VIII, 115.

Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly and himself marched off quickly towards the Hellespont and in forty-five days he came to his crossing place. He brought away with him what one might describe as nothing of his army, and wherever they came in their march and among whatever peoples, they plundered their crops and ate them. And where they found no crops, they ate the grass that grew from the earth and stripped the bark and leaves from the trees, not choosing between wild and cultivated, but eating them all and leaving nothing behind. They did all this because of hunger. Also, a plague fell upon the army and dysentery destroyed them on their march. Those who were ill, Xerxes left behind to be cared for and fed in the cities he came to during his march, some in Thessaly, and some in Siris of Paeonia, and some in Macedon.¹ There he had left his chariot, sacred to Zeus,² en route to Greece.

Notes

1. Herodotus presents Xerxes' return as a hurried retreat by desperate, defeated and decimated troops. His own account of Mardonius' selection of forces (**7, no.45**), the fact that cities in Thessaly and Paeonia, as well as Macedon, were ready to care for Persian soldiers, that the Thracians continued to honour Xerxes' route (**7, no.22**), while the Acanthians adopted the Persian architect of the Athos canal as a local hero (**7, no.23**), that Abdera remained loyal (**7, no.48**), while Doriscus, Eion, Sestos and Cardia continued to be controlled by Persian commanders (see **7, nos.66; 70**), all argues against the reality of this picture. Moreover, at VIII, 118, Herodotus mentions an alternative story of, and route for, Xerxes' return to Sardis (see **7, no.47**), suggesting that widely varying stories about Xerxes' return circulated in fifth-century Greece.
2. Cf. **7, nos.20; 49(i)**; see further, **11, nos.22; 24**.

47. Xerxes sails to Ionia

Herodotus VIII, 118.1.

There is another story told,¹ that when Xerxes in his retreat from Athens came to Eion on the Strymon, he marched no further by land but entrusted the rest of his army to Hydarnes,² to bring it to the Hellespont, and himself embarked on a Phoenician ship and made for Asia.³

Notes

1. See **7, no.46** for an alternative version of Xerxes' return route.
2. Hydarnes, commander of the Immortals, had refused to be parted from the king, when Mardonius selected the troops to stay in Greece in order to complete the campaign (**7, no.45** & n.2, for other references to Hydarnes).
3. This version of Xerxes' return provides the setting for a story about Xerxes' irrational and despotic nature: when a storm erupts, Xerxes, on the advice of the captain, orders the Persians to demonstrate their loyalty by jumping into the sea in order to lighten the boat. On coming safely ashore, he first honours the captain for saving his life, then executes him for causing the death of the drowned Persians. Herodotus himself rejects the tale's veracity, as he thinks Xerxes would have insisted that the Phoenicians be thrown off the ship, not the Persians (VIII, 119). Both smack of the exaggerations we associate with tabloid gossip columns.

48. Abdera rewarded for its loyalty

Herodotus VIII, 120.¹

It appears that Xerxes in the course of his return march came to Abdera,² and made a friendship treaty with them,³ giving them a gold *akinakes*⁴ and a gold decorated tiara.⁵

Notes

1. For a full analysis of this episode, see Lenfant 2002.
2. On the Thracian coast, east of the Nestus river.
3. For discussion of such a relationship (Gr. *xenia* is the term used in this instance) being set up with entire communities, see Herman 1987: 130–42.
4. At VII, 54, Herodotus explains that this term describes a certain type of Persian dagger. It was one of the insignia of royally bestowed honour, and worn by Persian nobles and the king himself; see further, **3, no.29; 11, no.28; figs.11.26–11.28**.
5. The Persian head-dress (also called *kidaris* and *kurbasia*) worn by king and courtiers, although the royal tiara was distinguished from others, by being 'upright', or 'worn upright'. See further, **11, nos.22**, n.11; **28; figs.11.25; 11.29**.

49. Persians encounter setbacks in Mygdonia and Thrace

(i) The sacred chariot lost

Herodotus VIII, 115.4.

There (sc. in Paeonia) he (sc. Xerxes) had left his chariot, which was sacred to Zeus,¹ on his way to Greece, but he did not get it back on his homeward journey. Because the Paeonians had given it to the Thracians and, when Xerxes demanded it back, they declared that the mares while grazing had been seized by the Thracians of the upper country, who live around the source of the Strymon.

(ii) Revolts in Chalcidice

Herodotus VIII, 126–7.

He (sc. Artabazus),² with some sixty thousand of Mardonius' picked troops,³ escorted the king as far as the crossing point. Once the king was in Asia, he turned back. When he was near Pallene and found that Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedon, and was in

no hurry for him to join him, he thought he must reduce the Potidaeans,⁴ who were in revolt. For, as soon as the king had passed by and the Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, the Potidaeans had openly revolted against the barbarians, as had the other people of Pallene.

(127) So Artabazus besieged Potidaea. He suspected the Olynthians⁵ of rebelling against the king, so he besieged it too. The Bottiaeans⁶ had taken it when they were driven from the Thermaic Gulf by the Macedonians. When Artabazus took it by siege, he massacred them by the lake he had brought them to; the city he gave to Critobulus of Torone⁷ to govern, and to the Chalcidian people.⁸

Notes

1. See **7, nos.20; 46**; further, **11, nos.22; 24**.
2. Artabazus, son of Darius' uncle, Pharnaces (see further **16, nos.11; 13; 15**), commanded the Parthian and Chorasmian contingents in Xerxes' army (**11, no.25**(66)). He opposed direct fighting at the Battle of Plataea (**7, no.58**); see also **7, nos.60; 81**.
3. See **7, no.45**.
4. Potidaea was located on the coast of the southernmost region of Chalcidice called Pallene.
5. Olynthus lay to the north of Potidaea.
6. Bottiaea was a region of Lower Macedon.
7. One of the largest and wealthiest cities lying near the end of the middle prong of Chalcidice.
8. Hdt. VIII, 128–9 describes what may have been a setback for the Persians at Potidaea, although it does not seem to have been a total disaster for Artabazus.

(f) The Greek campaign continued on two fronts

50. Greek attempts to compel islanders to join them

Herodotus VIII, 111–12.

As the Greeks had decided against pursuing the barbarians' ships further,¹ as well as breaking the bridges over the Hellespont,² they invested Andros with the idea of taking it by storm. For the Andrians had been the first of the islanders who refused to hand over money to Themistocles when he demanded it. To Themistocles' proposition that 'the Athenians had come with two great gods, Persuasion and Necessity, so they should hand over their money', they responded that 'while Athens might well be a great and glorious city, blest as she was with such marvellous gods, the Andrians were wretchedly poor in land and had two useless gods, who never left the island but simply loved staying there: Penury and Helplessness. These were the gods of the Andrians, and so they would not pay the money. Never could the power of Athens be stronger than their powerlessness.' That was the Andrian response, they gave no money and so they were besieged.

(112) Themistocles, who was insatiably greedy, sent threatening messages to the other islands demanding money using the same agents he had used with the king.³ He said that if they did not pay up, he would bring the Greek army down on them and destroy them by siege. By these means he collected a lot of money from the Carystians and Parians, when they learnt that Andros was under siege because it had medised, and that Themistocles was the most highly respected of the generals. So they were afraid and sent the money. Whether there were other islands who paid, I cannot say. But I think there were others and not only them. And for the Carystians there was no let up from their misfortune. But once the Parians had propitiated Themistocles with money they escaped a military attack.

Notes

1. Following the Battle of Salamis and withdrawal of the Persian fleet.
2. See Hdt. VIII, 109–10 for the debate about this, and the story of Themistocles' secret message to Xerxes, claiming that he had been responsible for stopping the Greeks from destroying the bridge.
3. Cf. n.2 above.

51. Persian overtures to Athens

Herodotus VIII, 136; 140.

Mardonius sent Alexander (sc. of Macedon)¹ because he knew that he was *proxenos* and *euergetes* (sc. of Athens).² So he thought he would be in a strong position to persuade them. He had heard that they were a numerous people and brave, and knew that they were mainly responsible for the defeat the Persians had suffered at sea. With them as allies, he thought he would easily make himself master at sea (he certainly would have, if that had happened) and by land he felt himself to be by far the stronger anyway; so, he reasoned, he would certainly overcome the Greeks.

(140) Now when Alexander had been sent by Mardonius and came to Athens, he said this: 'Men of Athens, Mardonius speaks as follows: "A message has come to me from the king, which runs thus: 'I forgive the Athenians all the crimes they have committed against me. Now, Mardonius, you must do this. Give them back their land, let them take whatever other land they choose and be autonomous.'³ If they are willing to come to terms with me, re-erect for them all the shrines I burned.' As this is the message I have received, I must do this, provided you don't stand in my way. So I tell you this: Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? You cannot defeat him, nor can you resist him for ever. You have witnessed Xerxes' massive expedition and what it did, and you know of the force I have with me now, so even if you were to beat us and be victorious – and there is no chance of that for you, if you are in your right minds – there will be another, even greater, to take its place. Do not try to rival the king to the detriment of your country and constant fear for yourselves, but make terms. You can come to terms most honourably, as the king is so inclined. Be free, make your agreement with us, without treachery or deceit." This, Athenians, is what Mardonius has ordered me to tell you. I shall not say anything about the personal goodwill⁴ I bear you (it is not, after all, the first time you have heard of it), but beg you to be persuaded by Mardonius. I see no possibility that you would be able to keep up the fight against Xerxes for ever – if I did, I would not have come to you with such talk. The power of the king is beyond that of mankind and he has a long arm. If you do not agree immediately, when they are prepared to offer such good terms, I am afraid for you, as more than any of your allies you live right in the path of attack, and you alone will be destroyed, with your land picked as the no-man's land between contending armies. Be persuaded; it is certainly worth a lot that the great king is prepared to forgive just you out of all Greeks and be your friend.'⁵

Notes

1. For the close relationship established by the Persians with the Macedonian realm, see **6, no.24**.
2. The terms could be roughly translated 'friend' and 'benefactor', neither of which quite catches the meaning of these Greek institutions; see **7, no.48**, n.3 for reference to discussion.
3. I.e. if the Athenians accept the king's conditions, which entail acknowledging his sovereignty over them, they will be allowed to live according to their own laws. Implicit in the king's offer is his

withdrawal of support for the claims of the Athenian tyrant family to be the legitimate rulers of Athens; they had, until now, played a prominent role in Persian–Athenian interaction. See **6, nos.29; 51; 55; 7, nos.9(6); 40(32); 41** & n.2.

4. Gr. *eunoia* = 'benevolence, goodwill', referring to Alexander's status vis-à-vis Athens as a community and the reciprocal obligations this entails (see above, n.2).
5. Alexander's speech is followed by a Spartan delegation sent to urge Athens to reject the offer and putting the blame for the war squarely on their shoulders. Alexander's threat of Athens being trapped between two opponents is fully borne out by the fact that the Peloponnesians continued to build the defensive wall across the Isthmus (Hdt. IX, 7–8).

52. Stalemate in the Aegean

Herodotus VIII, 130; 131.1; 132.

Early, at the first light of spring,¹ the Persian navy gathered at Samos; some of the fleet had wintered there. The majority of the marines were Persians and Medes. The commanders who came to them were Mardontes, son of Bagaeus,² and Artayntes, son of Artachaees.³ They were also joined by Artayntes' nephew, Ithamitres,⁴ through the former's agency. After their severe blow,⁵ they moved no further west, nor was anyone forcing them to do so, but stayed on Samos, making sure Ionia did not revolt, with three hundred ships including Ionian ones. They were not, in fact, expecting the Greeks to come to Ionia as they would be content with guarding their own country; they based their guess on the fact that the Greeks had not come after them when they fled from Salamis, just been delighted by their departure. In terms of the sea, the Persians were defeated in spirit, but on land they thought Mardonius would be vastly superior. So they stayed in Samos, planning what harm they might inflict on their foes, while listening closely for which way Mardonius' affairs would go.

(131) But the coming of spring and Mardonius' presence in Thessaly roused the Greeks. The army had not yet gathered, but the navy, numbering one hundred and ten ships, reached Aegina. The general and admiral was Leotychidas; Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, commanded the Athenians.

(132) When all the ships had got to Aegina, Ionian messengers arrived in the Greek camp. They had been in Sparta just before and urged the Lacedaemonians to liberate Ionia. They were an opposition party, seven originally, planning to kill Strattis, tyrant of Chios.⁶ When their plot was discovered through the revelation of one of the members, the remaining six slipped away from Chios, got to Sparta and then on to Aegina to ask the Greeks to sail to Ionia; but they barely made it as far as Delos. Beyond that it was all terror for the Greeks: they did not know the region, which seemed to be swarming with enemy forces everywhere; as for Samos, it seemed to their minds to be as far away as the Pillars of Heracles!⁷ And so it happened that the barbarians were too frightened to risk sailing further west than Samos, while simultaneously the Greeks, despite the urging of the Chians, would not venture further east than Delos. Thus fear maintained the space between them.⁸

Notes

1. Spring 479.
2. Mardontes is presented in command of the 'Red Sea' islanders (i.e. Indian Ocean, Red Sea, Gulf) at Xerxes' great army review (**11, no.25(80)**). His father, Bagaeus, had been entrusted by Darius with the delicate mission of removing Oroites, governor of Sardis, suspected of disloyalty; see **5, no.15**.
3. For Artachaees' part in the building of the Mount Athos canal, his death and funeral at Acanthus, and the heroic honours he received locally, see **7, nos.11 & 23(117)**.

4. It is possible that he is to be identified with the father of another Artayntes, who appears as commander of the Pactyans (**11, no.25**(67)).
5. I.e. defeat at the Battle of Salamis (**7, no.43**).
6. Strattis of Chios had participated in Darius' Scythian expedition and is listed by Herodotus as one of the local princes whose interests were closely interwoven with that of the Persians; see **6, no.12**(138) & n.5.
7. I.e. Gibraltar.
8. Cf. the similar, but less detailed, account of the same episode in D.S. XI, 27.1.

53. The Athenians divided among themselves

Herodotus IX, 4–5.2.

When Mardonius was in Athens,¹ he sent to Salamis Murychides, a Hellespontine, with the same offer that Alexander of Macedon had conveyed to the Athenians.² Although he knew that the Athenians entertained no friendly feelings for him, he sent a second time in the hope of breaking their obstinacy, given that he had captured Attica in its entirety and was in complete control.

(5) That is why he sent Murychides to Salamis. He came before the Council and delivered Mardonius' message. Lycidas, one of the councillors, expressed the opinion that it seemed best, once they had received the proposition brought by Murychides, to place it before the people. That was his openly expressed opinion, either because he was in receipt of money from Mardonius³ or because he truly thought it best. But the Athenians were furious, both those in the Council and those outside, once they heard of it; they surrounded Lycidas and stoned him to death, although they sent the Hellespontine Murychides away unharmed.⁴

Notes

1. Mardonius moved down to Athens with his picked troops and Greek allies in the summer of 479 to consolidate Persia's hold of Attica after the setback at Salamis (note his signalling of the recapture to Xerxes in Sardis, **15, no.24**). However, most of the Athenian men were on Salamis with the fleet at the time.
2. See **7, no.51**.
3. At IX, 2 Herodotus had reported the Theban advice to Mardonius to use bribery to create divisions among the Greeks. The device was suggested again by Artabazus before Plataea (**7, no.58**).
4. An unpleasant rider to the story is that Lycidas' wife and children were subsequently stoned to death by two Athenian women.

54. Argos in league with the Persians

Herodotus IX, 12.

The Spartans hurried on to the Isthmus.¹ But as soon as the Argives learned that Pausanias had led out the army from Sparta, they picked the best of the couriers² and sent him as messenger to Attica. Previously, of their own volition, they had promised Mardonius to prevent the Spartans from leaving.³ So this man came to Athens and said: 'Mardonius, the Argives have sent me to tell you that the youth has set out on campaign from Lacedaemon, and that the Argives are not strong enough to stop them from setting out. In these circumstances, plan carefully.'

Notes

1. This follows a series of hostile negotiations and threats between Athens and Sparta, ending with the Spartan regent, Pausanias, leading the Spartans north against Mardonius.
2. Gr. *hemerodromos*, lit. 'day-runner', i.e. people capable of covering a substantial distance in the space of one day, used as high-speed couriers. Almost the same term is used of Philippides, who was sent from Athens to request aid from Sparta at the time of Marathon (Hdt. VI, 105.1).
3. For Argos' reputedly suspect behaviour during the Persian wars, see **6, no.37**, n.3; for its continued friendship with Persia, see **7, no.83**.

55. Mardonius withdraws to more advantageous terrain

Herodotus IX, 13.2–3.

When Mardonius failed to persuade the Athenians,¹ and learnt everything, he withdrew before those with Pausanias reached the Isthmus. He also burned Athens, and whatever was left standing of walls, houses and shrines, he pulled down and destroyed. He withdrew because Attica is not cavalry country,² and should he be defeated, there was no retreat save through a narrow defile, where they could be blocked by a few men. His plan was to remove himself to Thebes and fight near a friendly city and in country suited to cavalry.

Notes

1. I.e. to agree to the terms from the Persian king, which had been offered twice (see **7, nos.51; 53**).
2. Note the reasons for the choice of ground in the Battle of Marathon (**6, no.55**).

56. Building the Persian camp at Plataea

Herodotus IX, 15.2–3.

There (sc. Theban territory), although the Thebans had joined the Persians, he (sc. Mardonius) cleared the land of trees. This was not an act of hostility but done out of dire necessity, as he needed to erect a fortified camp for the army, and, should the battle turn out other than he wished, he would have a refuge. His army stretched from Erythrae past Hysiae into the region of Plataea, along the Asopus river. Not that the fort was that size, each of its sides being at most ten stadia.¹

Note

1. Getting on for 2 km.

57. The Persian cavalry charge

Herodotus IX, 20; 22–5.1

When the Greeks did not come down into the plain,¹ Mardonius sent all his cavalry against them. Their commander was Masistius,² a man of good repute among the Persians,³ whom the Greeks call Makistios.⁴ He had a Nesaeon horse,⁵ with a gold bridle and further beautifully ornamented.⁶ The cavalry attacked the Greeks by squadrons, inflicting much damage in the process and taunting them as women.⁷

(22) So they fought for a long time, and this is how it ended: as the cavalry attacked by squadrons, Masistius' horse, which was leading the others, was hit by an arrow in the rib. In its agony, it reared up and threw Masistius. The Athenians were upon him as soon as he fell. They took the horse and killed him, despite his defence, although they could not do so at first, because of the way he was attired. His gold breastplate was covered in gold scales, and over the breastplate he wore a scarlet tunic.⁸ Striking at his breastplate achieved nothing, until someone noticed what was happening and struck him in the eye. So he fell and died. As it happened the rest of the cavalry did not notice this. They saw neither his fall from the horse nor his death; because of their withdrawal followed by wheeling round, they did not notice what was happening.⁹ But when they stopped, they missed him straightaway, because no one was issuing commands. Realising what had happened, they shouted to each other and all drove their horses to recover the corpse.

(23) When the Athenians saw they were no longer charging by squadrons but in a mass, they called on the rest of the army. While all the infantry were coming to help, a bitter struggle developed over the corpse. While the three hundred were on their own, they were getting very much the worst of it and abandoning the body. But when the mass of the army came to their aid, the cavalry could no longer stand its ground, nor did they manage to recover the body; instead they lost more of the cavalry. They withdrew for about two stadia¹⁰ and debated what to do. As they were without a commander, they decided to ride towards Mardonius.

(24) When the cavalry reached the camp, the whole army and Mardonius raised a bitter lament for Masistius; they shaved their own heads and the horses' manes as well as those of the pack-animals, and set up a ceaseless wailing. It filled the whole of Boeotia, for the fallen man had been, next to Mardonius, the most esteemed with both Persians and the king.

(25) In this their own fashion, then, the barbarians honoured the dead Masistius. But the Greeks were greatly heartened by standing their ground in the face of the charge and, after withstanding, having repelled it. First then they placed the corpse on a wagon and paraded it along the ranks. And it was, indeed, worth seeing because of Masistius' stature and beauty; and that is why they did it, as the men kept leaving their ranks to view Masistius.

Notes

1. The Greeks hung back from the Persian camp, in the Asopus valley, in the foothills of Mount Cithaeron (Hdt. IX, 19).
2. Hdt. VII, 79 has him commanding the Alarodian and Sasporean regiment at the great army review, and gives his father's name as Siromitres (**11, no.25** (79)).
3. For discussion of ranking at the Persian court, see **13, Section B(a)**.
4. This could be a wordplay on his name, the hellenised form relating to his immense height (cf. the end of this passage); see How and Wells 1912, ad loc.
5. A highly prized breed, named after a region in Media; see further **11, no.24** & n.3.
6. For such horse trappings, see **11, no.67; 13, no.20(i)**. Note also the elaborate Neo-Assyrian bridle ornaments, blinkers and other horse trappings depicted on reliefs, as well as surviving examples, including items made of bronze, iron and carved ivory overlaid with gold, see Curtis and Reade 1995, ch.6.
7. Hdt. IX, 21 describes how three hundred picked Athenian soldiers moved to aid the hard-pressed Megarians, who bore the brunt of the charge.
8. For the magnificent equipment worn by Persian courtiers, see **11, nos.22; 24; fig.11.20**. For soldiers' equipment (including a breastplate), see **14, no.38**. Scale armour (generally of bronze) is attested, textually and archaeologically, in the Near East from the Late Bronze Age onwards (see RLA X, s.v. Panzer). For the find of bronze armour scales at Pasargadae, see Muscarella 1988,

no.321. The bronze and iron armour scales (almost certainly dating to the Achaemenid period) found at Memphis have not as yet been published (they are held in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and the Petrie Museum, UCL, London).

9. For discussion of this manoeuvre, see How and Wells 1912, ad loc.
10. About 400 m.

58. *The Persian commanders disagree on strategy*

Herodotus IX, 41.

For ten days nothing more happened;¹ but on the eleventh day of their being ranged against each other at Plataea, with the Greeks grown in number and Mardonius irritated at the delay, there came for talks Mardonius, son of Gobryas, and Artabazus, son of Pharnaces,² one among a handful of Persians of good repute with Xerxes.³ These were the views put forward in their consultation. That of Artabazus was that they should pack up the entire army and move as quickly as possible inside the walls of Thebes, where they had already a good store of food and fodder for the pack-animals. There they would sit at leisure and pursue their purpose thus: They had a lot of gold, both coined and uncoined,⁴ a lot of silver and drinking vessels.⁵ None of this should be spared, but sent around among the Greeks, particularly to those Greeks holding high positions in their cities, who would rapidly surrender their liberty, while they would not run the risk of battle. This was also the view of the Thebans,⁶ for Artabazus knew more than some. But Mardonius was more violent and obstinate, not giving way to anyone. He was certain that his army was much better than the Greek one, so they should join battle rapidly and not watch ever more of them gathering; and they should not try to force favourable results from Hegesistratus' sacrifices,⁷ but let them, in true Persian fashion, give battle.⁸

Notes

1. Hdt. IX, 25.2–40 is taken up with disputes in the Greek ranks, details of the battle-lines and the pre-battle sacrifices.
2. See **7, no.49(ii)** & n.2.
3. For the relative ranking of Persians, see **13, nos.6–7 & Section B(a)**.
4. For coined money in the Persian empire, see **8, no.28**, n.5.
5. For the style of Persian table settings and banqueting, see **12, Section D**.
6. See the Theban advice to Mardonius at Hdt. IX, 2.
7. Hdt. IX, 37.1 describes Hegesistratus as a seer from Elis and member of the Telliadae family (cf. the seer Tellias, Hdt. VIII, 27.3, probably also from this family), engaged by the Persians to perform the pre-battle sacrifices, which had been unfavourable.
8. For the Persian military ethos, see **13, nos.3; 8–9**.

59. *Mardonius' death*

Herodotus IX, 62–3.

While Pausanias was still uttering his prayer,¹ the Tegeans took the lead in attacking the barbarians, and, right after his prayer, the sacrifices proved favourable for the Lacedaemonians. As this had at last turned out right, they too attacked the Persians, and the Persians confronted them, throwing away their bows. First there was a fight around the barricade of wicker shields,² and when this was thrown to the ground, the fight grew really fierce around

the temple of Demeter,³ and it lasted a long time, until it came to hand-to-hand fighting. The barbarians seized their spears and broke them off. In courage and fighting quality, the Persians equalled the Greeks, but they were ‘without armour’⁴ and unskilled, nor did they equal their enemies in cunning. They made their charges singly or in tens, in close-packed groups of larger and smaller numbers, hurling themselves on the Spartans; and so they were destroyed.

(63) At the spot where Mardonius himself was, fighting mounted on a white horse and surrounded by the picked corps of the thousand best Persians,⁵ there they pressed their opponents very hard. For as long as Mardonius survived they kept on resisting and defending themselves and killed many Lacedaemonians. But when Mardonius fell, and the ranks that were around him, the strongest section of the army, were also annihilated, the others gave way to the Spartan pressure and were put to flight. Most responsible for their ruin was their clothing without armour, so that the fighting was that of light-armed soldiers against hoplites.⁶

Notes

1. Hdt. IX, 42–69 is devoted to the details of the series of engagements between, and various tactics used by, both sides; for analysis of the military details of the battle, see Hignett 1963, cf. Briant 1996a: 552–4 [2002b: 535–8]. There is an emphasis, throughout, on the vacillations of the Spartans, Mardonius’ hubris and the outstanding courage of the Athenians. At this point in the battle, Pausanias and the Spartans stayed firm under the hail of arrows unleashed by the Persians, until a battle at close quarters on foot became inevitable, which robbed the Persians of their cavalry advantage.
2. The Persians had entrenched themselves behind a barrier of wicker shields, from behind which they had been bombarding the Greeks with arrows to devastating effect (Hdt. IX, 61). For an illustration of large wicker shields being used to form a barrier from behind which arrows can be shot, see **fig.7.3**.
3. The temple of Eleusinian Demeter was located near the Molois river, see Hdt. IX, 57.2 and cf. How and Wells 1912, ad loc.
4. A literal meaning sounds rather implausible (cf., for example, Masistius’ armour, **7, no.57**(22)). The Greek word is *anhoploi*, which need not necessarily mean more than ‘without shields’; the absence of shields could be due to their having been used to construct part of the barricade, see above, n.2.
5. See **7, no.45; 11, no.24**.
6. The fully armed infantry soldiers, who formed the backbone of Greek armies; see van Wees (2002; 2004: 61–5) for discussion of the differences among hoplite ranks and the comparative (very important) fighting power of light-armed soldiers.

60. Artabazus withdraws his forces

Herodotus IX, 66; 89–90.1.

Artabazus, son of Pharnaces,¹ had been displeased with the king’s leaving Mardonius behind and now he had been able to achieve nothing in trying to dissuade him from joining battle.² Because of his discontent with the way Mardonius had done things, he acted like this. Artabazus had under his command a not insubstantial force numbering up to four thousand men directly under him. Being well aware how the battle was likely to turn out, when the armies began to fight, he led his soldiers in order, instructing that they follow him exactly where he led and according to how they might note his urgency. With these orders he led the army as if to battle, but along the road he saw the Persians fleeing. Then he no



Figure 7.3 Neo-Assyrian relief from the South-West Palace at Nineveh, reign of Sennacherib (704–681), now in the British Museum. Assyrian soldiers are operating in pairs; one holds the large wicker shield upright to protect his comrade, who shoots from behind the cover. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

longer led them in the same formation, but fled at a rapid run, neither to the wooden fort nor to the stronghold in Thebes, but to Phocis, because he wanted to reach the Hellespont as swiftly as possible. (. . .)

(89) Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, was by now far away.³ When he arrived, the Thessalians invited him to a banquet and asked him about the rest of the army, because they knew nothing of what had happened at Plataea. Artabazus knew that, were he to tell the whole truth about the fighting, he risked being killed himself along with his army, for once they learned what had happened they would all fall upon him. Taking this into account, he told the Thessalians – just as earlier he had not revealed anything to the Phocians: ‘As you see, men of Thessaly, I am hurrying to push forward as quickly as possible into Thrace; and I am anxious to do this, as I have been sent together with these men on a particular matter by the army. Mardonius himself and his army are following hot on my heels and expected to reach

you. Entertain him and show him your goodwill; if you do, you will not repent it later.' With these words, he moved the troops off at speed through Thessaly and Macedon directly to Thrace; he was in a genuine hurry and cut inland by the shortest route. He reached Byzantium, having left much of his army behind, killed by the Thracians along the way or struck down by hunger and fatigue. From Byzantium he crossed on ships.

(90) That is how he got back to Asia.

Notes

1. See **7, no.49(ii)** & n.2.
2. See **7, no.58** for Artabazus' alternative strategy.
3. Hdt. IX, 67–88 covers the Greek follow-up to the Persian defeat, including the capture of the Persian camp and Xerxes' tent, see **12, no.1**.

61. A sea-battle at Mycale

Herodotus IX, 90; 96–7; 99; 102.

On the same day that the Persians met their disaster at Plataea, there fell upon them a coincidental defeat at Mycale in Ionia.¹ For when the Greeks, who had come in their ships with Leotychides, the Lacedaemonian, had established themselves at Delos,² there came to them messengers from Samos – Lampon, son of Thrasycles, and Athenagoras, son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras – who had been sent by the Samians, unknown to the Persians and unknown, too, to Theomestor, son of Androdamas, the tyrant whom the Persians had placed in that position on Samos.³

(96) When the sacrifices turned out favourable for the Greeks, they set sail from Delos for Samos. When they came to the part of Samos near Calamisa they anchored by the temple of Hera there and prepared for a naval battle. When the Persians learned of their approach, they themselves set sail in the direction of the mainland with their ships, except the Phoenician ones which they sent home. Because, in council, they decided not to fight, feeling they would not be a match for the Greeks. They sailed off to the mainland so that they would be under the protection of their land army at Mycale, which Xerxes had ordered be left behind to guard Ionia. Their number was sixty thousand, and they were under the command of Tigranes,⁴ foremost in terms of handsomeness and stature among the Persians. The plan of the naval commanders was to take refuge with the army, beach the ships and build a defensive palisade as a shelter for the ships and themselves.⁵

(97) That was their plan when they put to sea. Passing the temple of the Holy Mistresses⁶ of Mycale, they came to Gaeson and Scolopoïs,⁷ where there is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter, built by Philistus, son of Pasicles, when he went with Nileus, son of Codrus, to the founding of Miletus.⁸ Here they beached their ships and built a stockade of stone and wood, cutting down cultivated trees and fixing stakes round the stockade. So they prepared for a siege or victory, ready for both outcomes.

(99) The Greeks landed their ships and disembarked on the beach.⁹ They drew themselves up, and when the Persians saw the Greeks preparing for battle and urging on the Ionians,¹⁰ they disarmed the Samians, suspecting them of favouring the Greek side. Because the Samians had released some Athenian prisoners, who were in the barbarian ships; they had been stranded in Attica and taken by Xerxes' forces. They sent them all off to Athens with provisions. This made the Persians particularly suspicious of the Samians: they had

released five hundred heads of Xerxes' foes.¹¹ They also ordered the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, as they best knew the terrain; but really they did it to remove them from the army. The Persians took these measures against those Ionians they thought would do them harm if possible; themselves, they placed their shields close together to form a barricade.

(102) For the Athenians and their neighbours in the battle order, which was half the line, the way ahead lay along the shore and level ground. But for the Lacedaemonians and those next to them it lay through a ravine and hills. While the Lacedaemonians were making their way round, the men on the other wing were already fighting. So long as the Persians kept their shield-barrier straight upright, they defended themselves and did not have the worst of the battle; but when the Athenians and their neighbours in the line, who wanted the victory to be theirs and not the Lacedaemonians', shouted encouragements at each other and went to work with a will, the tide of battle turned immediately. They pushed the wicker shields aside and broke in all together on the Persians with a massed charge. These withstood the charge and fought back for a long time, but eventually they fled inside the wall. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians and Troezenians, who were next to each other in the ranks, made a combined assault on the wall. When the Greeks won that, the barbarians no longer had any spirit left and took to flight – all, except the Persians themselves, who fought on in small groups against the continuous waves of Greeks pouring into the fort. Two of the Persian commanders fled and two were killed. Artañntes and Ithamitres, commanders of the fleet, fled, while Mardontes and Tigranes,¹² the commander of the army, fell fighting.

Notes

1. It is generally thought unlikely that this can be right, although it makes a nice dramatic point in Herodotus' story. However, the battle at Mycale must have been fought close in time to Plataea as the Greek fleet was, subsequently, free to act in the Aegean arena.
2. See **7, no.52** for the tentative Greek manoeuvres in the Aegean after Salamis and Persian naval movements.
3. The Samian Theomestor had distinguished himself at Salamis, and been rewarded with rule of Samos by the Persians for his services (**13, no.18(ii)**). The messengers were clearly representatives of the Samian opposition group, using this opportunity to try to topple him and gain power for themselves.
4. Identifying this Tigranes exactly is somewhat problematical, see **7, no.24**, n.3.
5. According to D.S. XI, 34, the army was reinforced by troops from Sardis and cities in the vicinity, bringing the numbers up to 100,000 men.
6. I.e. Demeter and Kore.
7. For proposed locations, see How and Wells (1912, ad loc.), who argue that Gaeson was a brook, contra Powell (1938, s.v. 'Gaeson'), who lists it as a city.
8. For Herodotus' story of the founding of Miletus, and the role played in it by the sons of the legendary Athenian king, see Hdt. I, 147, cf. OCD, s.v. 'Codrus'.
9. Hdt. IX, 98 recounts the Greek decision to follow the Persian fleet to Ionia, rather than heading for the Hellespont.
10. Like Themistocles at Artemisium (Hdt. VIII, 22), Leotychides tried to weaken the Persian forces by encouraging the Ionians to desert, while simultaneously sowing distrust of them among the Persian high command.
11. For the suggestion that this is a deliberate echo of a Homeric line, see Grene 1987: 655, n.40.
12. See **7, no.52**(130) & nn.3 & 5 for Artañntes, Ithamitres and Mardontes; **7, no.24**, n.3 for Tigranes.

D. Persian strategies and responses to the setback on the north-western front

(a) Maintaining royal prestige

62. The Persian response to news of the Greek battles

Herodotus VIII, 99–100.1.

The first message that arrived in Susa, saying that Xerxes was in possession of Athens, so delighted those Persians who had remained behind¹ that they strewed all the streets with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and were themselves in festival mood and full of enjoyment. But the second message which followed so upset them that they tore all their clothes uttering ceaseless cries and laments and holding Mardonius responsible. But the Persians were cast down not so much by the ships as by fear for Xerxes himself.²

(100) That is how it was for the Persians for the whole time until Xerxes himself arrived and stopped their grief.

Notes

1. Herodotus mentions that Xerxes had sent a mounted messenger to Susa to announce his taking of Athens (**7, no.41**); subsequently, he reports Xerxes' communication to Persia of the defeat at Salamis (**15, no.21**). The progress of the campaign and result of each battle, especially one involving the king, were always communicated to the main imperial centres; note the news of Mardonius' taking of Athens in early 479, communicated to Xerxes in Sardis by beacons; see **15, no.24**.
2. The king was central to the system, so his survival was crucial and frequently determined strategy; see, for example, **10, Introduction & no.34**.

63. A votive statue from Athens dedicated in Sardis

Plutarch, Themistocles 31.1.

When Themistocles arrived in Sardis¹ and was inspecting at his leisure the architecture of the temple and the great number of votive offerings, he saw in the temple of the Great Mother² the so-called Watercarrier. This was a bronze statue of a girl, some three feet high, which he had made and dedicated at the time when he was commissioner for the water supply at Athens; it was paid for out of the fines imposed on those he had convicted of tapping and diverting the public water.³

Notes

1. The event is placed in the time of Themistocles' sojourn as an honoured friend of the Persian king (**13, no.40**).
2. For the temple of Kybebe in Sardis, see **6, no.35**, n.4.
3. The presence of an Attic statue in Sardis' temple and the subsequent description of the Lydian satrap's anger at Themistocles' request to restore the statue to Athens suggests that it was a visible symbol of Persian successes in Greece and intended to blot out the destruction of the Sardis temple by the Athenians at the start of the Ionian Revolt (**6, no.35**).

64. A Persian vision of the Greek campaign?

Dio Chrysostom 11.149.¹

I heard a Mede declare that the Persians admit none of the claims made by the Greeks, but maintain that (. . .)² when he invaded Greece, Xerxes was victorious over the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae and killed King Leonidas, then he took and devastated Athens, sold into slavery all those people who had not fled and, after this success, imposed tribute on the Greeks and returned to Asia.³

Notes

1. Dio Chrysostom (c. AD 40/50 to post-110) was a Greek orator and philosopher from Bithynia.
2. The Xerxes passage is preceded by a dismissal of the Battle of Marathon (6, Section E) as a chance encounter by a handful only of the Persian army.
3. The orator ends by saying that, while this story is obviously false, it is quite possible that the Persian king had ordered it to be spread around for the benefit of his subjects. This kind of spin, omitting setbacks and dwelling on the successes, could well have been put on the Greek campaign.

65. Booty from Greece distributed to imperial capitals

Arrian, *Anabasis* VII, 19.2.

Alexander is said to have received the Greek embassies graciously,¹ sent them home with appropriate honours and given them to take back all the statues or images or other votive offerings Xerxes removed from Greece to Babylon, Pasargadae, Susa or elsewhere in Asia; and it is said that the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton² were taken back to Athens in this way, as well as the seated figure of Celcean Artemis.³

Notes

1. The setting is Alexander's return to Babylonia after the Indian campaign in 323.
2. The Athenian tyrant slayers, in receipt of divine honours in Athens (see Levi 1971, I: 29–30, n.65). For Thucydides' rather scornful report of their murder of Hipparchus, cf. 6, no.29. Arrian III, 16.7–8 mentions Alexander's recovery of the statues at Susa. According to Pausanias I, 8.5 the statues were only returned to Athens by Antiochus I (281–261). The interesting point of the episode is that it suggests how items of this type were distributed as victory trophies celebrating the king's expedition to Greece.
3. This particular manifestation of Artemis does not appear to be known.

(b) Greek attempts to follow up the Persian defeat

66. The Persians lose control of Sestos

Herodotus IX, 114–16.2; 118–19; 120.4.

The Greeks who had set out from Mycale for the Hellespont stopped first at Lectum,¹ held up by the winds, and from there they came to Abydos² and found the bridges broken down, which they thought they would still find well fastened, that being the main reason they had come to the Hellespont. So the Peloponnesians who were with Leotychides³ decided to sail off to Greece; but the Athenians and their general, Xanthippus, wanted to stay there and

attack the Chersonese. So the former sailed off, while the Athenians crossed from Abydos into the Chersonese and besieged Sestos.⁴

(115) In this place Sestos, being the best fortified in the region, people from the towns around gathered, as soon as they heard that the Greeks were heading for the Hellespont, above all a certain Oeobazus,⁵ a Persian from the city of Cardia,⁶ where he had stored the material from the bridges. The local Aeolians held Sestos, but with them were Persians and a large number of other allies.

(116) This province was controlled⁷ by Xerxes' governor,⁸ Artayctes,⁹ a Persian, clever and vile. When the king was on his way to Athens, he had tricked him by stealing the goods of Protesilaus,¹⁰ son of Iphicles, from Elaeus.¹¹ For in the Chersonesian Elaeus is a tomb of Protesilaus and a sanctuary round it, with a wealth of material in it: gold and silver drinking bowls,¹² bronze, garments and other votive offerings; these Artayctes plundered with the king's agreement.¹³

(118) The people inside the fort were reduced to extremes, so that they even boiled the leather straps of their beds to eat. When they did not even have these, the Persians, Artayctes and Oeobazus, ran away under cover of night, climbing down the back of the wall, which was least guarded by the enemy. At daybreak, the Chersonesians signalled what had happened from the towers to the Athenians and opened the gates. Most set off in pursuit, but some held the city.

(119) Oeobazus now fled into Thrace, where the Thracian Apsinthians caught him and sacrificed him to Pleistorus, a local god, according to their particular fashion; those with him they killed in another way. Those with Artayctes started their flight later; when they were captured a little above Aegospotami,¹⁴ they defended themselves for a time and some died, while others were taken alive. The Greeks shackled them and brought them to Sestos, including Artayctes himself and his son, also bound.

(120) The Elaians were begging for him to be put to death in revenge for Protesilaus, and the general¹⁵ himself was of the same mind. So they brought him down to the shore where Xerxes had bridged the strait (but some say that it was the small hill above the town of Madytus), nailed him to a board and hanged him up; the son they stoned before the very eyes of Artayctes.¹⁶

Notes

1. Mountain range in the Troad projecting into the Aegean.
2. On the Asian side of the Hellespont; Xerxes' bridge spanned the Hellespont from here to Sestos in the Chersonese; see **7, no.12**(33).
3. The Spartan fleet commander, see **7, no.61**(90).
4. Sestos had already been established as an important Persian base in the first decade of Darius' reign; see **6, no.12**(143).
5. Almost certainly not to be identified with the man whose sons were executed by Darius (**13, no.3(i)**). It is possible, but uncertain, that he was the father of Siromitres, commander of the Paricanians in Xerxes' army review (**11, no.25**(68)).
6. North-west of Sestos, on the western side of the Thracian Chersonese. It had been part of the territory controlled by Miltiades (see **6, no.12** & n.4) and lay on Xerxes' land route in 480 (Hdt. VII, 58).
7. Gr. *eturanneue*, i.e. 'to rule despotically', is Herodotus' word.
8. Herodotus uses the term 'hyparchos'. There is no clear administrative terminological distinction between satrap and hyparch, Briant 1996a: 75–8 [2002b: 63–7].
9. Son of Cherasmis, commander of the Macrones and Mossynoeci in Xerxes' army parade (**11, no.25**(78)).

10. Deified Greek hero killed by Hector in the Trojan War.
11. Located on the southern tip of the Thracian Chersonese.
12. Gr. *phiai*, typical Persian drinking bowls, see **8, no.4 & fig.8.1**.
13. The desecration of the shrine is described by Herodotus (IX, 116.3) as part of the propaganda war by which the Persians presented themselves as avengers for the Greek destruction of Troy; cf. Xerxes' sacrifices to the heroes of Troy before crossing into Thrace, **7, no.19**; see further Lenfant 2004.
14. On the east coast of the Thracian Chersonese, famous for the devastating defeat suffered there by the Athenians in 405.
15. I.e. the Athenian general Xanthippus.
16. Contrast the brief, sober account of the same episode in Thucydides I, 89.

67. The Greeks take Byzantium and cities in Cyprus

Thucydides I, 94.1.

Soon afterwards,¹ Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, was sent out from Sparta in command of the Greek forces. He had with him twenty ships from the Peloponnese; the Athenians joined his forces with thirty ships and there were a number from the other allies.² They went to Cyprus and subdued most of it,³ later against Byzantium, which was held by the Medes (i.e. Persians) and took it by siege, with Pausanias still in command.⁴

Notes

1. Spring 478.
2. At I, 89.1, Thucydides described these 'allies' as those who had been detached from Persian control in the summer and autumn of 479, after the Battle of Mycale.
3. D.S. XI, 44.2 seems to imply that the number of Cypriot centres taken by the Greek forces was limited, and certainly by the time of Eurymedon (466) the Persians were sufficiently in control of the island to muster Cypriot ships for the battle; see **7, no.73**, and cf. Wiesehöfer 1990: 245; Petit 1991: 163–5.
4. For subsequent developments at Byzantium and the story of Pausanias, see **7, no.81**.

68. Athens forms a league to pursue the struggle¹

Thucydides I, 96.1.

So Athens took over the command and the allies were pleased because of their loathing for Pausanias. The Athenians then assessed the contributions in money and ships to be made by the cities for the struggle against the barbarians, the ostensible purpose being to ravage the king's land in revenge for the damage they had suffered.

Note

1. The literature on the formation of the Delian League and its development into the short-lived Athenian empire is massive, see Briant 1996a: 992–3 [2002b: 967] for some of the main literature; further Hornblower 2002, chs.2–3.

69. The impact of Persian booty

Plutarch, *Cimon* 9.

Ion¹ says that, when he was still only a boy and had come from Chios to Athens, he met Cimon² at a dinner at the house of Laomedon. After the meal, when the libations had been poured, Cimon was invited to sing and did so very agreeably, whereupon the company praised him as a more accomplished man than Themistocles.³ He, so the story went, had declared that he had never learned how to sing or play the lyre, but that he knew how to make a city rich and great. Later, Ion tells us, as was natural when drinking, the conversation turned upon Cimon's own achievements and the guests went on to recall the greatest of these. Cimon himself described one particular ruse, which he thought the cleverest thing he had done. The Athenians and their allies had taken a great number of barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium⁴ and had handed them over to him to divide between their various captors. Cimon placed the prisoners on one side and all their clothes and ornaments on the other. The allies then blamed him for distributing the shares unfairly, but he told them to make their own choice first and the Athenians would be content with whatever share they left. On the advice of Herophytus of Samos, who told them to choose the Persians' possessions rather than the men themselves, the allies took the ornaments and left the prisoners to the Athenians. At the time Cimon was regarded as having made a fool of himself and come away with the worst of the bargain, since the allies could go about with gold anklets, bracelets, collars, coats and robes of purple, while the Athenians had gained nothing but a lot of naked bodies of men who were not even trained to work. But a little while after, the friends and relatives of the prisoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia and ransomed every one of them at a high price, so that Cimon received the equivalent of four months' maintenance for his fleet and still had a large sum of gold from these ransoms left over for the city.

Notes

1. Ion of Chios was a fifth-century Greek poet (c.480–420), linked by strong ties of friendship to the Athenian élite. Only extracts of his poems are preserved in later writers, see further **7, no.82**, n.3.
2. Cimon was the son of Miltiades, Athenian general and, formerly, pro-Persian tyrant in the Chersonese, who played an important role in the Battle of Marathon (see **6, nos.12**(137) & n.4; **58**). Cimon shot to fame in the 470s and 460s with his exploits in fighting the Persians, raiding and capturing Persian strongholds; see further **7, nos.71–3**.
3. The chief architect of the successful Greek strategy at Salamis; see **7, no.43**. For his later career, see **13, no.40**.
4. See **7, nos.66; 67**; the capture of these strongholds date to 479 and 478 respectively.

70. The Persians lose forts in Thrace

Herodotus VII, 106; 107.

This man Mascames,¹ whom Xerxes left in Doriscus, was one of such quality that to him alone Xerxes sent gifts continuously,² regarding him as the bravest of all the governors that either he himself or Darius had appointed. He sent these gifts annually, and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, sent them in the same way to Mascames' descendants. Such governors had been appointed even before the invasion, throughout Thrace and the Hellespont. After the invasion was over, the Greeks expelled all these Persians, except for Mascames in Doriscus.

Nobody succeeded in expelling him, although many tried. That is why the gifts keep coming to him from whosoever is the reigning king of Persia.

(107) Of those who were expelled by the Greeks, Xerxes thought none had proved a good and loyal man, with the exception of Boges in Eïon.³ He never ceased praising him, and those of his children who survived in Persia he honoured greatly; for Boges had deserved great praise. He was besieged by the Athenians and Cimon, son of Miltiades, and, when he might have marched out under treaty and come back safe to Asia, he refused to do so lest the king should judge his survival an act of cowardice; instead, he endured to the end. When there were no longer any provisions in the fortress, he built a great fire and, having cut the throats of his children and wife, his concubines and his servants, he threw the bodies into the fire. Then he gathered all the gold and silver that was in the city and scattered it from the walls into the river Strymon, and having done all this, he threw himself into the fire. So he earned the praise of the Persians and does so down to this day.

Notes

1. Mascames replaced the previous governor of Doriscus. For its importance, see **6, no.25**.
2. On the system of gift-giving, see **13, Section B**.
3. For the Persian stronghold at Eïon, see **6, no.25**. Thucydides' brief reference to its capture suggests 477/6 as the date for its fall.

71. Towns in Caria and Lycia surrender to Cimon

Diodorus Siculus XI, 60.4.

So sailing with the entire fleet to Caria,¹ Cimon at once succeeded in persuading the cities on the coast which had been settled from Greece to revolt from the Persians, but in those that were bilingual² and had Persian garrisons he had to employ force and besiege them. After he had brought the Carian cities over to his side, he did the same by persuasion with those in Lycia.³

Notes

1. For Caria in this period, see Hornblower 1982.
2. I.e. those settlements where people used both Carian and Greek.
3. For Lycia in this period, see Keen 1998.

72. A Lycian city tries to resist Cimon

Plutarch, Cimon 12.4.

Cimon put in at the city of Phaselis,¹ but the people, although they were Greeks, refused to admit his fleet or to revolt against the king, and so he devastated their land and attacked the city's walls. However, the Chians who were serving in his fleet and were old friends of the people of Phaselis tried to pacify Cimon, and at the same time shot arrows over the walls with papers attached to them telling the people inside what they were doing. Finally, Cimon came to terms with them, on condition that they paid him ten talents and took part in the campaign against the barbarians.²

Notes

1. Phaselis lies on the Lycian coast, see **fig.7.2**.
2. Cimon's attack on Phaselis seems to precede, or perhaps be part of, his move along the coast which climaxed in the Battle of Eurymedon in 466 (**7, no.73**).

73. An Athenian victory over Persian forces on land and sea (466)

Diodorus Siculus XI, 60.5–61.3.

Now the Persians had composed their land forces from their own peoples, but their navy they had gathered from both Phoenicia and Cyprus¹ and Cilicia, and the commander of the Persian forces was Tithraustes, who was an illegitimate son of Xerxes.² And when Cimon learned that the Persian fleet was lying off Cyprus, sailing against the barbarians he engaged them in battle, pitting two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty. A sharp struggle took place and both fleets fought brilliantly, but in the end the Athenians were victorious, having destroyed many of the enemy ships and captured more than one hundred together with their crews. The rest of the ships escaped to Cyprus, where their crews left them and took to the land, and the ships, empty of defenders, fell into the hands of the foe.

(61) After this Cimon, not satisfied with such a grand victory, set sail at once with his entire fleet against the Persian land army, which was then encamped on the bank of the Eurymedon river.³ And because he wanted to overcome the barbarians by a trick, he manned the captured Persian ships with his own best men, giving them tiaras⁴ and generally dressing them in Persian fashion. As soon as the fleet approached them, the barbarians were deceived by the Persian ships and dress and assumed the triremes to be their own. Consequently, they received the Athenians as if they were friends. Once night had fallen, Cimon disembarked his soldiers and, having been received by the Persians as a friend, he fell upon the barbarian camp. A great tumult arose among the Persians, and those with Cimon cut down all who came their way. They seized Pherendates, one of the two generals of the barbarians and the king's nephew,⁵ in his tent and killed him. As for the rest, they cut down some and wounded others, and because of the unexpectedness of the attack all were forced to flee.⁶

Notes

1. Cf. **7, no.67**.
2. Not known otherwise. According to Plutarch, Cimon 12.5, Callisthenes of Olynthus, Aristotle's nephew, named Arimandes, son of Gobryas, as leader of the whole army; Ari(o)mandes is not otherwise attested. Plutarch also cites the fourth-century historian Ephorus as the source for Tithraustes as commander of the royal fleet, with Pherendates, general of the land army (for whom, see below, n.5).
3. In Pisidia, see **fig.7.2**.
4. For this Persian head-dress, see **7, no.48**, n.5.
5. See above, n.2; according to Herodotus (**11, no.25(67)**), Pherendates was the son of Megabazus (**6, nos.12; 14; 17–19**) and commander of the Sarangians in the great Persian army parade.
6. Diodorus continues with a description of the fleeing Persians falling into the hands of the disguised crews on the ships. According to Thucydides I, 100.1, the numbers of ships captured by Cimon was 200, contra D.S. XI, 62.1, who gives the number as 340.

74. *A pact between the Athenians and the Persian king?*

Plutarch, *Cimon* 13.

This blow¹ so dashed the king's hopes that he accepted the terms of that notorious peace, whereby he agreed to stay away the distance of a whole day's ride from the Greek seaboard of Asia Minor and not to let a single warship or vessel equipped with a ram sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands.²

Notes

1. I.e. Cimon's victory on sea and land (**7, no.73**).
2. At the entrance to the Black Sea at Byzantium. According to Diodorus, this agreement was negotiated in 449 by the Athenian Callias (**8, no.13**). The presence of an Athenian embassy led by Callias at Artaxerxes I's court is also mentioned by Herodotus, see **7, no.83**. Note also, Plutarch's subsequent statement that the existence of the treaty was contested by Callisthenes. Many doubt the realities of such a treaty ever being concluded, especially in view of subsequent events. For a summary of discussions of the problems, see Briant 1996a: 574–5 [2002b: 557–8]; for references, see *id.*: 993 [967–8].

75. *The Athenians in difficulties*

Thucydides I, 100.2.

Some time later there was the revolt of Thasos.¹ This was caused by a dispute over the markets on the mainland opposite in Thrace, and over the mine under the control of the Thasians. The Athenians sailed to Thasos with their fleet, won a naval battle and landed on the island.² About the same time they sent out to the river Strymon ten thousand colonists from their own citizens and from allied states to settle in the place then known as Nine Ways, driving out the Edonians, who held the place, but when they advanced further into the interior of Thrace, their force was cut to pieces at the Edonian town of Drabescus by a combined army of Thracians, who regarded the founding of a colony at Nine Ways as an act of hostility against themselves.

Notes

1. Thucydides' chronology is frustratingly imprecise, but his narrative suggests that these events followed shortly after Eurymedon.
2. It took at least a further two years before the Athenians were able to force the surrender of Thasos.

(c) *Persian countermoves*

76. *Xerxes sets out for Iran after Mycale*

Diodorus Siculus XI, 36.

This was how the Persians suffered defeat, and more than forty thousand of them were killed, while some of the survivors took refuge in the camp and others withdrew to Sardis. When Xerxes learned of both the defeat at Plataea and the rout of his own troops at Mycale, he left a section of the forces at Sardis to continue the war against Greece; he himself, very disturbed, set out with the rest of the army, taking the road to Ecbatana.

77. Xerxes' building at Celaenae

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.7–9.

Through the middle of this park¹ flows the Maeander river; its sources are beneath the palace, and it also flows through the city of Celaenae.² There is also a palace of the Great King³ in Celaenae, strongly fortified and situated at the foot of the Acropolis over the sources of the Marsyas river; the Marsyas too flows through the city, and empties into the Maeander; its width is twenty-five feet.

It is said that it was also at Celaenae that, when Xerxes was withdrawing from Greece after his defeat in battle, he built the palace just mentioned as well as the citadel of Celaenae.

Notes

1. Xenophon has been describing the palatial residence and game park of Cyrus the Younger in 401; see **11, no.21 (iii)**.
2. The later Apamea. Celaenae was an old city in southern Phrygia, close to the Pisidian border, on the upper course of the Maeander. It is located at an important point on the main route leading through southern Anatolia, linking Ephesus and north Syria. Note that Xerxes had also stopped here en route to Greece (**7, no.17** & n.4). Parts of an Achaemenid-period painted, wooden chamber tomb were excavated in 1970 in the vicinity; it is now in the regional centre at Afyon and being studied (personal communication, I. Summerer, Nov. 2004). It is probable that the beams of a similar tomb, now in Munich, came from the same area, see **fig.11.34**.
3. I.e. the Persian king.

78. A Persian counterattack in Asia Minor?

(i) Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F13(31); Lenfant, 126.

Xerxes crossed back into Asia, and as he was withdrawing from Sardis, he sent Megabyzus¹ to pillage the temple of Delphi.² When Megabyzus refused, the eunuch Matakas³ was sent to insult Apollo and loot everything. When he had done this, he rejoined Xerxes.⁴

(ii) Pausanias VIII, 46.3.

And we know that Xerxes king of Persia the son of Darius, even apart from all the things he carried away from the city of Athens, took the statue of Brauronian Artemis from Brauron,⁵ and he blamed the Milesians for deliberate cowardice in the face of the Athenians in the Greek sea-battle,⁶ and took the bronze Apollo of Branchidae.⁷

Notes

1. See **7, nos.7**, n.5; **24**, n.6.
2. This should almost certainly be corrected to Didyma (see Bernard 1985: 123–5, and cf. **(ii)** below), the Milesian Apollo sanctuary under the control of the Branchidae (see **3, no.20**, n.7), whose destruction Herodotus attributed to Darius, along with his resettlement of part of the population in Bactria (**6, no.44**(18)) (note the evidence for continued activity there, *ibid.*, n.4). It must, of course, remain uncertain whether the Ctesias' passage really should be associated with such a Persian countermove after Mycale, as the timing would suggest, or whether it is a confusion



Figure 7.4 Fragment of alabaster vase from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus with a quadrilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian, Egyptian) inscription of Xerxes ('Xerxes, the great king'), now in the British Museum (Weissbach 1911: xxvi & 118–19 (Xerxes Vase (b))); Lecoq 1997, XVS; Posener 1936, no.51). Such items were presented by the king, so it could reflect the close links between the Persian king and the local dynasty. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

(invention?) by him (see further Lenfant, XCVIII–XCIX). For Delphi's supposedly miraculous escape unscathed during Xerxes' invasion, see Hdt. VIII, 35–9; Ctesias, FGrH 688 F13(29)).

3. Xerxes' chief eunuch, previously called Natakas by Ctesias (see 7, no.4).
4. The next section of Photius' summary of Ctesias (32) implies that, before returning to Iran, Xerxes went to Babylonia. This, together with other evidence, suggested to Briant that the Shamash-eriba revolt had broken out at this point, a view which can no longer be maintained; see 7, no.7 & n.4.
5. Site of an Artemis sanctuary on the east coast of Attica; for the ritual of the *arkteia* (in which young girls became 'bears') associated with it, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988. For a detailed critique of Greek stories accusing Xerxes of pillaging Greek divine statues, the unlikelihood of either this particular Artemis statue or that of Apollo being taken, see Scheer 2003 (note particularly her observation on p.83: 'The identity of these images is established, not so much by their "pillage" many generations earlier, but rather by their return in the hellenistic period.').
6. Mycale, see 7, no.61.

7. See above, n.2. Note also Pausanias I, 16.3, where he simply says Xerxes removed the statue to Ecbatana during the Persian wars; cf. Strabo XI, 11.4.

79. The Persians refit the navy

Diodorus Siculus XI, 62.2.

But the Persians having met with such great reverses¹ built other triremes in great number, since they feared the growing might of the Athenians.

Note

1. I.e. Cimon's victories on sea and land at Eurymedon, see **7, no.73**.

80. Persia's hold on Cilicia reinforced

Herodotus IX, 107.

When Artayntes had listened to a great deal of this,¹ he was furious and drew his dagger² on Masistes³ with the intention of killing him. But Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a Halicarnassian, was standing behind Artayntes, and, when he saw him rushing at Masistes, he seized him from behind and, taking him by the waist and lifting him, threw him to the ground. Meanwhile, Masistes' guards stood in front of him, to protect him. By doing this, Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes for saving the king's brother. And because of this service Xenagoras was granted by the king the rulership of all Cilicia.⁴

Notes

1. The episode is set during the Persian withdrawal after the defeat at Mycale (**7, no.61**): Xerxes' brother, Masistes, taunts the Persian general, Artayntes, with his failures in generalship.
2. For the *akinakes* worn by the Persian male élite, see **figs.11.26–11.28**.
3. Full brother of Xerxes.
4. Given that this promotion follows the defeats on the north-western frontier, the installation of a provenly loyal subject in this strategically important position suggests that it was part of the Persian strategy to counteract Greek aggression. For the close familial links between Caria and Cilicia, see **6, no.38**(118) & n.2; Casabonne 2004: 165–6.

81. Pausanias ingratiates himself with Xerxes and the Persians reorganise Hellenistic Phrygia

Thucydides I, 128.2–131.1.

After the Spartan Pausanias had been recalled by the Spartans for the first time from his command in the Hellespont,¹ tried by them and let go, he was not sent out again on official business. However, on his own and without Spartan authority he took a trireme from the town of Hermione and reached the Hellespont. He pretended that his intention was to join in the Greek war (sc. against the Persians), but in fact he went in order to intrigue with the king of Persia, as he had already begun to do before, with the aim of gaining the rulership of Greece. The first time he was able to put the king under an obligation to him was as follows, and it was from this that the whole business began. When he was in the area before, after

the return from Cyprus, he captured Byzantium, which had been held by the Medes (i.e. Persians) and in which some friends and relations of the king had been taken prisoner. At that time he sent back these prisoners to the king, in secret from the other allies pretending that they had escaped. He did this with the help of Gongylus of Eretria,² whom he had put in charge of the prisoners and of Byzantium. He also sent Gongylus to the king with a letter. As was discovered afterwards, he wrote in it the following: 'Pausanias, general of Sparta, wishing to do you a favour, sends you these men taken prisoner in war. And I suggest, if you agree, to marry your daughter³ and to bring both Sparta and the rest of Greece under your control. I think that I can do this with your help. If, therefore, you are attracted by this plan, send to the coast a reliable person through whom we can communicate with each other further.'

(129) So much was shown by the written message. Xerxes was pleased with the letter and sent to the coast Artabazus, son of Pharnaces,⁴ with orders to take over the satrapy of Dascylium⁵ from Megabates, the former governor.⁶ He gave Artabazus a letter in reply to Pausanias in Byzantium and told him to send it across as quickly as possible, to show him the seal,⁷ and, if Pausanias made any suggestions about the king's affairs, to support him faithfully and to the best of his ability. When Artabazus arrived, he carried out his orders and sent the letter across. The reply ran as follows: 'Thus speaks King Xerxes to Pausanias. Your act in saving the men whom you have sent to me across the sea from Byzantium will count as an act of benefaction for you, recorded for ever in our house.⁸ With the words you sent I am pleased. Let neither night nor day keep you from carrying out your promises to me, nor let them be delayed by lack of gold or silver, nor for numbers of troops, should they be needed anywhere. I have sent you a good man in Artabazus. With him go forward confidently and advance my interests and yours in the way that will be best and most successful for us both.'⁹

(130) Even before this Pausanias had had a great reputation among the Greeks because of his command at Plataea, and now, when he received this letter, he thought even more of himself and could no longer bear to live in the usual way. Instead he used to go out of Byzantium dressed in Median (i.e. Persian) clothes, and on his journeys through Thrace he had a bodyguard of Medes (i.e. Persians) and Egyptians; he held banquets in the Persian manner,¹⁰ and was so far incapable of concealing his purpose that in small matters he made it quite clear what he intended to do later on a grander scale. He made himself difficult to approach and behaved towards everyone alike so arrogantly that no one was able to come near him. This was one of the chief reasons why the allied forces changed over to the Athenians.¹¹

(131) It was because they had realised that he was behaving like this that the Spartans had recalled him once already. Now he had gone out a second time, without their authority, in a ship from Hermione, and appeared to be acting in just the same way as before. Then, when after a siege he was driven out of Byzantium by the Athenians, he did not return to Sparta; instead he was said to have established himself at Colona in the Troad,¹² to be carrying on intrigues with the barbarians and to be prolonging his stay abroad for no good reason.

Notes

1. See **7, no.67** for the campaign led by Pausanias in 478.
2. See **7, no.82**.

3. For the matrimonial practices of the royal family and nobility, see Brosius 1996, ch.3; **12, Introduction & no.38; 13, nos.30–2**. Contrast with Pausanias' plan to marry a Persian princess, Herodotus' statement, below n.6.
4. Artabazus had participated in the Greek campaign, see **7, no.49(ii)** & n.2; Pharnaces was Darius I's uncle, see **12, no.29**, n.1; **16, no.11** & n.1.
5. The region of Hellespontine Phrygia seems to have been organised at this point as a discrete administrative unit, see Petit 1990: 181–6. For the bullae, remnants of the satrapal archive at Dascylium, dating to Xerxes, see **fig.7.5**.
6. Commander of the failed Persian expedition to Naxos in 499 (**6, no.31**), and an admiral in Xerxes' fleet (D.S. XI, 12.2). According to Hdt. V, 32, Pausanias had plans at this juncture to marry his daughter, although he qualifies it with 'if the story is true', implying that there was much speculation about the hero of Plataea and his Persian ambitions.
7. For the royal seal(s), see **8, no.31; figs.7.5; 11.30; 11.37**.
8. Gr. *euergesia*; for the king's benefactors, see further **13, Section B(b)**.
9. See Justin IX, 1.3, who says that Pausanias was installed as local ruler of Byzantium by the Persians for seven years (478/7–472/1). This letter has been used to argue in favour of the authenticity of the Roman-period Gadatas inscription (ML no. 12, plus commentary; Briant 2003b).
10. For Persian banqueting, see **12, Section D**.
11. See **7, no.68**.
12. Here Pausanias would certainly have been subject to Artabazus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia. See **7, no.82** for the Persian instalment of other Greeks as local client rulers in the Troad.

82. Loyal Greeks established as local lords in the Troad

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 1.6.

Thibron¹ also took some cities, Pergamum of its own volition and Teuthrania and Halisarna,² which were ruled by Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus the Lacedaemonian.³ This land was given to him as a gift from the king in return for his co-operation in the expedition against Greece.⁴ The brothers Gorgion and Gongylus also came over to him; one of them held Gambriion and Palaigambriion, the other Myrina and Gryneion.⁵ These cities were also a gift from the king to Gongylus, because, as he was the only Eretrian to support the Persians, he had been exiled.⁶

Notes

1. Spartan commander sent in winter 400 in response to requests from Greek cities in Asia Minor to protect them against Tissaphernes' reprisals for their support of Cyrus the Younger's revolt against his brother, Artaxerxes II, in 401 (see **9, no.29**).
2. All in the Troad.
3. Exiled Spartan king, who took refuge with Darius I. According to Herodotus, he played a crucial role in encouraging Xerxes to bid for the succession (**7, no.2**) and appears again and again in the role of the wise advisor to Xerxes during the Greek campaign (e.g. Hdt. VII, 101f; 209; 234f). Note also Whitby (1998), arguing that Ion of Chios' (cf. **7, no.69**, n.1) banqueting poem for a Spartan king was composed in honour of Demaratus before Eurymedon.
4. According to Hdt. VI, 70.2, Demaratus received land from Darius I when he took refuge at his court. However, Xenophon's statement, that this gift was a reward for his services during the Greek campaign, makes good sense (cf. Briant 1996a: 579 [2002b: 562]).
5. All in the Troad.
6. This again is likely to relate to Xerxes' campaign. Certainly Gongylus is not named among the Eretrian traitors mentioned by Herodotus in 490; see **6, no.53(101)** & n.2.

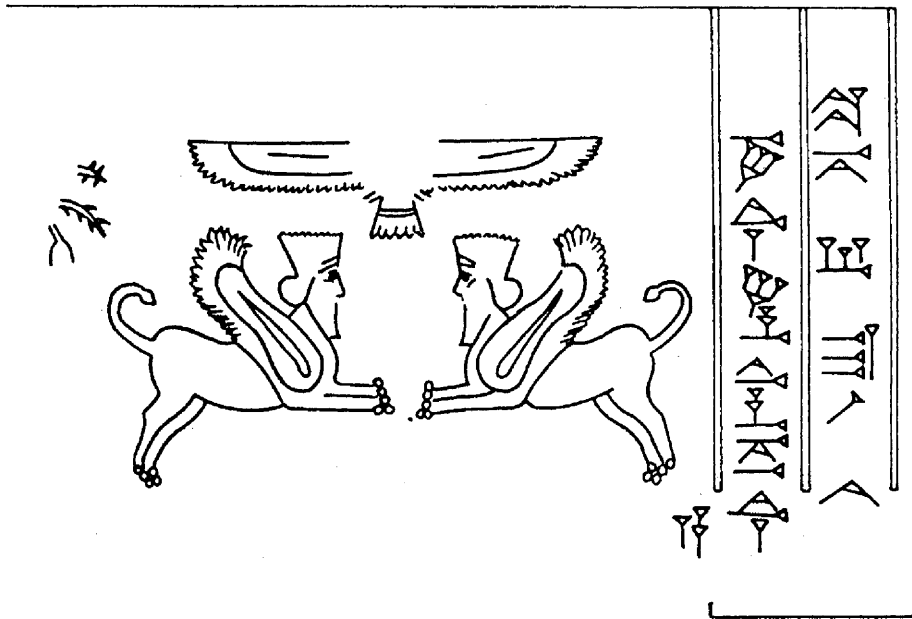


Figure 7.5 (a) Impression of cylinder seal from Dascylium, Hellespontine Phrygia, inscribed in Old Persian and Akkadian ('I am Xerxes the king'). Three examples of this seal, carved in Achaemenid Court Style, have been found: Kaptan 2002, DS 2*. (After Kaptan 2002.)



Figure 7.5 (b) Impression of cylinder seal from Dascylium, Hellespontine Phrygia, inscribed in Old Persian ('I am Xerxes the king'). 147 examples of this seal, carved in Achaemenid koine style, have been recovered: Kaptan 2002, DS 3*. It is far and away the most frequently used seal, perhaps relating to an office in the administration. (After Kaptan 2002.)

83. Argos maintains its friendship with the Persian kings

Herodotus VII, 151.

There happened to be in Susa at the time of Memnon¹ an Athenian embassy on some other matter, led by Callias son of Hipponicus² and others with him. At the same time, the Argives had sent messengers to Susa to ask Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, whether the friendship they had entered into with Xerxes³ still stood, or if he considered them to be his enemies. King Artaxerxes said that certainly it remained in force and he considered no city a greater friend than Argos.

Notes

1. Greek epithet of Artaxerxes I (465–424/3).
2. See **7, no.74**, n.2.
3. Hdt. VII, 150 reports Xerxes' message to Argos, during his invasion, urging them to remember that, according to Greek mythology, Persians and Argives were related and should be friends – part of the Persian strategy to exploit inter-Greek hostilities. Note also Argos' information to Mardonius on the Spartan advance before Plataea, **7, no.54**.

E. Xerxes the guardian of Darius' heritage

84. Xerxes commemorates his father's work

(i) XSa. Trilingual text inscribed on several column bases at Susa; only the Babylonian version is completely preserved: Kent, XSa.
Translation: Lecoq 1997: 261–2.

Xerxes the great king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, King Darius, my father, built this palace.¹

(ii) XSd. Trilingual text on a column base from the gatehouse² at Susa: Perrot and Ladiray 1974; Vallat 1974b.
Translation: Lecoq 1997: 262.

Xerxes the great king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, King Darius, my father, built this gateway.

Notes

1. This is the conventional translation of OP *hadiš* = 'seat of power'.
2. Cf. **11, no.2**.

85. Xerxes continues his father's work

XPg. Trilingual inscription on coloured glazed bricks from the Persepolis apadana: Kent, XPg; Schmitt 2000, XPg.¹
Translations: Lecoq 1997: 256; Stolper 1998b, XPg.

Xerxes the great king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, much that is good did Darius the king, my father. And also by the favour of Auramazda, I added to that work and built more. Me may Auramazda protect, together with the gods, and my kingdom.

Note

1. The glazed bricks originally formed part of the Persepolis apadana frieze. It has only been possible to reconstruct the Old Persian version of the text in full. There were certainly two, possibly even three, copies; see Schmitt 2000: 86.

86. Xerxes completes his father's plan

XV. Trilingual text inscribed in a rock-cut niche above Lake Van: Kent, XV.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 263–4; Brosius 2000, no.64.

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, the greatest of the gods, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, created happiness for man,² who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of all kinds of people,³ king on this earth far and wide, the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.
- §3 Xerxes the great king proclaims: King Darius, my father, by the favour of Auramazda, made much that is good, and this niche he ordered to be cut; as he did not have an inscription written,⁴ then I ordered that this inscription be written.
- §4 Me may Auramazda protect, together with the gods, and my kingdom and what I have done.

Notes

1. This is one of the few Old Persian inscriptions found outside western Iran.
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
3. OP *xšayathiya dahyunam paruzananam*, with the meaning of 'all mankind'.
4. The siting of the niche is in a prominent position, but the reason for Darius' wish to leave an inscription here in particular is unknown. Could it have been connected with the many battles fought in this region following his seizure of the throne (**5, no.1**, paras.26–30)?

87. Xerxes and Darius: two sides of the same coin

(i) Father and son physically linked

XE. Trilingual inscription on Mount Elvend: Kent, DE.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 250; Brosius 2000, no.65.

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, the greatest of the gods,² who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, created happiness³ for man, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of all kinds of peoples, king of this earth far and wide, son of Darius the Achaemenid.

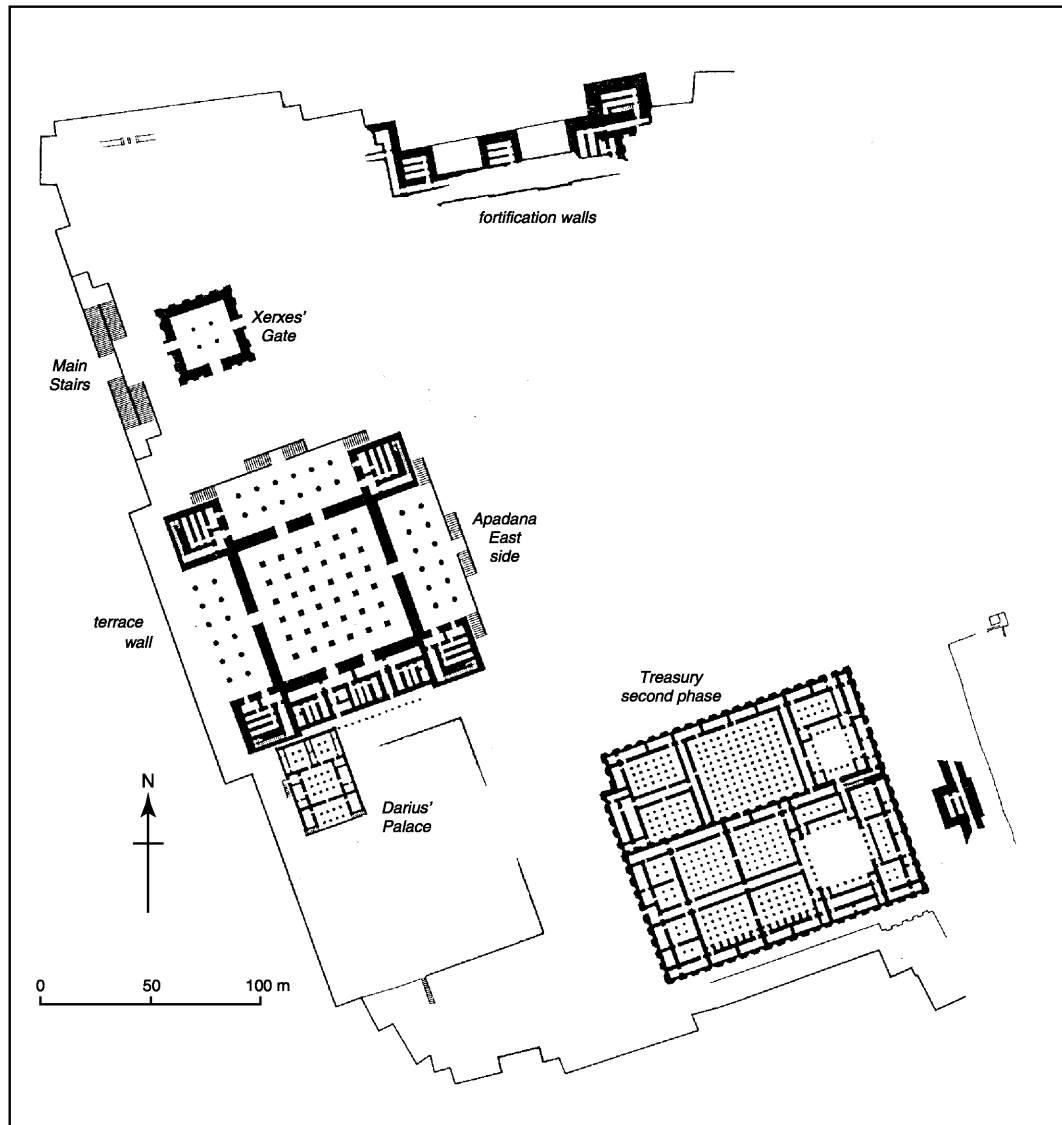


Figure 7.6 (a) The Persepolis Terrace, 490–480.

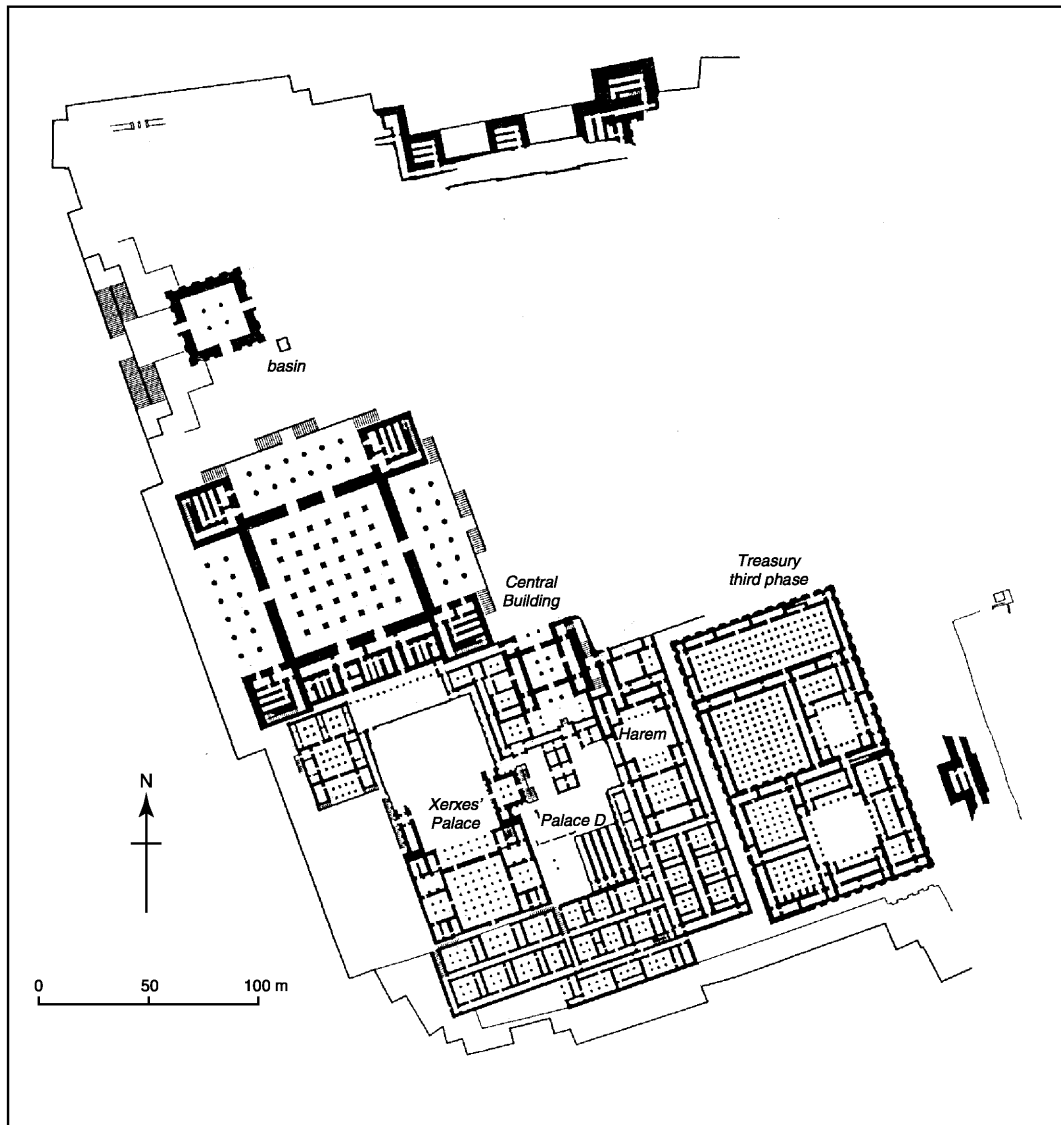


Figure 7.6 (b) The Persepolis Terrace, 480–470.

There was continuous and intense building activity at Persepolis in the last part of Darius I's reign and throughout that of Xerxes. Note the extension of the terrace, west of the apadana, to accommodate the four towers, additional colonnades and the eastern stairway. The treasury was expanded in two phases, and a series of palaces and administrative buildings ('Harem') built to the south of the apadana. As a result, the main entrance was shifted to the west, approached by a massive staircase, surmounted by the 'Gateway of All Lands' (fig.12.1). (After Roaf 1983.)

(ii) Father and son in mirror image

(a) DPb & XPk. Two trilingual inscriptions in the south doorway of the Tacara, Persepolis and east doorway of the Hadish north wall, Persepolis: Kent, DPb, XPk; Shahbazi 1985, pls.VIIIc, IX; Schmitt 2000, DPb; XPk.⁴

(DPb) Darius, the great king, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

(XPk) Xerxes, the son of Darius the king, an Achaemenid.

(b) DPb^H/DPj & XPe^b/Xpp. Two trilingual inscriptions in the east doorway of the Hadish north wall, Persepolis: Kent, DPb, XPe; Shahbazi 1985, pls.XI, XII; Schmitt 2000, DPj, Xpp.⁵

(DPb^H/DPj) Darius, the great king, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

(XPe^b/Xpp) Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, son of Darius the king, an Achaemenid.

Notes

1. Elvend is one of the highest peaks of the Zagros chain. Xerxes' text is set next to one by Darius (DE), whose message it echoes virtually word for word.
2. The sole phrase not contained in Darius' text (see DE).
3. OP *šiyati-* has connotations of prosperity, blissful tranquillity, serenity on earth; see further Herrenschildt 1991; Kellens 1995. It recurs in innumerable Old Persian royal inscriptions, see Kent: 210–11, s.v. *šiyati-*. Note its use in **7, no.88** & n.11.
4. The Darius inscription (DPb) was carved on the garment folds of the royal figure on the west jamb of the southern doorway of Darius' palace. XPk was carved in the same position on the mirror image of the figure opposite (east jamb), which bears above it an inscription of Darius (DPa), see Shahbazi 1985: 11 & fig.1. Shahbazi saw in this (and the following piece, *id.*: 11–12) evidence to support the contention that Xerxes was Darius' co-regent. There is no other solid evidence for this contention (Briant 1996a: 983–4 [2002b: 958]). I would prefer to see both examples as Xerxes' emphasis on the seamless continuity – dynastically, politically, ideologically – of Achaemenid rule.
5. Xerxes' inscriptions appear on the garment folds and above the royal figures throughout the Hadish (see Shahbazi 1985: 20, map 3 for their position). The western jamb of the east doorway in the palace's north wall has an inscription in the name of Darius (DP^H/DPj) above the royal figure. The opposite jamb has Xerxes inscriptions, with Xpp inscribed thrice on the garment of the royal figure (see Schmitt 2000: 79 for discussion of the designation).

88. Xerxes restates and elaborates the imperial ideology

XPh. Trilingual text inscribed on limestone slabs (approx. 50 × 50 × 10 cm), found in the Persepolis garrison quarters; one copy was found in the Tall-i Takht, Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: 152). There are three Old Persian versions, one each in Elamite and Babylonian: Kent, XPh; Schmitt 2000, XPh.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 256–8; Stolper 1998b, XPh; Brosius 2000, no.191.

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created blissful happiness² for man, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Darius the king, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.³

- §3 Xerxes the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, these are the countries of which I was king outside Persia; I ruled them; they bore me tribute. What was said to them by me, that they did. The law that (was) mine, that held them (firm/stable):⁴ Media, Elam, Arachosia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Lydia, Egypt, Ionians who dwell by the Sea and (those) who dwell beyond the Sea, the Maka people, Arabia, Gandara, Indus, Cappadocia, Dahae, Scythians (Saca) who drink *haoma*, Scythians (Saca) who wear pointed hats, Thrace, the Akaufaka people, Libyans, Carians, Nubians.⁵
- §4a Xerxes the king proclaims: When I became king, there is among those countries which (are) inscribed above (one, which) was in turmoil.⁶ Afterwards Auramazda brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazda I defeated that country and put it in its proper place.
- §4b And among those countries⁷ there were (some) where formerly the *daivas*⁸ had been worshipped. Afterwards by the favour of Auramazda I destroyed that place of the *daivas*, and I gave orders: 'The *daivas* shall not be worshipped any longer!' Wherever formerly the *daivas* have been worshipped, there I worshipped Auramazda at the proper time and with the proper ceremony.⁹
- §4c And there was something else, that had been done wrong, that too I put right.¹⁰ That which I have done, all that I have done by the favour of Auramazda. Auramazda brought me aid, until I had done the work.
- §4d You, who shall be hereafter, if you shall think: 'Happy may I be (while) living and (when) dead may I be blessed', obey that law, which Auramazda has established! Worship Auramazda at the proper time and with the proper ritual! The man who obeys that law which Auramazda has established, and (who) worships Auramazda at the proper time and in the proper ceremonial style, he both becomes happy (while) living and blessed (when) dead.¹¹
- §5 Xerxes the king proclaims: Me may Auramazda protect from evil, and my (royal) house and this land! This I pray of Auramazda; this may Auramazda grant me.

Notes

1. The text is a commemorative foundation document, although its find spot cannot have been the place for which it was intended. Important discussions: Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980; Briant 1996a: 567–71 [2002b: 550–4], with references; see also **7, Introduction**. For a comparison of themes in this inscription with an episode in the story of Kai Khusru of the eleventh-century AD Persian epic *Shah-Nama*, see Jamzadeh 2004.
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
3. Both these sections are identical to the introductory paragraphs of one of Darius I's tomb inscriptions (DNa, see **11, no.16**; see also **11, no.12**, n.3).
4. The first part of §3 virtually repeats DNa para.3 (**11, no.16**), with the significant difference that, where Darius introduces the list of subject peoples with the proclamation that these are the countries he conquered ('seized'), Xerxes emphasises his smooth take-over of an existing populous and diverse empire.
5. It should be noted that, although it is likely that the inscription dates after the Greek campaign, the royal rhetoric of the inscription acknowledges no territorial losses on the north-western front. In fact, it expands the standard lists of the royal inscriptions (for which see, e.g., **11, nos.2; 4; 12; 16**) by adding the Dahae (Central Asia) and Akaufaka (location unknown), giving the impression that Xerxes has not just kept intact, but added to, his paternal heritage. Another unusual feature of the list is its departure from the conventional arrangement whereby countries to the east and west of the Persian centre were listed, respectively, together (Calmeyer 1982; 1983; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001), whereas here they are jumbled.

6. OP *yauδ-* has a meaning of 'effervescence', 'movement'. This contrasts sharply with the word used by Darius (OP *hamiciya*) to describe the revolts in the Bisitun inscription. The same word, referring to non-specific turmoil demanding royal action, appears in DSe para.4 and DNa para.4 (**11, nos.12; 16**). The impression, therefore, is of a generalised restlessness threatening to disturb the imperial tranquillity, rather than the king reporting on a specific act of rebellion in his realm.
7. The vague syntax leaves it unclear whether Xerxes is referring here to the place(s) where the 'turmoil' was or somewhere else.
8. Within a general Iranian context, this seems to designate a demonic being or false god, cf. Lecoq 1997: 154–5; but see Kellens 1991 for the uncertainties.
9. OP *arta brazmaniya*, translated by some as 'I worshipped Auramazda and Arta (truth)', but the uncertainties loom large, see Schmitt 2000, ad loc. with references. Xerxes is building on Darius I's equation of loyalty to the Persian king with proper honouring of Auramazda (see **5, no.1**, paras.72–3; 75–6) and proclaiming that those who do not adhere to Auramazda's order as embodied by the Persian king are equivalent to rebels and will be punished. What he is doing here is reframing and elucidating his father's earlier message, which indicates the crystallisation of a stricter royal ideology. Note the repeated exhortations in para.4d.
10. This seems to be a general characterisation of Xerxes' reign as correct and good: whatever might have been wrong or bad has been put right by the king.
11. This encapsulates the royal promise to all mankind in life and death: loyalty to the king, who defends Auramazda's creation, will bring happiness/blessed tranquillity (OP *šiyati-*) on earth to each individual and ensure a condition of blessedness (or justification: OP *artava-*) in the hereafter; for discussion, see Kellens 1995.

89. Xerxes a worthy successor to his father in the eyes of a Jewish historian

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XI, 120.

Xerxes inherited also (Darius') piety towards god¹ and his way of honouring him.² For he followed his father in all the things which he had done for his service, and he held the Jews in the highest esteem.

Notes

1. Josephus is referring to the Judaeian god, Yahweh.
2. The reference is to the Jewish tradition of Darius' support for the rebuilding of the Yahweh temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 6.6–12).

F. From Xerxes to Artaxerxes I

90. Xerxes' death

Babylonian tablet, BM 32234 (listed LBA^T xxxi, no.*1419): Stolper 1988: 196–7; C. Walker 1997: 21.

Abu,¹ 14+x:² Xerxes' son killed him.³

Notes

1. I.e. the fifth month of the Babylonian year; in the year referred to by this text (a table of lunar eclipses dating from the late fifth century), which is Xerxes' 21st regnal year (= 465/4), it fell between 22 July and 21 August 465.
2. The day number is damaged and could thus refer to any day between the 4 and 8 August 465. See C. Walker 1997 for the suggestion that 14th Abu (= 4th August) is the correct date. To this must now

be added Stolper 1999b: 6, where a text dating to V/20/21 of Xerxes (= 10 August 465, i.e. six days after his presumed death) is published; note also the discussion there of a text dating, like **7, no.91**, to year 21, Xerxes and the accession year of Artaxerxes.

3. The latest Elamite administrative document in Persepolis dated to Xerxes (PT 75) is from the end of December 466 to the end of February 465.

91. The beginning of Artaxerxes I's reign

Aramaic papyrus, Elephantine, Egypt: AP 6, ll.1–2; TADAE II, B2.2.

Translation: DAE, no.33.

On the 18th of Kislev,¹ that is the 7th day of Thoth,² in the year 21,³ the beginning of the reign when King Artaxerxes sat on his throne (. . .)

Notes

1. I.e. Month 9, at this date falling between 17 December 465 and 15 January 464.
2. The date is equated with the first Egyptian month.
3. The counting of years in this legal dispute is still by Xerxes, although the subsequent wording makes it clear that the agreement was drawn up in Artaxerxes' accession year, which filled up (as it were) what remained of Xerxes' last regnal year. For similar wording, note the contract from Uruk published by von Weiher, cited in Stolper 1999b: 7.

92. Three stories about the assassination of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I's accession

(i) Ctesias' account

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGh 688 F13(33); F14(34); Lenfant, 127; 128–9.

Artapanus,¹ very influential with Xerxes, together with the eunuch Aspamitres, also very powerful, plan to assassinate Xerxes. In fact, they do assassinate him and succeed in convincing his son Artoxerxes that it is Dariaios, the other son, who killed him. And Dariaios arrives, brought by Artapanus, in Artoxerxes' house; he weeps copiously and swears that he is not his father's murderer, but he is put to death.

So Artoxerxes is king thanks to the efforts of Artapanus, but he in turn is the victim of his machinations. Artapanus picks as an accomplice Megabyzus,² already much distressed by his wife, Amytis,³ whom he suspects of adultery. They swear loyalty to each other, but Megabyzus reveals all and Artapanus is executed in the very way he had wanted to execute Artoxerxes.⁴ Everything is brought to light, including the treachery perpetrated against Xerxes and Dariaios, and Aspamitres, the accomplice of the murder of Xerxes and Dariaios, suffers a violent and shameful death: he is placed in a hollowed-out vessel and dies of it.

(ii) Diodorus' story

Diodorus Siculus XI, 69.

During this year,⁵ in Asia Artabanus, a Hyrcanian⁶ by birth, who wielded the greatest influence with King Xerxes and was in command of the bodyguard, decided to kill Xerxes and transfer the kingship to himself. He communicated his plot to Mithridates the eunuch, the king's chamberlain and most trusted by him; as he (sc. Mithridates) was both Artabanus' kinsman and friend, he agreed to the plot. And by him Artabanus was led at night into the

bedroom and slew Xerxes; then he set out in pursuit of the king's sons. These were three in number, Darius the eldest and Artaxerxes, both living in the palace, and the third, Hystaspes,⁷ who was away from home at that time, because he was in charge of the satrapy of Bactria.⁸ Now, while it was yet night, Artabanus came to Artaxerxes and told him that Darius, his own brother, had murdered his father and was shifting the kingship to himself. He advised him, therefore, before Darius should seize control to see to it that he should not become a slave out of sheer carelessness, but to become king after avenging his father's murder. He also promised the support of the king's bodyguard. Artaxerxes was persuaded and, with the help of the bodyguard, he slew his brother Darius. When Artabanus saw his plot going according to plan, he called his own sons to his side and, with the words that now was the moment to gain the kingship, he struck Artaxerxes with his sword. Artaxerxes was only wounded and not seriously hurt by the blow; holding off Artabanus and dealing him a fatal blow, he killed him. With Artaxerxes saved in this unexpected manner and having avenged his father's murder, he took over the kingship of Persia. So Xerxes died in the way described, after reigning over the Persians for more than twenty years,⁹ and Artaxerxes succeeded to the kingship and ruled for forty years.¹⁰



Figure 7.7 Fragment of a bell crater, showing a Persian figure with hand raised to deliver a blow and labelled (Gr.) ΑΡΤΟΒΑ; Hölscher 1973, Tafel 4,2 (Smith, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1886, vol. III, E812,2). (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

(iii) Justin's version

Justin III, 1.

After the disastrous war he had waged against Greece, Xerxes, king of Persia and the recent terror of the world, began to be despised even by his own people. As Artabanus, his prefect, observed the day-by-day decline in the majesty of kingship, he entertained the hope of ruling himself. One evening, he, together with his seven vigorous sons, entered the palace (by right of friendship it was always open to him) and killed the king. Then he sought for a ruse by which he might rid himself of the king's sons, who barred the way to his goal. He felt quite secure with Artaxerxes, who was still a mere boy, and so pretended that Darius, already in his teens, had killed the king in order to gain the throne all the sooner. Thus he impelled Artaxerxes to avenge parricide with fratricide. When they got to Darius' house, they found him asleep and they killed him as though he were just feigning sleep. Then, when Artabanus realised that one of the king's sons had survived his crime, and fearing a struggle for the throne with the nobles, he initiated Baccabasus¹¹ into his plan. But the latter was perfectly happy with his position and betrayed the matter to Artaxerxes: how his father had been killed, his brother falsely accused of parricide and, finally, how he had been trapped. When Artaxerxes, fearful of Artabanus' numerous sons, learnt all this, he ordered the army to be assembled the next day fully armed because he wished to know both how many soldiers there were and how able each one was in armed exercise. Artabanus, too, presented himself armed along with the others. The king then pretended that his armour was too short and ordered him to exchange it with his. Once he had withdrawn and was naked, the king stabbed him with the sword; then he had his sons arrested. In this way, this excellent young man avenged the murder of his father and death of his brother, as well as delivering himself from Artabanus' trap.

Notes

1. Son of Artasyras and named by Ctesias as one of Xerxes' most important advisors (**7, no.4**); not to be confused with Xerxes' uncle and son of Hystaspes, Artabanus; see **7, no.41** & n.1.
2. Much of this Ctesias excerpt is concerned with the story of Megabyzus' fluctuating fortunes; see **8, no.10**; **13, no.30**; cf. also **7, nos.7** & n.5; **24** & n.6; **78**.
3. According to Ctesias (**7, no.4** & n.5), Amytis was the daughter of Xerxes and Amestris, while Deinon (FGrH 680 F1) may have said that she was Xerxes' sister. Most (but not all, see Balcer 1993: 113–14) scholars accept Ctesias' statement.
4. This, of course, leaves the exact manner of his execution unclear: was it done in public or secret, as one might imagine from the phrasing?
5. I.e. 465, established by Diodorus' dating by the Athenian archon and Roman consuls.
6. For the location of Hyrcania, to the south-east of the Caspian, see **fig.6.1**.
7. Ctesias gives the same names and numbers of Xerxes' legitimate sons, but has Hystaspes as the middle son; see **7, no.4**.
8. Central Asia, see **fig.6.1**.
9. For the (almost) precise date of his death, see **7, no.90**. Both Babylonian documents and texts from Egypt (see **7, no.91**) agree in giving Xerxes a reign of twenty-one years.
10. In fact, forty-one years, as shown by Babylonian dated documents. On the struggles for the throne at his death, see **8, no.20**.
11. Baccabasus is, almost certainly, a rendering of the OP name Bagabuxša, which is usually hellenised as Megabyzus; see **7, no.91(i)** & n.2.

FROM ARTAXERXES I TO THE LAST YEARS OF DARIUS II (465–405)

Introduction

For the period of 135 years, which separate the death of Xerxes from the murder of Darius III and the demise of the Achaemenid empire, the documents at our disposal for understanding the history of the Persian empire are extremely unsatisfactory. Old Persian inscriptions are limited to statements reciting the royal genealogy and building achievements (e.g. **8, nos.4; 5; 23**). The surviving Persepolis archives cease early in Artaxerxes I's reign (see **Chapter 1**). Although there is extensive documentation relating to the Persian administration in Babylonia and Egypt in the later fifth century, such texts by their very nature tell us relatively little about political events (see, for example, **8, nos.34; 36**), although they can provide valuable additional insights on occasion or help resolve the chronology of events, as in the case of the struggle for the throne at Artaxerxes I's death (see the notes to **8, nos.19; 20**). Thucydides, in his magnificent account of the life and death struggle between Athens and Sparta, naturally mentions Persian affairs only in as much as they impinge on events in Greece. This allows us to glimpse something of Persian policies in the north-western sector of the empire, as well as tracking the growing dependence of Greek states on Persian support. Thucydides' work breaks off in 411, but Xenophon's story of the internecine Greek struggles from 411/10 to 362 is a stark illustration of this trend (see further **Chapter 9**). Diodorus, writing four centuries later, based himself on fourth-century Greek historians, whose interests were, again, limited to tracing developments in Greece. The result is that we are informed in some detail about events in this particular frontier zone (see **8, Sections A(d); B(b)**). The one area which fell, at times, into both Thucydides' and Diodorus' purview was Egypt, which revolted between 464/3 and 454 and received military aid from Athens (**8, nos.6; 7**). Again, we must note that it was the Greek involvement which dictated the inclusion of this major event in the accounts of these writers, and their primary focus is on the fate of the Athenian expeditionary force rather than Egypt's internal affairs. Ctesias, who was writing about internal matters, suffers from several shortcomings. One is the fact that he is only preserved in summaries and extracts (cf. **Chapter 1**). These perhaps reflect the interest of individual readers, who seem to have been particularly intrigued by the opulence of palace life, court scandals and lurid accounts of exotic punishments, of which Ctesias' history contained an ample quota. Nevertheless, what survives of Ctesias can be valuable as in his retailing of the bloodthirsty contest for Artaxerxes I's succession (**8, nos.19–22**), and his focus on regions lying generally beyond the geopolitical vision of the other historians (e.g. **8, nos.2; 9; 10**).

This source profile determines the lay-out of this chapter and seriously restricts what we can know about the political history of the time. First (**8, Section A(a)**), we can trace a little

of Artaxerxes I's moves to consolidate his position on the throne following the murder of his father Xerxes, and a probable challenge by his brother (see **7, Section F**; **8, no.2**). These may be reflected in some reported changes in administration and court procedures (**8, nos.1; 3**), although the evidence is by no means unequivocal. The sonorous recital of his genealogy and emphasis on the completion of his father's building projects (**8, nos.4–5**; **figs.8.1 & 8.2**) served to create the impression that the Achaemenid dynastic line had continued unbroken. At the same time, some changes in the repertoire of decoration at Persepolis can be detected, perhaps reflecting a subtle shift in the relationship of king and subjects (see **8, no.5**, n.1).

The next definable event, linked directly by one source to the disorders accompanying Artaxerxes' accession (see **8, no.6**(71)), is the revolt of Egypt and its brutal suppression, following the death of the king's uncle and satrap of Egypt, Achaemenes, in battle. The Greek accounts dwell on the Athenian role as well as giving the impression that all of Egypt participated (**8, nos.6; 7**). However, evidence from Egypt strongly suggests that the revolt did not affect the whole of the country (**8, no.8**, see particularly Chauveau 2004). This is further implied by the fact that the Egyptian rebel leader, Inaros, had to supplement his forces with troops from beyond Egypt's borders and that there were certainly Egyptians who remained loyal to the Persians (**8, no.7**(104)). Prominent among Inaros' allies was the Athenian fleet, active on a wide front at this time as shown by an inscription listing those fallen in naval operations in Greece, Cyprus and Phoenicia as well as Egypt (ML, no. 33). Athens' extensive actions on the empire's fringes prompted the Persians to try to profit from its hostility with Sparta: an emissary was sent to bribe Sparta to invade Attica and so force them to withdraw from Egypt – a mission which failed (**8, nos.6**(74); **7**(109)), although it was to be repeated with more success subsequently. Although the Persians were able to reassert control of the country (**8, no.9**), it is worth noting that parts of the marshy Western Delta continued to be ruled by local princes (**8, nos.7**(110); **11**), limiting effective Persian control here (but see Lloyd 1975–88, I: 49). The leaders of Egypt's later successful secession in 400 (see **9, Section C(b)**) were the descendants of these Delta kinglets.

Two episodes are linked to the aftermath of the Egyptian rebellion. One is a long and somewhat garbled story from Ctesias concerning a revolt by Megabyzus, the Persian commander of the forces that had successfully re-established imperial power in the country (**8, nos.9–10**). According to Ctesias, Megabyzus became disaffected because his promises to the Greek prisoners-of-war were not honoured. At this, he is said to have withdrawn to the Levant where he rebelled with the support of Greek mercenaries. It is extremely difficult to extract much sense from the story, which concentrates on Megabyzus' chivalry to the exclusion of almost anything else, and his eventual reconciliation with the king. As a result, the idea that the Persians experienced real problems in the region at this time is seriously doubted by many. Nevertheless, some have tried to link the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem, recounted in the homonymous Old Testament books, with this assumed unrest, i.e. they were sent as part of the Persian government's attempt to re-establish calm and order in the province.¹ The other is an abortive Athenian expedition to Cyprus under the leadership of Cimon (**8, no.11**). He had returned from exile in 451 and used the opportunity of a Sparta–Athens truce to renew Athenian offensives on Persian territory (**7, nos.69–73**; **8, no.7**(104)), including responding to a call for help from Inaros' successor, Amyrtaeus. But the death of Cimon and problems of supply, perhaps combined with prompt action by the Persians, caused the Athenian fleet to withdraw home.²

The Athenian disaster in Egypt, the fruitless expedition to Cyprus and the fact that opposition parties in member states of the Athenian League found ready support from the Persians

(see **8, no.12**) seem to have led Athens to call a halt to raids on more distant Persian-held territories. It is at this point that, according to Diodorus (**8, no.13**), a peace was negotiated between Athens and Persia, with the latter agreeing that the Greek cities of Asia be autonomous, in return for a cessation of Athenian aggression. Its historicity, given that Thucydides does not mention it, is debated, but several points are clear: first, the autonomy clause gave the Persians an opening to intervene when Athens tried to impose control on their 'allies'; secondly, it was clearly up to Athens to enforce the terms; thirdly, while the Persian king may have accepted the suspension of tribute payments from these cities, this was strictly temporary and his claim to that income was never renounced (see **8, no.26(5)**); fourthly, the Persians never ceased to exploit internal rivalries in Greek cities to their own advantage (**8, nos.14; 17**). Finally, it has been well observed that the clauses of the peace could have been taken as a victory for each side, see **8, no.13**, n.6. But the greatest opportunity for Persia to re-establish full control along its north-western frontier was the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431, which locked Athens and Sparta in a life-and-death struggle for the next twenty-six years. Right from the start, Sparta hoped that the tensions between Persia and Athens might help them obtain Persian funding (**8, no.16** & n.1).³ But the negotiations dragged on, and when the Athenians intercepted a Persian embassy on its way to Sparta in 424/3 (**8, no.18**), they themselves tried to make overtures to Artaxerxes I, which may eventually have met with success (**8, no.24** with nn.1 & 4).

Athenian attempts at reaching a settlement were interrupted by the Persian king's death and the ensuing struggle for the throne between three of his sons, as recounted by Ctesias (**8, nos.19–21**). Babylonian documents provide valuable help in showing that Artaxerxes died between 24 December 424 and 10 January 423, when his bastard son, Ochus, was recognised as ruler, with the throne-name Darius (II). This evidence does not invalidate Ctesias' account of a three-cornered contest for the kingship (**8, no.20**): a large number of the individuals he names as supporters of the rivals figure as holders of estates in Babylonia, which argues for Ctesias' essential reliability in this instance. The course of events may perhaps be reconstructed as follows. Ochus enjoyed extensive support in Babylonia, as shown by the immediacy of his acceptance there as the new ruler on his father's death (cf. Stolper 1999a: 372). However, Artaxerxes' only surviving legitimate son, Xerxes, was simultaneously pronounced king elsewhere (presumably in Fars), although he was rapidly eliminated by his half-brother, Sogdianus, who must then have ruled contemporary with Ochus for a few months. Ochus' hand was greatly strengthened by the defection of Arbarios, Sogdianus' cavalry commander, and his chief courtier, Artoxares. With significant support from a majority of the Persian aristocracy, Ochus was able to take and execute Sogdianus, and establish his position as king empire-wide with the name Darius II. Interestingly, the Babylonian material shows that the Babylonian estates of Menostanes, Sogdianus' most loyal follower according to Ctesias, passed into the hands of Artoxares, presumably as a reward for his rallying to the cause of Darius II (see **8, no.20(50)** & n.12). Darius II's vulnerability, at least in the early years of his reign, is underlined by another challenge mounted by his brother Arsites, helped by two of Sogdianus' lieutenants, as well as one of Megabyzus' sons (**8, no.22**).⁴ We should also note that his son, the future Artaxerxes II, and his daughter, Amestris (**8, no.21**), were both married to members of the prominent Hydarnid family,⁵ which may have been a way of harnessing their loyalty during this time of crisis.⁶ Darius' formal proclamations evoke his right to the throne by descent and Auramazda's agency (**8, no.23**).

The limited evidence at our disposal (see above, p.310) makes it impossible to trace much of Persian affairs in Darius II's reign, except for the increasingly intense involvement of

the Achaemenid authorities in the Aegean area (**8, Section B(b)**). Two aspects become very clear at this stage. One is the growing rivalry between Athens and Sparta to gain Persian aid, which could put them at the mercy of the Persian authorities. The prime reason for Persian interest in acceding to Greek requests for money emerges clearly from Thucydides' account, i.e. the weakness of Persian naval power at this stage, hence its need to harness Greek fleets from whichever side offered the best deal for the Persians to pursue their goals of retaining and re-establishing control along the Aegean seaboard. The second is the jockeying for advantage and chronic jealousy between the Persian governors in the north-west, which provided opportunities on occasion for the Greek states to try to play them off against each other (see **8, no.26**). This complicated situation created a series of recurring problems that dominated events in this frontier zone for the next seventy to eighty years, and allows us to gage the difficulties the central administration had to contend with in at least one of its territories.

Despite the possible peace concluded between Persia and Athens (**8, no.24**), the rebellion of Sardis' satrap, Pisuthnes, was initially supported by an Athenian commander and Greek mercenaries (**8, no.25**). Although he was successfully bribed to change sides, Athens nevertheless continued to support his son, Amorges (**8, no.24(i)** & n.3). Only after 412 was he captured by Spartan forces, acting on behalf of Tissaphernes, who had been installed in Pisuthnes' post. Following Athens' disastrous expedition to Sicily (414/13), her power was at a low ebb and the Persian governors preferred for a while to negotiate for Spartan support (**8, nos.26–7; 29–30**). A first agreement was reached between Tissaphernes and Sparta in the summer of 412 (**8, no.27**), revised in winter 412/11 (Thuc. VIII, 36–7) and finalised in early 411 (Thuc. VIII, 58). By the terms, Sparta and Persia recognised each other's territorial rights, Tissaphernes undertook to pay for any military Spartan aid received and the two parties allied against Athens. Of the final treaty, agreed in Caunus, we are fortunate to have a Lycian inscribed version (**8, no.29**), indicating that it was overseen by a local Lycian dignitary. This agreement rapidly came apart when Tissaphernes failed to come up with the expected funds, so that the Spartans switched to helping Tissaphernes' neighbour satrap, Pharnabazus, against Athenian operations in the Hellespont (**8, no.30**). But their poor performance there led Pharnabazus to enlist the aid of a reviving Athens, together with a promise to conduct an Athenian embassy to the Persian court to plead for official support – a promise which came to nought as the king had, in the meantime, acceded to Spartan requests for money and despatched his younger son, Cyrus, with special powers to oversee affairs in western Asia Minor (**8, nos.31–2**). Sparta's favoured position as Persia's friend was thus endorsed, despite Tissaphernes' pleas that Persia would profit most from a policy that kept the rival Greeks at loggerheads (**8, no.33**).

Although we are best informed about Persian actions along the north-western front, that is the result of the limited documentary base at our disposal (see above, p.310). It can scarcely have been the reality that all other regions of the enormous empire were uniformly tranquil and that the Persian king's energies were focussed exclusively on dealing with the small Aegean communities. By pure chance, we have some hints of problems elsewhere in Darius II's reign. A parchment document from Egypt refers to unrest in the province at some point between 411 and 408 (**8, no.34**), although it seems to have been rather limited, temporally and spatially. Xenophon refers, in just one sentence, to the fact that Darius had to deal with a revolt in Media in 408, which he did successfully (**8, no.35**), while a Babylonian contract (**8, no.36**) may indicate difficulties in the south of the country in 407. Right at the end of Darius' reign, we hear of the king's presence in north-eastern Media involved in action against the Cadusians further east (**8, no.37**). Although this last is described as

a rebellion by Xenophon, it is more likely to be related to the fact that the mutual friendship and alliance, which the Persians maintained with the inhabitants of this region (on whose manpower they drew) required regular renewal and confirmation, as indicated by the recurring references to royal 'campaigning' here and the presence of Cadusian troops in the royal armies (Briant 1996a: 752–3 [2002b: 732–3]; 2003: 208–9; Allen 2002; cf. **9, no.67; 11, no.22**(3.18)). This scanty material is all we have, but it serves to remind us that maintaining control over such a diverse and far-flung terrain demanded constant activity empire-wide.

Notes

1. See Hoglund 1992, for an overview of past arguments, although his own interpretation differs. The historical reliability, as well as chronology, of these two biblical books is so hotly contested (see Kuhrt 2001a, for an outline of problems) that I am not including them in this chapter. Some less contentious material appears elsewhere (**14, no.28; 15, no.19**).
2. See D.S. XII, 3–4 (muddling this up with Cimon's earlier Eurymedon campaign), which suggests that the Persians kept their forces in readiness after the Inaros revolt.
3. The Persian authorities may also have been backing Carian and Lycian resistance to Athenian actions in these regions, which led to the death of two generals (430/29, Lycia: Thuc. II, 69; TAM i, 44 a.42–5, cf. Keen 1998: 129–33; 428/7, Caria: Thuc. III, 19.2).
4. For the possibility that Pissuthnes' revolt may also be linked to this struggle, see **8, no.25**, n.2.
5. Hydarnes (OP Vidarna) was one of Darius I's helpers, see **5, no.1**, para.68; the marriages are noted in Ctesias (FGrH 688 F15(55)).
6. For royal marriage strategies, see Brosius 1996, ch.3; **12, Introduction**.

A. Artaxerxes I (465–424/3)

(a) Artaxerxes I establishes his position

1. The new king's administrative arrangements

Diodorus Siculus XI, 71.1–2.

In this year¹ Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, who had just recovered the throne,² first of all punished those who had had a part in the murder of his father and then organised the affairs of the kingdom in his own interests. Thus with respect to the satraps in office at the time, he dismissed those who were hostile to him and chose from among his friends those that seemed able and gave the satrapies to them.³ He also concerned himself with both the revenues and readying the forces, and since, generally, his management of the whole kingdom was mild, he enjoyed the full approval of the Persians.⁴

Notes

1. According to Diodorus' chronology this is 463.
2. For the plot leading to the murder of Xerxes and his son Darius, and Artaxerxes' subsequent struggle with the assassins, see **7, no.92**.
3. It is possible that this was simply part of the ceremonies enacted at the formal accession of a new king, as happened in the Assyrian coronation ritual (Müller 1937). However, this act of dismissal of existing officials and appointment of new ones is only attested (so far) in relation to Artaxerxes I (cf. Josephus, *AJ* XI, 186), suggesting that this action was demanded by the circumstances surrounding Artaxerxes I's accession.

4. This sounds like part of the conventional virtues attributed to kings, found also in other writers with respect to Artaxerxes I, Darius II (**9, no.3**), Artaxerxes II, as well as (in slightly different form) for Xerxes (**7, no.5**) and Darius III (**10, no.5**; D.S. XVII, 6.1–2). See further, **11, no.19**.

2. A challenge to the throne in Bactria

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F14(35); Lenfant, 129.

Insurrection against Artaxerxes by Bactria and its satrap, another Artapanus.¹ A battle takes place with an indecisive outcome; a second one is fought, but the wind starts to blow straight at the Bactrians; so Artaxerxes wins and subjects all of Bactria.²

Notes

1. This may be a mistake by Ctesias (or his epitomator) for Hystaspes, named by Diodorus as Xerxes' third son, governor of Bactria, and absent on the occasion of Xerxes' murder (**7, no.92(ii)**). The rebellion could, thus, be seen as part of the struggle for the throne on the death of Xerxes, rather than a local revolt against Persian rule. See Lenfant (266, n.542), who suggests that 'another Artapanus' is a way of characterising the satrap's ambition.
2. The only other probable reference to Artaxerxes' problems in Bactria comes in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* 31.3, where he says that Artaxerxes paid no attention to Greek affairs because he was far more concerned 'with matters in the high country', i.e. the Upper Satrapies – a term used somewhat fluidly by classical writers to describe regions to the east of Asia Minor (cf. Briant 1990b: 48–51).

3. Court hierarchy and etiquette reformulated?

(i) Plutarch, *Themistocles* 29.5.

At about that time,¹ the king introduced a great many changes affecting his favourites and the court in general (. . .)²

(ii) Plutarch, *Moralia* 565a.

He (sc. Artaxerxes)³ was the first to order this form of punishment for those of the ruling group who gave offence: instead of having their bodies scourged and the hair plucked from their heads,⁴ they took off their outer garments and these were scourged, and took off their head-dress and this was plucked, while the owners, in tears, begged for mercy.

Notes

1. Plutarch is referring to Themistocles' residence at Artaxerxes' court (**13, no.40**).
2. Plutarch uses these reforms to explain how Themistocles was able to become a favourite at Artaxerxes' court. It is, perhaps, more likely that, if they are a reality, we should see them as part of Artaxerxes' arrangements aimed at strengthening his position on the throne.
3. Plutarch precedes this with a statement that Artaxerxes I had allowed his hunting companions to take a shot at game before the king. This is probably a confusion with Artaxerxes II, whom Plutarch describes in his *Life* as easing up on certain court regulations (*Artax.* 4). The confusion seems to be confirmed by the fact that, in Ctesias' saga of Megabyzus (FGrH 688 F14(43)), Artaxerxes I condemned the latter to death for presuming to shoot at a lion before the king; **13, no.30**.

4. For this practice of ritual and public humiliation, see already Cambyses' treatment of Amasis' mummy (**4, no.17** & n.1); for echoes of this royal punishment at the provincial level in the reign of Artaxerxes I, see Stolper 1997.

4. The genealogy of Artaxerxes I

A¹I. Inscribed silver phiale; Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 74.30: Gunter and Root 1998; Kent 1953, A¹I; **fig.8.1**.¹
Translation: Lecoq 1997: 266 (A¹VSa).

Inscription:²

Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of lands, son of Xerxes the king, Xerxes son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid:³ in/for his house⁴ this silver bowl⁵ was made.

Notes

1. One of a set of four inscribed silver *phialai*. The *phiale* was a specifically Old Persian form of shallow drinking bowl, the use of which became widespread in the Achaemenid period, leading to changes in patterns of eating (Dusinberre 1999). For full discussion of authenticity and problematical find spot (Hamadan? Persepolis? Antiquities dealer in Iran?), see Curtis, Cowell and Walker 1995; Gunter and Root 1998: 3–16.
2. The monolingual OP inscription runs in a single line just inside the rim of the bowl.
3. Note the stress on Artaxerxes' lineage.
4. For the ambiguities of this word (OP *vith-*), which can mean either 'family/clan' or literally 'house/palace', see the discussion in Gunter and Root 1998: 22. Does the inscription, therefore, mean that the item was made in the palace, thus 'hallmarking' it for the recipient? or does it distinguish the bowl as palace property?
5. OP *batugara*, suggested by Lecoq (1997: 266) to be related to the Persian word for wine. See also **12, no.44(ii)**.

5. Artaxerxes completes his father's palace(s) at Persepolis

(i) Trilingual inscription from Palace H

A¹Pa. Fragmentary Old Persian and Akkadian text of an original trilingual inscription, Persepolis: Kent, A¹Pa. Only the Akkadian version is sufficiently preserved to indicate content (cf. Schmidt 1953: 112–13). Discussion of the fragments of the OP version, Schmitt 2000: 112–13; Babylonian text: Weissbach 1911: 121; see **fig.8.2**.¹
Translation: Lecoq 1997: 265; Stolper 1998b, A1Pa.

[. . .] one king of many.

I am Artaxerxes, great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this great earth far and wide, son of king Xerxes, son of Darius, the Achaemenid.

Artaxerxes, the great king, proclaims: With the protection of Auramazda, this palace which my father, king Xerxes, made, I completed it.

Me may Auramazda protect, together with the gods, as well as my kingship and what I have made.

ARTAXERXES I

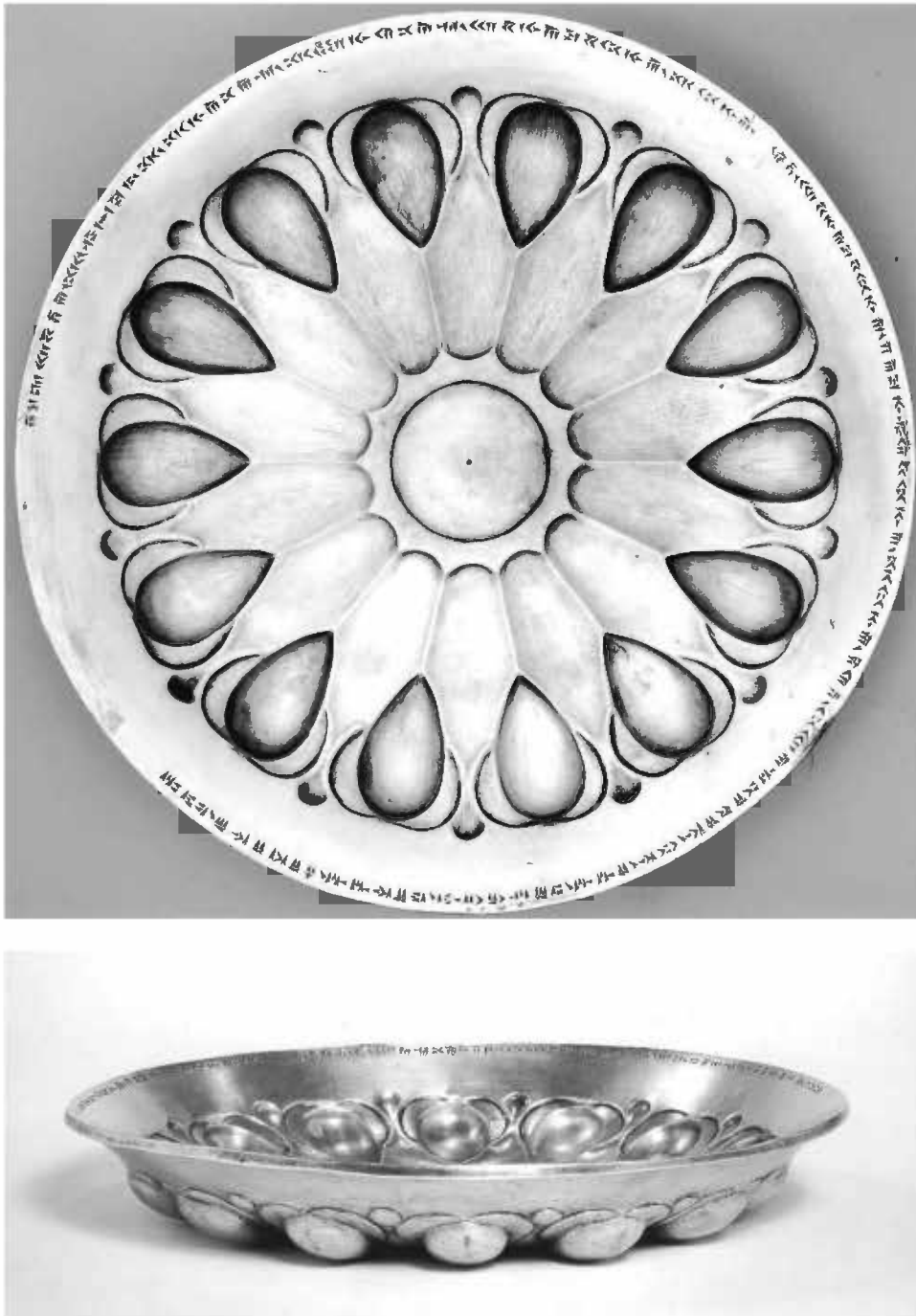


Figure 8.1 (a) and (b) Silver phiale of Artaxerxes I; see **8, no.4**, for the Old Persian inscription. (Photograph, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Purchase, F1974.30.)



Figure 8.2 Photograph of A¹Pa (8, no. 5(i)), in situ: Shahbazi 1985, pl.XLI. (Reproduced by kind permission of the editors of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*.)

(ii) Babylonian foundation text found in Hundred Column Hall²

A¹Pb, Persepolis: Kent, A¹Pb.

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 265–6; Stolper 1998b, A1Pb.

Artaxerxes the king proclaims: This palace, king Xerxes my father set its foundations; with the protection of Auramazda, I, king Artaxerxes, built and completed it.

Notes

1. See plan of Persepolis, **fig.8.3**, for location of palace. Although the iconographic motifs first attested under Darius I are used for the decoration, it also shows some changes, perhaps reflecting shifts and developments in royal ideology; cf. Briant 1996a: 590 [2002b: 573]; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1998; reconstruction of façade: Tilia 1972: 293ff.
2. The find spot of this stone inscription may indicate that Artaxerxes I finished the building of Xerxes' Hundred Column Hall (see **fig.8.3**). But, as it was not found in situ, this is by no means certain; see Schmidt 1953: 126, 129 & fig.60A (text); Roaf 1983: 141–2; Calmeyer 1990a: 16.

(b) Egypt in revolt (464/3–454)**6. The course of the Egyptian rebellion as seen by a later historian**

Diodorus Siculus XI, 71.3–6; 74; 77.1–5.

When the people living in Egypt learned of the death of Xerxes and all the attacks and chaos within the Persian kingdom, they decided to make a bid for freedom.¹ So they immediately mustered their forces and revolted from the Persians; they expelled the Persian tribute collectors and put in as king a man called Inaros.² He first recruited soldiers from the local people, but later he also collected mercenaries from elsewhere and put together a considerable army. He also sent ambassadors to the Athenians to make an alliance, with the promise that, if they should liberate the Egyptians, he would give them a share in the kingdom and grant them favours far outstripping their good service.³ The Athenians decided it was to their advantage to humble the Persians as much as they could and tie the Egyptians closely to themselves against the unexpected turns of fortune, so they voted to send three hundred triremes to help the Egyptians. So the Athenians set enthusiastically about preparing the expedition. When Artaxerxes heard of the Egyptian revolt and the preparations for war, he thought he must exceed the Egyptians in the size of his forces. So he immediately mustered soldiers from all the satrapies, equipped ships and took care of all the other preparations.

(74) At this time,⁴ the Persian king Artaxerxes appointed Achaemenes, son of Darius and his own uncle,⁵ as commander of the war against Egypt. He gave him more than three hundred thousand soldiers, including cavalry and infantry, and ordered him to suppress the Egyptians. When Achaemenes arrived in Egypt, he pitched his camp near the Nile and, after resting his forces, prepared for battle. The Egyptians had gathered their army from Libya and Egypt, and awaited the aid of the Athenians. Once the Athenians arrived in Egypt with two hundred ships and had drawn up in battle order with the Egyptians, a great battle ensued. For a while the Persians with their superior numbers had the advantage, but later, when the Athenians took the offensive, routed those facing them and killed many, the rest of the barbarians turned to full-scale flight. There was a lot of slaughter in the course of the flight, and finally the Persians took refuge in the so-called White Castle,⁶ after losing the larger part of their army. The Athenians, who had won the victory by their own bravery, pursued the barbarians to the aforementioned fort, and did not hesitate to lay siege to it. When Artaxerxes heard of the defeat of his soldiers, he first sent some of his friends⁷ with a lot of money to Lacedaemon and asked the Lacedaemonians to make war on the Athenians. He thought that, if they did that, the Athenians who had been victorious in Egypt would sail back to Athens to help their homeland. But the Lacedaemonians neither accepted the money nor paid any attention to the Persian requests, so Artaxerxes, despairing of receiving help from the Lacedaemonians, prepared another force. He appointed as its leaders Artabazus⁸ and Megabyzus,⁹ men of exceptional merit, and sent them to fight the Egyptians.

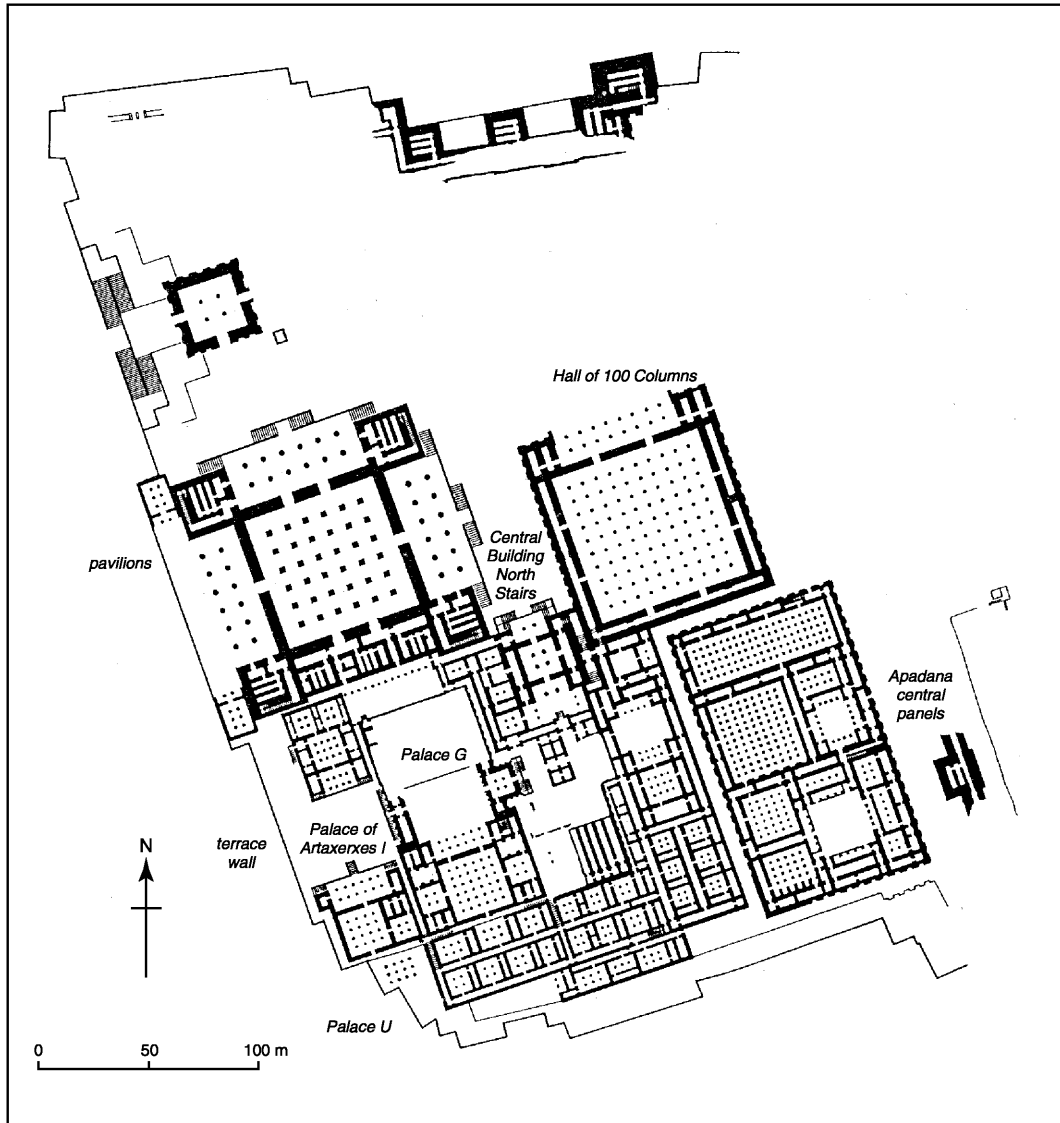


Figure 8.3 Plan of the palace terrace of Persepolis, c.470–450. (After Roaf 1983.)

(77) In Asia the Persian generals advanced overland through Syria and Phoenicia;¹⁰ with the fleet accompanying the army along the coast, they arrived at Memphis in Egypt. They first relieved the siege of the White Castle, striking terror into the Egyptians and Athenians. Then they decided on a shrewd move, avoiding frontal encounters and trying to end the war by the use of stratagems. So, as the Attic ships were moored at the island called Prosopitis,¹¹ they diverted the river which flowed round the island by means of canals and thus made the island part of the mainland. When the ships were thus suddenly stranded on dry land, the Egyptians were afraid, abandoned the Athenians and came to terms with the Persians.

Deserted by their allies and seeing their ships useless, the Athenians burnt them so that they would not fall into the enemy's hands. Then, undismayed by their fearful predicament, they themselves encouraged each other not to do anything unworthy of the contests won previously. And so, outstripping in valour those who had died for Greece at Thermopylae,¹² they were ready to fight it out with the enemy. But Artabazus and Megabyzus, the Persian generals, noted the extraordinary courage of their enemies and reasoned that they would be unable to destroy such men without losing thousands of their own, and so they made an agreement with the Athenians allowing them to withdraw safely from Egypt. As a result the Athenians saved themselves by their own courage and left Egypt; they went through Libya to Cyrene¹³ and, miraculously, got home safely.¹⁴

Notes

1. In Diodorus' chronological scheme, these events occurred in 463, although Thucydides' account (**8, no.7**) makes clear that the Athenian participation began only in 460 or 459. For a discussion of the chronology and course of the revolt, see Lloyd 1975–88, I: 38–49.
2. A Libyan dynast based in the Western Delta (Eg. *Irethoreru*); see further, **8, no.7**. The fact that his claim to the throne was fairly widely acknowledged (at least for a while) is now attested by a demotic ostrakon from Ayn Manawir (Kharga oasis), which dates to his second regnal year; Chauveau 2003: 39; 2004. Note that he is not given the regular Egyptian royal title, but called 'Prince of Rebels', although his standing is clear from the fact that the contract is dated by him and to his second year. For evidence showing continued adherence to the Persian rulers elsewhere, see **8, no.8** & n.2.
3. This should probably be understood as grants of land.
4. I.e. in 462.
5. Achaemenes had been installed as satrap of Egypt by Xerxes in the wake of the revolt which broke out in Darius I's last year; see **7, no.6**.
6. Part of Memphis, reflecting its oldest Egyptian name, *Ineb-hed* = 'White Wall' (Gr. *Leukon Teichos*); see further **8, no.7**.
7. Members of the royal retinue.
8. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces and cousin of Darius, was one of Xerxes' generals in the Greek campaign, fought at Plataea and was subsequently put in charge of Hellespontine Phrygia; see **7, nos.49(ii)** & n.2; **58; 60; 81** (129).
9. Son of Zopyrus and general in Xerxes' parade (**11, no.25** (82)); see further **7, nos.7**, n.5; **24**, n.6; **78(i); 92(i)** (cf. also Hdt. III, 160 for his command in Egypt). For the story of his relations with Artaxerxes, see **8, no.10; 13, no.30**; for his son's flight to Athens, see **8, no.15**.
10. The generals had spent, according to Diodorus, the time from 461 to 460 preparing army and fleet in Cilicia using local levies there and in the Phoenician and Cypriot cities (D.S. XI, 75.2–4).
11. In the 4th/5th 'Saite' nome of Lower Egypt; cf. Hdt. II, 165, who locates it in the Western Delta.
12. The heroic stand of the three hundred Spartans under Leonidas against the Persians at the Pass of Thermopylae (480), in which all were killed, came to encapsulate the ideal of Greek freedom defending itself against barbarism and despotism (see **7, no.29**).
13. Cyrene was the small Greek kingdom on the north coast of Libya, see **4, no.8** (13) & n.3; **6, no.4**.
14. Contrast Thucydides' account, much closer in time to the events, **8, no.7**.

7. The Egyptian revolt in Athenian perspective¹

Thucydides I, 104; 109–10.

Inaros, the son of Psammetichus,² a Libyan and king of the Libyans bordering on Egypt,³ starting out from Marea, the town south of Pharos,⁴ led in revolt most of Egypt⁵ from the Persian king Artaxerxes. After taking over power himself he called in the Athenians. The

Athenians happened to be engaged in a campaign against Cyprus with two hundred ships of their own and of their allies. They abandoned Cyprus and came, sailing from the sea up the Nile, gained control of the river and two-thirds of Memphis and attacked the third section called White Castle.⁶ Inside were the Persian and Median fugitives and the Egyptians who had not joined the revolt.

(109) Meanwhile⁷ the Athenians and the allies were still in Egypt, and experiencing all the many aspects of war. At first the Athenians were in control of Egypt, and the king sent Megabazus, a Persian,⁸ to Lacedaemon with money to bribe the Peloponnesians to invade Attica so that the Athenians would leave Egypt. But he was not successful and the money was being spent otherwise, so Megabazus with what was left of the money was recalled to Asia, while Megabazus, son of Zopyrus, a Persian was sent with a large army (sc. to Egypt). He arrived by land, defeated the Egyptians and their allies in battle, drove the Greeks from Memphis and eventually shut them up on the island of Prosopitis.⁹ Here he besieged them for a year and six months, until he drained the channels round the island by diverting the water elsewhere, so that the ships were on dry land, the island part of the mainland, and he took the island crossing on foot.

(110) So, after six years of war, this affair of the Greeks came to nothing. Only a few of the large number made their way through Libya to safety in Cyrene¹⁰ – the majority were destroyed. Egypt was again subject to the king, except for Amyrtaeus, the king in the marshes.¹¹ Because of the extent of the marshes it was impossible to capture him; further the marsh-people are the most warlike of the Egyptians.¹² Inaros, the king of the Libyans, who had been responsible for all this in Egypt, was betrayed and crucified.¹³ Fifty triremes of Athens and the allies had sailed to Egypt to take over; they put in at the Mendesian mouth¹⁴ knowing nothing of what had happened. Here they were attacked from the land by the army and from the sea by the Phoenician fleet,¹⁵ which destroyed most of the ships, just a few escaping. This is how the great expedition of the Athenians and their allies in Egypt ended.

Notes

1. Thucydides is here turning back from his current story to the beginning of the revolt, which is variously dated between 464 and 462; see **8, no.6**, n.1, and note CAH V, 50–1, as well as the list of Athenian war dead (ML, no.33) dating to 459, which enumerates men who died in Egypt, as well as in a large number of other campaigns being fought simultaneously. The end of the revolt must date to 454.
2. This filiation may be programmatic rather than real. Psammetichus I (664–610) was associated with the expulsion of the Nubian rulers and the reunification of Egypt (see Kuhrt 1995a: 637–8), while Psammetichus was also the name of the last Egyptian king, defeated by Cambyses (**4, nos.8; 9**). Note that another Psammetichus may have been the leader of the revolt against Darius and Xerxes (486–5; **7, no.6**, n.2). For Inaros, see **8, no.6**, n.2.
3. I.e. on the fringes of the Western Delta.
4. Marea was located west of later Alexandria, while Pharos was the island lying just north of Alexandria, joined by a causeway to the city, site of the famous lighthouse.
5. The revolt mainly affected, but was by no means confined to, Lower Egypt, see Briant 1988a; 1996a: 592 [2002: 575]; **8, no.8**; but note, **8, no.6**, n.2.
6. See **8, no.6**, n.6.
7. In Thucydides' chronology it is now 456.
8. According to Thucydides, this was a different Megabazus from the famous son of Zopyrus, see **8, no.6**, n.8, who was sent to Egypt subsequently.
9. See **8, no.6**, n.11.
10. See **8, no.6**, n.13.

11. Amyrtaeus (Eg. *Imn-yr-dys*) could have succeeded Inaros, or been a contemporary kinglet in the Western Delta. He may have been the grandfather of the same named ruler of Dynasty XXVIII (9, no.57). Thucydides' statement reveals, interestingly, that Persian power was limited by the nature of the marshy terrain in the Western Delta. See further 8, no.11; 9, no.57. Note that yet another prince in this region (Psammetichus (V), 'king of Libya', ap. Philochorus (FGrH 328 F119)), sent grain to Athens in 445/4; see further Lloyd 1975–88, II: 49 & n.205).
12. Cf. Hdt. II, 164–5, who says that the best soldiers in Egypt came from the Delta.
13. Cf. 8, no.9.
14. The eastern arm of the Nile Delta.
15. See 8, no.6, n.10.

8. Inscription of a Persian official in Upper Egypt

Hieroglyphic Egyptian inscription from Wadi Hammamat, Egypt: Posener 1936, no.31.
Translation: Brosius 2000, no.79.

Min of Koptos, lord of the chapel Sehent.¹ Year 5 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Artaxerxes – may he live for ever – beloved of the gods.² Made by . . .³ of Persia, Ariyawrata, son of Artames, born of the lady Qandjou;⁴ that he may live before Min, Horus, and Isis⁵ of Koptos.

Notes

1. Min was an Egyptian fertility god, and the local god of Koptos (Eg. *Gebtu*; mod. Qift), capital of the fifth Upper Egyptian nome. Koptos lay at the end of an important route leading through the eastern desert to the Red Sea, and to a rich mining and quarrying area. This inscription almost certainly commemorates a quarrying expedition which set out from Koptos.
2. The date is 461, thus falling squarely into the time of the Egyptian revolt, showing that it was not supported throughout Egypt, and that local Persian officials were continuing to discharge their routine duties. Further possible confirmation comes from Egypt's southern frontier, where a demotic contract (PWien D10151) drawn up between two priests is dated to the fifth year of Artaxerxes. It was originally dated to Artaxerxes III (i.e. 339/8), but C.J. Martin (in Porten 1996, C29, n.1) argues in favour of Artaxerxes I; see now also Chauveau 2004. If that is right, the document's date is 460, and confirms that this strategically important sector of the country was in Persian hands, at least at this point.
3. It is not certain how to read this title, although it could be an Egyptian rendering of the Achaemenid Aramaic title *saris*; cf. Posener 1936: 126 (c). See further 12, no.25, n.4.
4. Although both the dedicator and his father have Persian names, the mother has an Egyptian one, reflecting something of the process of Persian acculturation in the provinces; cf. 17, no.38 & fig.17.11.
5. Horus was the falcon god of Egypt, closely associated with kingship; Isis was his mother.

9. A Persian story of the Egyptian revolt and its outcome

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F14(36–9); Lenfant, 129–31.¹

Egypt rebels, as a result of Inaros a Libyan and another man, an Egyptian,² fomenting revolt, and preparations for war are made. And the Athenians send, at his request, 400 ships.³ Artoxerxes prepares to go himself on campaign, but his friends advise him not to, so he sends Achaemenides, his brother,⁴ at the head of an army of 400,000 infantry and 80 ships.

Inaros engages Achaemenides in battle. And the Egyptian wins, Achaemenides is wounded and dies and his corpse is sent to Artaxerxes. Inaros is also victorious at sea, where Charitimides⁵ distinguishes himself – he being the admiral of the 400 Athenian ships – and of 50 Persian ships, 20 are captured with their crew and 30 destroyed.

(37) Then Megabyzus⁶ is sent against Inaros, in command of another army which adds to those remaining from the previous one 200,000 men and 300 ships, commanded by Oriscus,⁷ so that, aside from the fleet, the number is 500,000. Because when Achaemenides fell, there were 100,000 of the 400,000 that perished with him. A terrible battle ensues and many fall on both sides, most among the Egyptians. And Megabyzus wounds Inaros in the thigh, turns him to flight and the Persians are the definitive victors. Inaros flees to Byblos (a fortified town in Egypt),⁸ and the Greeks with him, as many as were not killed in the battle or along with Charitimides, and the Egyptians, except those in Byblos, surrender to Megabyzus.

(38) When this looks to be impregnable, Megabyzus makes an agreement with Inaros and the Greeks (numbering 6,000 or even more), according to which they will not receive any harm from the king, while the Greeks, if they wish, can go home.

He (sc. Megabyzus) appoints Sarsamas⁹ satrap of Egypt and, taking Inaros and the Greeks with him,¹⁰ he rejoins <Arto>xerxes, whom he finds in an absolute rage against Inaros for killing his brother Achaemenides. Megabyzus tells him all that has happened, says that he only took Byblos after giving his word to Inaros and the Greeks and demands that the king grant them their safety and succeeds. And finally it is announced to the army that Inaros and the Greeks will not be harmed.

(39) But Amytis (sc. Amestris)¹¹ is furious that no revenge is exacted from Inaros and the Greeks for her son Achaemenides. She demands this from the king, who does not give way, then from Megabyzus, who repulses her. Then, as she continues to nag her son, she succeeds, and after five years she receives Inaros and the Greeks from the king and impales the former on three poles; as for the fifty Greeks, all those she managed to get hold off, she cuts off their heads.

Notes

1. Ctesias' account appears extraordinarily garbled, almost certainly through errors in transmission and the process of excerption, see Lenfant, CI–CII, and her detailed comments, 266–8. The account seems to form part of Ctesias' Megabyzus saga, see references at **8, no.6**, n.9.
2. Probably Amyrtaeus, see **8, no.7** & n.11.
3. Contrast the numbers in **8, nos.6; 7**.
4. He is not known otherwise and not named by Ctesias previously as a son of Xerxes (see **7, no.92(i)**). Could this be an error for Achaemenes, Xerxes' brother and satrap of Egypt (see **8, no.6**, n.5)?
5. Not otherwise known.
6. See above, n.1.
7. Not otherwise known.
8. Unknown as a place in Egypt.
9. It is possible that this is a rendering of the Persian name Arshama (Gr. Arsames), identical with that of the well-documented satrap of Egypt, whose activities are attested in the late fifth century (see **8, no.34** & n.1; **14, no.42**; **15, no.8**; **16, nos.59(iii); 63–4**; **17, nos.31–2**). Installation of a new Persian governor makes sense at the end of the revolt during which the previous one had been killed, although the appointment would surely have been done by the king, not Megabyzus (this may be part of Megabyzus' 'heroisation'). Note that Aeschylus, *Persians* 36–7, refers to 'the ruler of sacred Memphis, great Arsames' in his recital of the noble Persians killed at Salamis

(480). This Arsames, who died at Salamis (presumably the one noted by Herodotus, **11, no.25**(67)), can obviously not be identical with the later satrap of Egypt, although Aeschylus' linking him with Egypt could suggest that an individual with this name had been in a position of some authority in Persian-governed Egypt.

10. Ctesias' tale suggests that the captive Inaros was taken for punishment to the king, rather than being executed immediately as Thucydides' phrasing implies (**8, no.7**(110)). It may be the way the story was moulded to preserve Megabyzus' noble image.
11. The manuscript has Amytis, but since Achaemenides is presented as her son, it should probably be corrected to Amestris, Xerxes' wife.

(c) Problems in the Levant

10. A revolt in the satrapy of Beyond-the-River?

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F14(40–2); Lenfant, 131–2.

Megabyzus¹ was struck down with terrible distress:² he wept and asked to be allowed to leave for Syria, his own country;³ thither he had secretly sent the other Greeks. He left, rebelled against the king and gathered a considerable force, as many as one hundred and fifty thousand, reckoning the cavalry <and infantry> separately. Ousiris⁴ is sent against him with two hundred thousand men and battle is joined. Megabyzus and Ousiris wound each other: Ousiris strikes Megabyzus with a spear on the thigh and inflicts a wound two fingers deep; Megabyzus also strikes Ousiris on the thigh with a spear, and then wounds him on the shoulder. Ousiris falls from his horse, but Megabyzus protects him, and orders that he be lifted up and left untouched. Many Persians fall and Megabyzus' sons, Zopyrus⁵ and Artyphios,⁶ fought bravely. Megabyzus' victory was hard-won, but he is magnanimous with respect to Ousiris and sent him back at Artoxerxes' request.

(41) Another army is sent against him under Menostanes, son of Artarios; Artarios is satrap of Babylon and Artoxerxes' brother.⁷ They fall upon each other and the Persian army is put to flight. Menostanes is wounded in the shoulder by Megabyzus; then he is hit by an arrow in the head, but not critically. Nevertheless, he flees with his retinue and Megabyzus wins a brilliant victory. Artarios sends to Megabyzus advising him to make peace with the king.

(42) He makes it clear he would like to treat with the king, but that he will not come to the king; he wants to stay in his own land. The king is informed of this, and Artoxares, the Paphlagonian eunuch,⁸ as well as Amestris⁹ advise him to come to terms quickly. So Artarios himself is sent, as well as Amytis,¹⁰ his (sc. Megabyzus') wife, and Artoxares, already aged twenty, as well as Petesas, son of Ousiris, and father of Spitamas.¹¹ They assure Megabyzus with oaths and arguments, and so persuade him to go to the king. And finally the king, once he arrived, forgave him his sins.

Notes

1. See **8, no.6**, n.9.
2. See Ctesias' account (**8, no.9** & n.10).
3. Given Megabyzus' impeccable Persian noble credentials, Syria (i.e. the Persian province Beyond-the-River (Akk. *ebir nari*)) was clearly not his own country in the sense of fatherland. It is often assumed that he was satrap of the region (e.g. Petit 1990: 194–5), although there is no evidence to support it. It is possible that he simply had estates there (see Briant 1996a: 594–5 [2002b: 578]).

4. Not otherwise known.
5. Hdt. III, 160 mentions that this Zopyrus defected to Athens, but gives no date. For Ctesias' account, see **8, no.15**.
6. He is only known from Ctesias, who describes him as involved in a later revolt against Darius II (**8, no.22**).
7. Both Menostanes and Artarios are attested in the documents from the Babylonian business family of Murashu, dating to the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. Menostanes is entitled 'prince (Akk. *mar biti*), the son of Artareme', the latter being, almost certainly, to be identified as Ctesias' Artarios, although he is nowhere explicitly called 'governor', see Stolper 1985: 90–1.
8. For the identification of Artoxares (note his Persian PN) with Artahsharu, who held an estate in Babylonia, see Stolper 1985: 91–2.
9. Amestris was Xerxes' principal wife and Artaxerxes' mother.
10. Amytis was, according to Ctesias' epitome, Xerxes' daughter; see **7, no.4**.
11. A Petesas and his son Spitamas appear as holders of substantial estates in the Nippur region among the files of the Murashu family. Given the coincidence of date and (probable) filiation, identification with the high-level Persians named here by Ctesias is very likely (Stolper 1985: 94–5).

11. The Athenians make an attempt on Cyprus (451 or 450–449)

Thucydides I, 112.

As the Athenians were not involved in a Greek war, they mounted a campaign against Cyprus, under Cimon,¹ consisting of two hundred of their own and allied ships. Sixty of these ships sailed off to Egypt at the request of Amyrtaeus,² the king of the marshes, while the rest besieged Kition. But Cimon's death and food shortage caused them to abandon Kition.³ As they were sailing off Salamis in Cyprus, they fought both by land and sea with a force of Cypriots, Phoenicians and Cilicians. They were victorious in both arenas and went home together with the ships that had returned from Egypt.

Notes

1. The famous general Cimon, son of Miltiades, had been in the forefront of the war of harassment against the Persians in the Aegean and along the coast of Asia Minor and Thrace in the 470s and 460s (**7, nos.69; 71–3**); he was exiled for ten years from Athens in 461.
2. See **8, no.7**(110) & n.11.
3. Diodorus Siculus XII, 3–4.3 spreads the expedition over the two years of 450 and 449, makes no mention of the task force sent to Egypt, has Cimon capture Kition (and Marion), as well as winning the land and sea-battles (as does Plutarch, Cimon 18.5), followed by an unsuccessful siege of Salamis, with the Athenians only returning home at the conclusion of the Peace of Callias (see **8, no.13**). Although Thucydides' account is frustratingly brief, it is to be preferred.

(d) The Aegean front

12. Erythrae between Persia and Athens

Marble stela (now lost), from the Athenian acropolis: IG I314; ML, no.40.¹
Translations: Fornara 1983, no.71; Bertrand 1992, no.22.

[The council and the people have decided . . .] that the Erythraeans should supply grain for the Great Panathenaia,² at least three minas,³ and that there should be distributed to the Erythraeans present [. . .] that one of the Erythraeans who wishes it; that there be established

by lot a council of 120 men; [. . .] that neither a foreigner nor a man less than thirty years can be a member of the council; that those who contravene this shall be prosecuted; that councillors cannot serve again before four years have passed [. . .] that the supervisor and the garrison-commander⁴ should draw lots for the installation of the next council; in future it shall be the council and the garrison-commander who will do this, at least thirty days before the council leaves office; that the councillors swear by Zeus, Apollo and Demeter calling down curses to the death on those who violate the oath and their children [. . .] victims [. . .], that the council pronounce the following oath: 'I shall do my office in the best and fairest way I can in the interest of the people (Gr. *plethos*) of the Erythraeans, the Athenians and the allies of the Athenians and I shall not revolt against the people of the Athenians and the allies of the Athenians, neither of my own will nor through being persuaded by someone else [. . .], I shall not receive any of the exiles, nor those who have taken refuge with the Medes,⁵ without the agreement of the council of the Athenians and the people (of Athens), and of those who have stayed, I shall not send into exile without the agreement of the council and people (Gr. *demos*) of the Athenians.

(The preserved remainder of the inscription concerned punishments for murder and anyone trying to overturn the constitution, as well as the fate of exiles.)

Notes

1. Erythrae, an Ionian city on the coast opposite Chios, was a member of the Athenian-dominated Delian League (**7, no.68**), but the Athenian inscribed lists, recording the payments due by the members (B.D. Merritt et al., *The Athenian Tribute Lists I–IV*, Cambridge, MA, 1939–45), indicate that Erythrae did not pay its dues in 453/2, which was tantamount to revolt in an organisation fast transforming itself into the Athenian empire. This inscription probably should be dated to this year, following Athenian intervention which forced Erythrae back into membership and imposed a new constitution; see the discussion in ML, pp.92–3.
2. This was the great Athenian festival in honour of its patron-goddess, which became around this time the occasion for Athens' 'allies' (in fact, subjects) to present themselves with offerings and tribute in the city.
3. About three pounds.
4. Gr. *episkopos* and *phourarchos* respectively, indicating clearly that Erythrae and its new constitution has been placed under Athenian military control.
5. This shows that the Erythraeans opposed to Athenian domination had sought refuge and help from the Persians. For a similar situation, cf. **8, no.14**.

13. A peace agreed between Persia and Athens? (450/449)

Diodorus Siculus XII, 4.4–6.

When Artaxerxes the king heard of the setbacks on Cyprus,¹ he consulted with his friends about the war and decided that it would be better to make peace with the Greeks. So he wrote to the commanders in Cyprus² and to the satraps³ on what terms they might settle with the Greeks. As a result, Artabazus and Megabyzus sent ambassadors to Athens to discuss a settlement. The Athenians were favourable and sent ambassadors with full powers, headed by Callias the son of Hipponicus.⁴ So the Athenians and their allies agreed a peace with the Persians, the main points being the following: all the Greek cities of Asia are to be autonomous; the Persian satraps are not to come nearer to the sea than a three days' journey; no warship is to sail inside Phaselis or the Cyanean rocks;⁵ if the king and his

generals abide by these terms, then the Athenians will not campaign in the territory over which the king rules. When the solemn treaty⁶ had been concluded, the Athenians withdrew their forces from Cyprus, having won a brilliant victory⁷ and concluded a most remarkable peace.

Notes

1. See **8, no. 11**.
2. According to D.S. XII, 3.2, these were Artabazus, in charge of the fleet off Cyprus, and Megabyzus, commanding the army based in Cilicia. For their role in the Egyptian revolt, see **8, nos. 6; 7**; for the latter also, **8, nos. 9–10**.
3. Presumably, these would be those governing the relevant provinces in Asia Minor, such as Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia.
4. Athenian plutocrat, married to Cimon's half-sister Elpinike.
5. Phaselis was a Lycian city, while the Cyanean rocks lay at the entrance to the Black Sea at Byzantium. These are the terms that Plutarch assigns to a pact supposedly already agreed in the wake of Eurymedon (466/5), the reality of which he himself admits was debated, cf. **7, no. 74** & n. 2.
6. Gr. *sponde*, implying a highly formal agreement, solemnised with oaths and libations. On the problems involved in accepting the historicity of such an agreement, see Briant 1996a: 596–8 [2002: 579–83]; Cawkwell 1997, both arguing that, if there was any kind of pact, then it was more in the nature of a peace that was to Persia's advantage, allowing the king (for example) to support attempts by cities to free themselves from Athenian control by invoking the 'autonomy' clause. Certainly, the Persians never flagged in their attempts to reassert full control in the region subsequently (see, e.g., **8, nos. 14; 17; 26; 28**), in which they had gained some success by the late 410s (see further **8, Introduction**). It is possible that, as Briant suggests, whatever was concluded between Athens and Persia was interpreted differently by the two parties: as a victory by the Athenians; as a royal decree putting an end to continued Athenian harassment of their territories by the Persians. Significant, too, is Pericles' refusal to allow the Athenians to renew their attacks on Egypt and the Persian-held coastline, as reported by Plutarch, *Pericles* 20.3.
7. But note the failure to take any cities in Cyprus (**8, no. 11**).

14. The Persians exploit political rivalry on Samos (441/0)

Thucydides I, 115.2–5.

In the sixth year,¹ a war broke out between the Samians and Milesians about Priene.² When the Milesians were worsted in the fight, they came to Athens and raised an outcry against the Samians. They received support from various private people from Samos itself, who wanted to change its constitution drastically. So the Athenians sailed to Samos with forty ships and set up a democracy. They also took fifty boys and the same number of men as hostages, and kept them in Lemnos, and, leaving a garrison behind, they went home. But there were some Samians who, instead of staying, had fled to the mainland. They came to an understanding with some of the most powerful men in the city and made an alliance with Pissuthnes, son of Hystaspes,³ who was at that time governor of Sardis. They recruited around seven hundred auxiliaries and crossed over by night to Samos. First they attacked the democratic party and seized most of them; then they rescued the hostages from Lemnos and revolted.⁴ The garrison of the Athenians and the commanders installed by them they handed over to Pissuthnes, and made immediate preparations for an attack on Miletus. The Byzantines joined them in revolt.

Notes

1. I.e. of the Thirty Year Peace between Athens and Sparta, which places the incident in 441/0.
2. Ionian city on the mouth of the Maeander, which controlled the Panionium (see **3, no.20**, n.3; cf. **6, no.43**(7)).
3. It is possible that Pissuthnes' father should be identified with the son of Darius and Atossa (cf. **11, no.25**(64)). For his subsequent actions, see **8, no.25**.
4. Samos was run by Persian-installed tyrants from the late 520s until 479. After the Battle of Mycale, an opposition group of Samians, who had appealed to the Greeks for help (**7, no.61**), seized power and joined the Delian League.

15. A noble Persian exile in Athens

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F14(45); Lenfant, 134.

Zopyrus, the son of Megabyzus and Amytis,¹ following the death of father and mother,² rebelled against the king and reached Athens because of his mother's benefaction for the city.³ Together with his companions he sailed to Caunus⁴ and ordered the city to surrender. The Caunians were prepared to hand it over to him, but not to the Athenians accompanying him. When Zopyrus entered the fortifications, Alcides, a Caunian, threw a stone at his head and so Zopyrus died. Amestris, his grandmother, had the Caunian impaled.

Notes

1. See **8, no.10** & n.4.
2. The date of this, like that of Zopyrus' flight, is unknown, but as Herodotus refers to his defection (cf. **3, no.37**), it should probably be dated between 440 and 430.
3. What this may have been is not known, but Lenfant (279) suggests tentatively that it may be connected with sparing the lives of some of the Athenians involved in the Egyptian revolt (see **8, no.9**).
4. On the Carian-Lycian border.

16. Sparta plans to enlist Persian help in the war against Athens (430)

Thucydides II, 67.1.

At the end of the same summer,¹ Aristeus of Corinth with the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, Aneristas, Nicolaus and Stratodemus, and with Timagoras of Tegea and Pollis, an Argive acting on his own, was on his way to Asia hoping to persuade the king to provide money and join their side in the war. They first went to Sitalces, son of Teres, in Thrace,² hoping to persuade him, if possible, to change his alliance with Athens and send an army to Potidaea,³ which was being besieged by an Athenian force. They also wanted help in crossing the Hellespont to get to Pharnaces, the son of Pharnabazus,⁴ who was going to send them on to the king.

Notes

1. 430, the second year of the Peloponnesian War. Note also Thuc. II, 7.1, where the Spartans are described as hoping to obtain Persian help at the beginning of the war in 431.
2. Thuc. II, 29 mentions briefly that Teres was the founder of the Odrysian kingdom of Thrace, covering the greater part (though not all) of the region. An alliance between Athens and his son,

Sitalces, had been negotiated in 431 through the agency of his brother-in-law, Nymphodorus of Abdera (located on the coast opposite Thasos, cf. **6, no.23(i); 7, no.48**). For the history and archaeology of the Odrysian kingdom, see Archibald 1998.

3. City in Chalcidice, member of the Delian League, which revolted in 432.
4. Pharnabazus (I) succeeded Artabazus as satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (see **7, no.81; 8, no.6**, n.8 for references), and was in turn succeeded in this position by his son, Pharnaces. See further **8, no.26**.

17. Colophonians call in Persian help (428/7)

Thucydides III, 34.1–2.

As Paches¹ sailed back he put in also at Notium, part of Colophon,² where Colophonians had settled after the upper city had been taken by Itamenes³ and the barbarians, called in by certain individuals in a party quarrel. It was captured around the time of the second Peloponnesian invasion of Attica.⁴ But the refugees who had settled in Notium again split into two contending parties: one called in the Arcadian and barbarian auxiliaries of Pissuthnes,⁵ quartered them in a section cut off from the rest by a wall, and so formed a separate community with the medising group of the Colophonians, who joined them from the upper city.⁶

Notes

1. Athenian commander in 428/7; the occasion for his presence on the Ionian coast was the fall of Mytilene on Lesbos, which had rebelled against Athens.
2. Ionian city, some 13 km inland, between Smyrna (to the north) and Ephesus (to the south).
3. Obviously a Persian army commander. A man with forces at his command and the same name was settled in Mysia c.400; see **16, no.71**.
4. Here Thucydides is looking back at an event in 430.
5. Satrap in Sardis, see **8, no.14** & n.3.
6. Thucydides goes on to describe Paches' intervention on behalf of the anti-Persian party.

18. A Persian embassy to Sparta intercepted (424/3)

Thucydides IV, 50.

In the following winter¹ Aristides, son of Archippus, commander of one of the tribute-levying Athenian ships, sent out to the allies, captured Artaphernes,² a Persian, at Eïon³ on the Strymon, en route from the king to Lacedaemon. He was taken to Athens, where the Athenians had his despatches translated from the Assyrian characters⁴ and read. The main point, among the many covered, for the Lacedaemonians was that the king did not understand what they wanted. Many ambassadors came, but said nothing. So, if they wanted to propose something definite, they should send men along with this Persian. Later, the Athenians escorted Artaphernes in a trireme to Ephesus, together with ambassadors. But there they learned that Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, had just died, for he died around this time,⁵ and they went back home.

Notes

1. For Thucydides' chronology here, see Stolper 1985: 119.
2. Not known otherwise.
3. Eïon had been a Persian stronghold in Thrace, lost to the allied Greeks c.477; **6, no.25; 7, no.70**(107) & n.3.

4. This indicates, as would be expected, that the king's missive was written in Aramaic, one of the most widely used languages in the Persian empire, as well as the presence of people in Athens able to read it; see further **17, Introduction**.
5. See further **8, no.19**; for Thucydides' chronology, see above, n.1.

B. Darius II's reign (424/3–405)

(a) From Artaxerxes I to Darius II

19. Artaxerxes I's death and his offspring (424/3)

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGtH 688 F14(46); F15(47); Lenfant, 134; 135–6.

Artaxerxes died too after a reign of forty-two years.¹ On the death of Artaxerxes his son Xerxes reigned,² the only son born by Damaschia,³ who expired on exactly the same day <Arto>xerxes died. Bagorazos⁴ conducted the bodies of the father and mother to Persia.⁵ Artaxerxes also had seventeen illegitimate children, among them being Sogdianus,⁶ son of the Babylonian woman Alogune, Ochus and Arsites, son of Cosmartidene, another Babylonian. It is Ochus⁷ who became king later. He also had, in addition to the ones mentioned, Bagapaios and Parysatis born by a third Babylonian woman, Andria. This Parysatis became the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus.⁸ As for Ochus, while his father was alive he appointed him satrap of Hyrcania⁹ and gave him as wife a woman called Parysatis, daughter of <Arto>xerxes and his own sister.¹⁰

Notes

1. Babylonian dated documents, which survive in quantity for this period (see **Chapter 1**), show clearly that Artaxerxes reigned for forty-one years. For the chronological issues, see Stolper 1985: 116–20.
2. He was never recognised as king in Babylonia. The fact that the historical existence of many of the individuals mentioned by Ctesias is confirmed by the Babylonian material suggests that he acceded in the Persian heartland, his 'reign' overlapping with Darius II's (Ochus') claim. Darius was the only contender for the throne ever acknowledged by the Babylonians, possibly connected to the loyal support of the local dignitary Belshunu (see Stolper 1999a: 372).
3. She is not known otherwise, but must have been Artaxerxes' principal wife.
4. Not known otherwise, but see **8, no.20**, n.2, which confirms that he was a high-ranking courtier.
5. I.e. for burial, cf. **11, no.67**. The place where Artaxerxes died is not mentioned.
6. According to Photius' epitome of Ctesias, his name was Sekyndianos. Alternative renderings (e.g. D.S. XII, 71.1) make it likely that the name was in fact Sogdianos, perhaps so named after his father's victory in the rebellious east (**8, no.2**, cf. Briant 1996a: 607 [2002b: 590]); see further RE, s.v. 'Sogdianos'.
7. Under the name of Darius (II). His personal name is given as Umakush in Babylonian texts (Sachs and Hunger 1988, no. 418, B: obv. 1). The /m/ was probably not sounded, so the name would have been pronounced 'Uwakush'/'U'akush', which comes close to the Greek 'Ochus', and perhaps renders Iranian *'Va(h)ush', see Van der Spek 1993: 94, n.14. This is the first attestation of the adoption of a throne-name, which became the norm subsequently. (Note that the astronomical diary dated to 441/0 in Sachs and Hunger 1988, which reads '[Year 24(?) of Ar]šū who is called king Artaxerxes', has been definitively redated to 382, hence Artaxerxes II, by J. Koch (1991–2).)
8. I.e. Darius II's successor, Artaxerxes II, and his brother, Cyrus the Younger, well known from Xenophon, particularly the account of his rebellion against his older brother; see further **8, nos.32; 37; 9, Section A**; cf. **11, no.18**.

9. South-east of the Caspian Sea, see **fig.6.1**.
 10. On the Achaemenid practice of endogamy, see Brosius 1996, ch.3, cf. **12, no.38(i)** & n.6.

20. The struggle for the kingship

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F15(48–50); Lenfant, 136–7.

Then Sogdianos wins over to his side the eunuch Pharnacyas,¹ who ranked immediately after Bagorazos,² Menostanes³ and some others. As Xerxes lies asleep in the palace, drunk after a feast, they enter and kill the king, who thus died forty-five days after his father.⁴ So it was that the two were transported together to Persis. In fact, the mules drawing the carriage⁵ had refused to move, as if they were awaiting the son's corpse. Once he arrived, they moved off eagerly.⁶

(49) Sogdianos is king, and Menostanes becomes his chiliarch.⁷ Bagorazos left and returned to Sogdianos; as an old standing dislike between the two smouldered, the king ordered him to be stoned to death, on the pretext that Bagorazos had abandoned his father's body without his authorisation. The army was distressed. The king gave them presents, but the soldiers hated him for killing his brother Xerxes and then Bagorazos.

(50) Sogdianos sends to summon Ochus, who promises but never comes.⁸ This is repeated several times.⁹ Eventually, Ochus gathers a large army around himself and seems to be aiming for the kingship. Arbarios, the commander of Sogdianos' cavalry,¹⁰ rebels and joins Ochus' side; then comes Arxanes, satrap of Egypt,¹¹ and then the eunuch Artoxares, who comes from Armenia¹² to join him; and against his will they crown¹³ him.¹⁴ Ochus becomes king and changes his name to Darius¹⁵ and, on the advice of Parysatis,¹⁶ pursues Sogdianos with deceit and oaths, however much Menostanes urges him to mistrust the oaths and not to negotiate with those laying traps for him. But he is nevertheless convinced, taken and thrown into the embers;¹⁷ he dies, having reigned six months and fifteen days.¹⁸

Notes

1. Not known otherwise, but note his Persian name; for his punishment by Darius II, see **8, no.22**.
2. See **8, no.19(47)**; this may imply that Bagorazos, too, was a eunuch.
3. Son of Artarios, satrap of Babylonia, see **8, no.10(41)** & n.6.
4. According to Diodorus Siculus (XII, 71.1), Xerxes reigned for one year, while others gave him two months, which approximates to Ctesias' account. There is no corroboration for his recognition as king, see **8, no.19**, n.2. The Babylonian documentary material suggests that Xerxes' tenure of the throne must have overlapped entirely with the first two months of Darius II's acknowledged reign in Babylonia. The latest document dated by Artaxerxes I is 24 December 424, and the earliest by Darius II, 10 January 423 (Zawadzki 1995–6), and the immediacy of Darius II's accession is stressed by texts equating Darius II's accession year with Artaxerxes' 41st regnal year. This shows that the south Mesopotamian cities can never have been under Xerxes' control. See the discussion in Stolper 1985: 116–20.
5. Gr. *harmamaxa* designates an eastern-style covered carriage. For the elaborate royal funeral cortège, see **11, no.67**.
6. This seems to contradict Ctesias' previous statement (**8, no.19(47)**) that Bagorazos had already taken the bodies of Artaxerxes I and his wife to Persia. For a possible reconstruction of the order of events, see **8, Introduction**.
7. The 'Commander of a Thousand' (rendered here in a form borrowed directly from OP **hazarapatiš* = Gr. *azabartēs*) was chief of the king's bodyguard and thus one of the highest officials at court; see further **11, no.29**, n.1; **12, no.5**. For Menostanes, see **8, no.10** and n.7.

8. See **8, no.19** & n.7.
9. This echoes, almost exactly, Ctesias' story of Cambyses and his brother Tanyoxarkes, suspected of rebellion (**5, no.5**).
10. Almost certainly to be identified with Arbareme, holder of the equerry's estate in Babylonia, see Stolper 1985: 95–6.
11. Arshama/Arsames, well attested as holder of estates in both Babylonia (Stolper 1985: 64–6, cf. **16, no.69**) and Egypt (**8, no.34; 14, no.37; 16, nos.60(iii); 64–5; 70**; possibly installed at the end of Inaros' revolt, see **8, no.9** & n.9).
12. In the course of his Megabyzus saga, Ctesias mentions that Artoxares was a Paphlagonian (**8, no.10**(42)), who had been exiled to Armenia because of his advocacy of Megabyzus (FGrH 688 F14(43)). For his identification with Artahsharu, who succeeded to the Babylonian estate of Menostanes on the latter's death, see Stolper 1985: 91–2.
13. Gr. *kidaris*, the Persian royal head-dress; see further **11, no.22**, n.11.
14. Cf. the brief mention in Pausanias (VI, 5.7) that Darius dethroned Artaxerxes' legitimate son, Sogdios, with the support of the Persian people (i.e. the army?). This, and a passage in Polyaeus (VII, 1.17), may give us a hint of the propaganda being pushed by the contending parties; see further, Briant 1996a: 607–8 [2002b: 590–1].
15. See **8, no.19**, n.7.
16. Darius II's wife, see **8, no.19**.
17. One of the many peculiarly horrible forms of execution for treason that appear in Ctesias. According to Valerius Maximus 9.27, the condemned person was soaked in alcohol and taken out through a palace door giving onto a pit filled with hot embers.
18. Seven months, according to D.S. XII, 71.1; there is no other attestation for his reign, which must, like that of Xerxes II, have overlapped with the period that Darius II's rule was accepted as legitimate in Babylonia, cf. above, n.4.

21. The family and court of Darius II

Ctesias, Persica = FGrH 688 F15(51); Lenfant, 137–8.

Ochus, or rather Darius, is now sole king. Three eunuchs are particularly influential with him: Artoxares¹ has the most (influence), then Artibarzanes, and third Athoos.² He was also and especially advised by his wife,³ who had borne him two children before he became king: a daughter, Amestris, and a son, Arsaces, who later changed his name to Artaxerxes.⁴ When she was queen she bore another son and called him Cyrus, after the sun.⁵ Then she bore Artostes and carried on until she had borne thirteen.⁶ But these children died soon; only those survived that have been named, as well as a fourth son called Oxendras.

Notes

1. See **8, no.20**, n.12.
2. Neither of these figures is known from elsewhere.
3. Parysatis, Darius II's half-sister (cf. **8, no.19**(47)), is presented in Ctesias as the very incarnation of the stereotypical evil queen – a recurring motif with him and some other classical writers. See **8, no.22; 12, no.38**.
4. That Artaxerxes II's name before becoming king was Arses, or Arsaces, is amply attested by Babylonian astronomical texts (e.g. Sachs and Hunger 1988–94, I, no.–361, obv.' 1).
5. Cf. **11, no.56**.
6. Photius interjects at this point that Ctesias maintained he had heard this from Parysatis herself.

22. Darius' tenure of the throne threatened

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F15(52); Lenfant, 138.

Arsites, Darius' own brother born of the same father and mother,¹ rebels against the king together with Artyphios, the son of Megabyzus.² Artasyras³ is sent against them, who fights with Artyphios and is beaten by Artyphios in two battles. But he attacks again and defeats Artyphios; with gifts he buys off the Greeks who fought with Artyphios, who soon has only three Milesians left. Eventually he accepts oaths and pledges from Artasyras, as Arsites has not shown himself, and submits to the king. Parysatis⁴ advises the king, who is eager to execute Artyphios, not to kill him immediately. This would be a ruse to obtain Arsites' surrender as well. When the latter, deceived by the trick, is taken, then he should kill both. And that is what happens – the suggestion succeeds, and Artyphios and Arsites are thrown into the embers,⁵ although the king had not wanted Arsites executed. But Parysatis, partly by persuasion partly by coercion, destroyed them. Pharnacyas, who along with Sogdianos murdered Xerxes,⁶ is stoned and Menostanes⁷ kills himself as he is led to be tortured.

Notes

1. See **8, no.19**.
2. Artyphios is said by Ctesias to have participated in his father's revolt against Artaxerxes I (**8, no.10**). For Megabyzus' actions in Artaxerxes' reign, see **8, nos.6; 7; 9; 10**; for his earlier activities under Xerxes, see references at **8, no.6**, n.9; for further stories of his relations with the king, see **13, no.30**.
3. This may be an error for Artaxares (**8, nos.10**(42) & n.12; **20**) as an individual called Artasyras otherwise only appears as a confidant of Cambyses (**4, no.2**) and in Plutarch's account of the Battle of Cunaxa (*Artax.*12.1).
4. See **8, nos.19**(47); **21** & n.3.
5. See **8, no.20**, n.17.
6. For the murder of Xerxes II, see **8, no.20**(48).
7. See **8, nos.10**(41); **20**. The rebellion must have occurred early in Darius II's reign, as the Babylonian holding of Menostanes is in Artaxares' hands by Darius' fourth year, presumably the reward for his support in Darius' struggle for the throne; see **8, no.20**(50) & n.12.

23. Darius II asserts the legitimacy of his kingship

(i) Darius completes his father's palace at Susa

D²Sb. Two copies of an inscription preserved on column bases from Susa; only an Old Persian and a Babylonian version have been found: Kent, D²Sb.¹

Translation: Lecoq 1997: 268.

I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this earth, the son of king Artaxerxes, the Achaemenid. King Darius proclaims: Artaxerxes my father first made this palace;² then I completed this palace with the help of Auramazda.

(ii) Darius traces his lineage

D²Ha. Gold tablet said to have come from Hamadan: H.H. Paper, *JAOS* 72 (1952): 169–70.³
 Translations: Lewis 1977: 78, n.182 (with a remark as to its probable authenticity); Lecoq 1997: 267.

Darius the great king proclaims: a great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky; who created man, who created happiness for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many. I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king of lands containing all kinds of peoples, son of Artaxerxes the king, Artaxerxes son of Xerxes the king, Xerxes son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.

Darius the king proclaims: Auramazda granted me this people; with the help of Auramazda I am king on this earth; me may Auramazda protect, and my house,⁴ and what Auramazda has bestowed upon me may he protect.

Notes

1. There is another very fragmentary text from Susa attributed to Darius II, cf. Lecoq 1997: 114; 268.
2. OP *hadiš*. Although no texts of Artaxerxes I have been found at Susa, the text indicates that he had undertaken construction work there.
3. Several gold tablets with Darius II foundation inscriptions are said to have come from Hamadan (Ecbatana). Kent (218) rejected two that came to his notice as forgeries, and did not include them in his edition of Old Persian texts. This is another one published by Paper in an article. Doubts about its authenticity, as well as its find spot, persist (but see Lewis cited above); it certainly does not allow us to assume a Darius II building programme at Ecbatana.
 The recital of Darius' lineage, stressing his right to the throne, should surely be understood in the context of his contested accession. Note the suggestion that the recopying of Darius I's victory inscription at this time (i.e. the late fifth-century Aramaic version of DB from Elephantine) may be a deliberate harking back to his august namesake one hundred years earlier, who had also acceded to the throne amid bloodshed and multiple revolts, see **5, no.1**, n.1.
4. OP *with-*, 'family'/'clan'/'house'.

(b) The Asia Minor front**24. Peace between Athens and Persia, c.423?****(i) An orator recalls a pact between Athens and Persia**

Andocides, *On the Peace* 29.

First we made an agreement with the great king¹ (we need to recall the past in order to decide wisely now)² and set up a friendship for all time. The agreement was negotiated by Epilykos, son of Teisander, my mother's brother; but subsequently we were persuaded by Amorges,³ the king's slave and a fugitive, and, turning our backs on the great king's power as though it were nothing, we chose to be friends with Amorges as though he were worth more. And so, the king is annoyed with us, has allied with the Lacedaemonians and provided them with five thousand talents to support the war until they have destroyed our power.

(ii) Herakleides honoured by Athens for his part in concluding a peace with Persia

Lower part of marble stela found on the acropolis of Athens, now in the Epigraphic Museum, Athens: IG II² 8; ML, no.70.⁴

Translation: Fornara 1983, no.138.

Resolved by the council [and the people . . .]s held the prytany, S[. . . was secretary, N]eokleides presi[ding . . . pro]posed: Herakleides [the Clazomenian shall be] recorded by the secret[ary of the council as a *proxenos*]⁵ and a benefacto[r according to what the people de]cide and shall set (it) up i[n the city, as he has done well] for the Athenia[n embassies and in all things] is a good man [towards the people of the Athe]nians. Thoukudide[s proposed. Let the other matters] be as the council (decides). Si[nce the ambassadors who] have returned from the king [announce that Herak]leides coopera[ted with them enthusiastically] in the matter of the treaty [with the king and in the] other matter they requ[ested, there shall be granted to Herakleides] the right to possess land an[d a house in Athens and im]munity from state obligations jus[t like the other *proxenoi*. If he [dies] somewhere vio[lently, there shall] for him t[he punishment be exacted . . .]

Notes

1. It is suggested, though by no means certain, that some settlement was reached between Athens and Persia when the intercepted Persian ambassador to Sparta was escorted by the Athenians to Ephesus, with a view to negotiating with Artaxerxes, an effort interrupted by his death (8, no.18). An agreement is not mentioned by Thucydides, and only referred to here by the Attic orator Andocides over thirty years later; for argument in its favour, and dating it in the archon year 424/3, see Lewis 1977: 76–7, and cf. the decree below 8, no.24(ii).
2. Andocides was speaking in favour of a peace treaty with Sparta in 392/1.
3. The bastard son of Pissuthnes, governor of Sardis; for Pissuthnes' revolt, see 8, no.25; for Athens' support of Amorges' rebellion, see 8, no.26 & n.4.
4. Although the lettering is early fourth century, a significant number of scholars think that the original decree was passed to honour the man who had been instrumental in concluding the very peace referred to by Andocides (above 8, no.24(i)), although Stockton (1959) argued that it was a treaty between Athens and a Thracian ruler concluded in the fourth century; another suggested date is 415 (Raubitschek 1964). See Lewis 1977: 76–7; ML, nos.202–3 for detailed arguments in favour of a treaty with Persia in 424/3.
5. Proxyeny is like the guest-friendship that obtained between individuals, but differed in being a public honour bestowed by a state, rather than a private arrangement (cf. Herman 1987).

25. Rebellion by the satrap of Sardis

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F15(53); Lenfant, 138–9.

Then Pissuthnes¹ rebelled² against whom Tissaphernes,³ Spithradates⁴ and Parmises⁵ are sent. Pissuthnes marches against them with the support of Lycon, the Athenian, and the Greeks under his command. But the king's generals attracted Lycon and the Greeks with money and removed them from Pissuthnes. Then they give him pledges, arrest him and take him to the king. He throws him into the embers,⁶ and gives Pissuthnes' satrapy to Tissaphernes. Lycon also receives towns and land as the price of his treachery.⁷

Notes

1. Persian governor in Sardis, see **8, nos.14** (& n.3); **17**.
2. The date of the revolt is unknown. In the epitome of Ctesias, it follows straight on the struggle for the throne and the challenge to Darius' kingship led by his brother, which must fall into the first two years of his reign (**8, no.22**). It is possible that Tissaphernes' revolt should also be placed in the context of this period of political uncertainty and contested power (cf. Briant 1996a: 608–9 [2002b: 591]), particularly if he really was Darius I's grandson, which would make him a possible contender for the throne in this period of uncertainty. Others place it closer to its suppression by Tissaphernes c.416 (cf. CAH V, 512). The arguments are neatly set out by Lewis (1977: 80–1 & n.198).
3. Although Tissaphernes plays a prominent role in Greek–Persian relations in Asia Minor from the 410s until the 390s, little is known of his background. Important evidence comes from a Lycian inscription, referring to Tissaphernes, son of Hydarnes (see **8, no.29**). This might suggest that he was descended from one of Darius I's co-conspirators (**5, no.1**, para.68, see Lewis 1977: 83; Briant 1996a: 1,003–4 [2002b: 978]). A Hydarnid family seems to have been a prominent supporter of Darius II, as suggested by the marriage of his eldest son and daughter to two of its offspring, see **12, no.38**. However, as Lewis (1977: 84) points out, there are problems with linking Tissaphernes to this family, and not too much should be made of what is a fairly common Old Persian name (cf. the caustic end to n.13 in Lewis 1977: 85).
4. Identified with the subordinate of Pharnabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (**9, no.36**) by Lewis (1977: 81, n.200), but note Weiskopf (1989: 23, n.15), who separates the two.
5. Not known otherwise.
6. See **8, no.20**, n.17.
7. For this practice, cf. **7, no.82; 13, nos.40; 42–3; 45**.

26. Persia intervenes in the Athens–Sparta conflict (413/12)

Thucydides VIII, 5.4–6.3.

While Agis was dealing with the Lesbians,¹ the Chians and Erythraeans, who were also ready to revolt, applied not to Agis but to Lacedaemon. With them came also delegates from Tissaphernes, who was the commander of the coastal area² for king Darius, the son of Artaxerxes. Tissaphernes also encouraged the Peloponnesians and promised to furnish them with supplies. He had recently been asked by the king to produce the arrears of tribute due from his province, but because of the Athenians he had not been able to raise it from the Greek cities.³ So he thought that by harming the Athenians he would be more likely to get the tribute, make the Lacedaemonians the king's allies and thus take Amorges, the bastard son of Tissaphernes⁴ who was rebelling in Caria, as the king had commanded, either alive or dead.

(6) So the Chians and Tissaphernes were acting together for the same end. Around the same time, there arrived in Lacedaemon, Kalligeitos, son of Laophon, a Megarian, and Timagoras, son of Athenagoras, a Cyzicene, both exiles from their own cities, living at the court of Pharnabazus, son of Pharnaces.⁵ They were sent by Pharnabazus in order to get a fleet into the Hellespont, so that he might do just what Tissaphernes wanted to do – get the tribute from the cities in his province by having them revolt from the Athenians, and himself make the Lacedaemonians allies of the king. Each group, that of Pharnabazus and that of Tissaphernes, was trying to make its own separate arrangements, so there was much competition in Sparta about whether a fleet or an army should be sent first to Ionia and Chios or to the Hellespont. However, the Spartans were much more in favour of the Chians and Tissaphernes.

Notes

1. Agis, the Spartan king, was aiding Lesbos to revolt against Athens. In the years following the disastrous Athenian expedition to Sicily (414/13), many of her 'allies' took advantage of Athens' weakness to rid themselves of Athenian control with Sparta's help. The Persian satraps in western Asia Minor also seized the opportunity to reassert Persia's hold of the coastal cities, as this passage shows.
2. Literally, 'general of those below', which some think indicates that he was equipped with special powers, over and above that of a satrap, in order to deal with affairs on the western front in the wake of Pisuthnes' rebellion and the (continuing?) revolt of the latter's son. However, nothing in Thucydides' account bears out the idea of Tissaphernes wielding some kind of overarching control. Moreover, as Thucydides rarely uses the term 'satrap', it is possible that this is simply his way of describing Tissaphernes' governorship of the Sardis province (cf. Lewis 1977: 86).
3. The Persian authorities were plainly using this opportunity to demand taxes from the cities that had joined the Athenian alliance, but over whom they had never relinquished their claim (**8, no.13**, n.6; Lewis 1977: 87; Briant 1996a: 609–10 [2002b: 592]).
4. It is unknown whether Amorges' revolt had broken out only recently or was a continuation of that of his father Pisuthnes (**8, no.25**). What is certain is that the Athenians were supporting Amorges, see Thuc. VIII, 54.3 and **8, no.24(i)**, which means that they had gone back on any agreement they may have made with the Persians in the late 420s (**8, no.24**).
5. Governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **8, no.16**, n.4.

27. The first treaty between Sparta and Persia (summer 412)

Thucydides VIII, 18.

The Spartans and their allies made an alliance with the king and Tissaphernes on these terms:

All the territory and cities which the king has now and which the king's fathers held shall be the king's. And the money and everything else that has been coming in to the Athenians from these cities, the king and the Spartans and their allies shall act together to prevent the Athenians from receiving either the money or anything else. The war with the Athenians shall be waged jointly by the king and the Lacedaemonians and their allies. Ending the war with the Athenians may not be done unless both sides agree, that is the king and the Lacedaemonians and their allies. Anyone rebelling against the king will be the enemy of the Lacedaemonians and their allies; and anyone rebelling against the Lacedaemonians and their allies will likewise be the enemy of the king.

28. The rebel Amorges is taken

Thucydides VIII, 28.2–4.

When the Peloponnesians arrived there,¹ Tissaphernes came up with his army and persuaded them to sail to Iasus,² which was held by his enemy Amorges,³ so they made a sudden attack on Iasus and took it, the inhabitants never imagining that the ships were not Athenian. Amorges, the bastard son of Pisuthnes, who was in revolt from the king, was captured alive by the Peloponnesians and handed over to Tissaphernes for him to take to the king, if he wanted to, according to his instructions.⁴ Iasus was sacked, and the army took a mass of money from it as, from old, the place was wealthy. The mercenaries who had been with Amorges they took over and included them in their own army unharmed, as most of them

came from the Peloponnese. The town they handed over to Tissaphernes together with all the prisoners, slave and free, for one daric⁵ each as agreed; then they returned to Miletus.⁶

Notes

1. I.e. Teichioussa, a harbour in the territory of Miletus.
2. A city in Caria.
3. See **8, nos.24(i)** & n.3; **26** & n.4. Tissaphernes' negotiations with Sparta (**8, no.26**, cf. **no.27**) were clearly aimed at helping him put an end to Amorges' revolt.
4. See **8, no.26(5)**. For the mention of this war in the Lycian section of the Inscribed Pillar from Xanthos (cf. **8, no.29** & n.1), including possibly the capture of Amorges (Lyc. Humrkhkha), see Keen 1998: 136–7.
5. The standard royal gold coinage, equipped with an image of the Persian king wielding bow and arrows (it was thus sometimes called 'the archer' by Greek writers, see **fig.11.35**). It was prized for its high gold content, guaranteed by the royal figure stamped on one side. It was certainly in use by 500 BC, and is thought, with some probability, to have been introduced by Darius I, hence perhaps its name. Each daric had the weight equivalent of a shekel, one sixtieth of a mina (1 mina = approx. 500 g); cf. *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Dareikos; Briant 1996a: 420–1 [2002b: 408–9]. For an example of Tissaphernes' coinage from Lycia, used to pay mercenaries, see O. Mørkholm and G. Neumann, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen, 1978 (M 221): 25.
6. Thucydides refers a little later (VIII, 29) to the fact that Tissaphernes installed a garrison in Iasus, and tried to stall on paying the Peloponnesian soldiers the full sum that had originally been agreed. This dissatisfaction eventually resulted in a reformulated treaty with Tissaphernes (winter 412/11, cf. the first one, **8, no.27**), which stipulated that the expenses of troops operating in Persian territory at the king's request would be paid by him (Thuc. VIII, 36–7). See on this treaty, Lewis 1977: 93–5.

29. A Lycian dynast oversees an agreement between Tissaphernes and Sparta

Inscribed Pillar, Xanthus: TAM I,44, b.64–c.9; Melchert 1993b; **fig.8.4**.¹

The Spartans(?) . . . began(?) to . . . Tissaphernes . . . son of Hydarnes² and the Persians in Caunus, and in alliance with Spartalia against Athens they (sc. the Persians) fought the army. I became judge³ for them. They issued a double guarantee(?). Both in Hytenna⁴ a stela shall be set down for Maliya,⁵ in place/on the spot . . . the fighters(?) . . . And in Caunus⁶ likewise(?) a stela shall be put down for the local precinct and for Maliya and for Artemis⁷ and for the King of Caunus.⁸

Notes

1. Extract from the longest surviving Lycian text inscribed on the side of a pillar, topped by a grave chamber, from the Xanthus acropolis, illustrating the achievements of its owner. This is generally thought to be the late fifth-century Lycian dynast, Kheriga (Gr. Gergis; c.440–410), although the inscription was probably only put up by his son, Erbbina (Gr. Arbinas) in the late fifth or early fourth century BC. The text falls into three sections: a long historical section in 'Lycian A' (a.1–c.19); a twelve-line Greek epigram (c.20–31; cf. ML, no.93; Bryce 1986: 97, for the text); another long, but incomprehensible, section in 'Lycian B' (c.32–d.71). For a recent discussion, with references, and reasserting the attribution of the monument to Kheriga contra Childs 1979, see Keen 1998: 9–10; 129–39; cf. Borchardt 2000: 110–11, arguing that it was a cenotaph erected by Kheriga's brother.

Three separate agreements, roughly reiterating the terms of the first one (**8, no.27**), were reached between the Persian governor in Sardis and the Spartans in 412–411 (cf. **8, no.28**, n.6; Thuc. VIII,

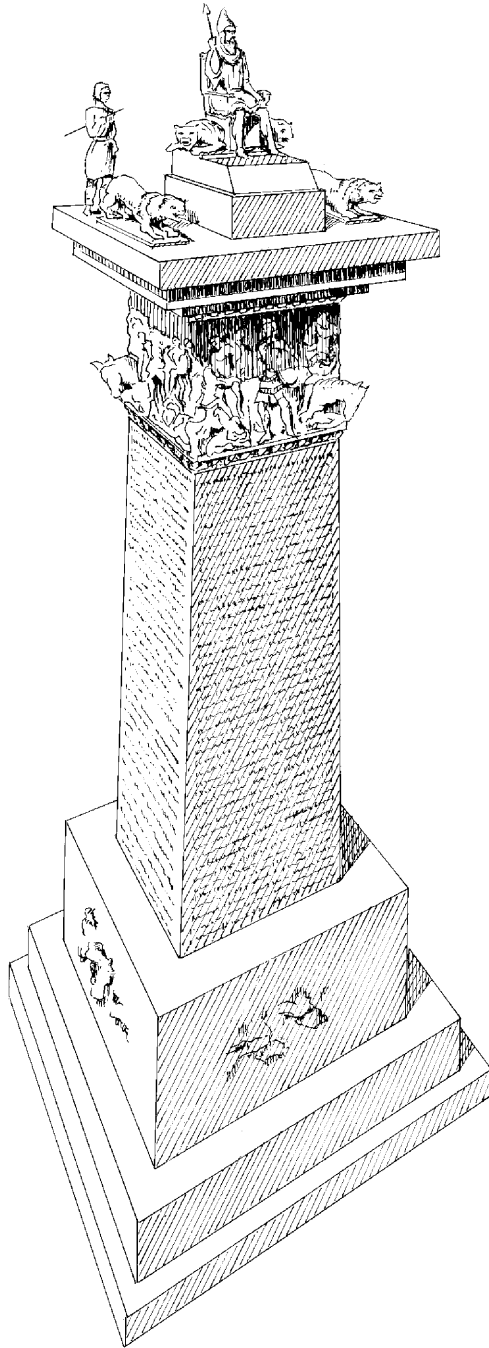


Figure 8.4 Reconstruction of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthus, Lycia (cf. **8, no.29**, n.1) by P. Coupel, *Illustrated London News*, 5 October 1963: 512–13, fig 4. The pillar was just over 4 m high. Above the inscription was a scene showing the Lycian ruler triumphing over foes. Fragments found at the foot of the pillar by the French excavators allowed them to reconstruct the lion-flanked statue surmounting the pillar (cf. P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos I* (1958), fig.10). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

58) reflecting the difficulties Tissaphernes experienced in trying to play the Athenians and Spartans off against each other, while keeping the king's lands intact and promoting Persia's territorial claims (see further Lewis 1977: 100–7). As the setting for the third treaty is, according to Thucydides, the city of Caunus on the Caria–Lycia frontier, it is very probable that this Lycian text is a record of that very Persian–Spartan transaction.

2. See **8, no.25**, n.3.
3. I.e. the speaker acted as arbiter between the negotiating parties.
4. A Lycian city, see Melchert 1993a: 85. It had been thought that this could be the rendering of the Persian name Otanes, but Melchert has shown this to be wrong.
5. A popular Lycian goddess, whose cult appears to go back to the Bronze Age, later equated with Athena, see Bryce 1986: 177–8.
6. For discussion of this place name in Lycian, see Schürr 1998.
7. For Artemis in Lycia, see Bryce 1986: 181–2.
8. For the cult of this Carian deity in Lycia, see Bryce 1986: 186, cf. **17, no.33**.

30. The satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia gains the help of the Spartans (411)

Thucydides VIII, 80.1–2.

In the same summer¹ directly after this,² the Peloponnesians were not inclined to put out against the Athenians with their whole fleet because they did not think themselves a match for them; they also had problems with finding the money for so many ships, especially as Tissaphernes was not paying them properly.³ So they sent off Clearchus, son of Ramphias,⁴ with forty ships to Pharnabazus,⁵ in accordance with the original instructions from the Peloponnesians. Pharnabazus was asking for this fleet and prepared to pay for it; and at the same time Byzantium⁶ had announced its intention to revolt.

Notes

1. Summer 411.
2. Thuc. VIII, 79 describes an inconclusive stand off between the Athenian and Spartan navies off Miletus. At this point, the Athenian fleet, reinforced by ships from the Hellespont, was at Samos, while the Spartan force was encamped at Mycale in Milesian territory.
3. For the agreements between the Peloponnesians and Tissaphernes, see **8, nos.27; 28**, n.6; **29** & n.1.
4. Clearchus had already been designated future commander of the Peloponnesian forces in the Hellespont in 412, when both Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes were canvassing for Sparta's support (see **8, no.26**).
5. Governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **8, 26**.
6. The strategically located city on the European side of the Bosphorus straits, opposite Chalcedon, which was in Athenian hands.

31. Pharnabazus comes to terms with the Athenians (409/8?)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* I, 3.8–9.

After that, Alcibiades¹ went to the Hellespont and the Chersonese² to raise money, and the other generals agreed with Pharnabazus on the subject of Chalcedon:³ Pharnabazus was to pay twenty talents to the Athenians and to conduct Athenian ambassadors to the king, and they exchanged oaths that the Chalcedonians would pay their customary tribute to the Athenians and would repay the amount they owed, and that the Athenians would not make war on the Chalcedonians until the ambassadors returned from the king.⁴

Notes

1. The famously flamboyant and brilliant Athenian general and politician (451/0–405/4), friend of Socrates, brought up in the house of Pericles, who was his guardian. He was the moving force behind Athens' disastrous Sicilian expedition. He took refuge later in Sparta, then with Tissaphernes. After briefly serving with the Athenians again, he withdrew to Thrace before eventually seeking asylum with Pharnabazus in Hellespontine Phrygia, where he was murdered. On this occasion Alcibiades, in command of Athenian forces, was blockading Chalcedon and Byzantium (which had revolted from Athens, see **8, no.30**), on opposite shores of the Hellespont in 408, and had defeated the Spartan commander of Chalcedon, who was fighting on Pharnabazus' side. For the extremely confused and uncertain course of events and the disputed chronology, see Lewis 1977: 127–9 & n.121 (note the divergent chronology of Krentz 1989: 11–14).
2. On the European side of the Hellespont, see **fig.7.2**.
3. See Hell. I, 1.22, for the establishment of an Athenian post at Chalcedon to levy tithes on merchant ships passing through the straits.
4. See Lewis 1977: 128–9 (with references) arguing that, following the disappointing Spartan showing against Athens (above n.1), the Persian governor was ready to consider helping the Athenians to gain Persian support, while the Athenians, in return, were prepared to think of admitting the king's rights in Asia.

32. The arrival of Cyrus the Younger on the western front (408?)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* I, 4.1–7.

Pharnabazus and the ambassadors¹ were at Gordium in Phrygia² for the winter when they heard what had happened at Byzantium.³ At the beginning of the spring, when they were continuing their journey to the king they met, going in the other direction, both the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, Boiotios and his colleagues,⁴ and the other messengers, who said that the Lacedaemonians had gained everything they asked for from the king⁵ and Cyrus,⁶ who was to command all those on the coast and fight together with the Lacedaemonians. He carried a letter with the royal seal⁷ to all the inhabitants of the coast. It said, among other things, this: 'I am sending Cyrus as *karanos*⁸ of those who muster at Castolus.'⁹ (*Karanos* means 'lord'.) When the Athenian ambassadors heard this news and saw Cyrus, they very much wished to go to the king or, if not, go home. But Cyrus told Pharnabazus either to hand the ambassadors over to him or not send them home yet, because he did not want the Athenians to know what was going on. So Pharnabazus held back the ambassadors for a while, now saying that he would take them to the king, then again that he would send them home, so that Cyrus would not find fault with him. But when three years had gone by,¹⁰ he asked Cyrus to let them go, saying that he had sworn to take them back to the sea if he could not take them to the king. So they sent the ambassadors to Ariobarzanes¹¹ and told him to escort them. He brought them to Kios in Mysia, and from there they sailed to rejoin the rest of the army.

Notes

1. This is the Athenian embassy, which Pharnabazus had agreed to conduct to the royal court, see **8, no.31**.
2. The old capital of Phrygia on the Sangarius river (mod. Sankarya), located along one of the Persian 'royal roads'; for the road through Phrygia, see **15, nos.3; 18**.
3. I.e. the recapture of Byzantium by Athens, probably in 408.
4. This embassy may have set out to negotiate with the Persian king c.410; see further Lewis 1977: 124–5.

5. Perhaps the conditions, referred to later by Xenophon (*Hell.* I, 5.5), whereby it had been agreed that 3,000 drachmas per month per ship would be provided by the Persians, with no limit on the number of ships (see Lewis 1977: 124).
6. Cyrus the Younger, son of Darius II and Parysatis, see **8, no. 19**.
7. On the system of communication and royal directives, see **15, nos. 1; 21–2**.
8. Despite Xenophon's explanatory rider, it is uncertain what precisely *karanos* signifies, although it emerges subsequently that Cyrus held a position superior to that of Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes; according to Xen. *Anab.* I, 9.7, he was appointed satrap of Lydia, Phrygia and Greater Cappadocia (Lewis 1977: 131, n. 136; see Briant 1996a: 29 [2002b: 19], for a suggestion of how to understand it, linking it to OP *kara-* = 'army', 'people').
9. Castolus was located somewhere on the Mysian–Lydian border, its plain serving as a mustering point, see **9, no. 1**.
10. An emendation to 'three months' has been suggested (see Krentz 1989: 107, ad loc.), although year-long delays in embassies getting to the royal court are attested elsewhere.
11. An Ariobarzanes had succeeded Pharnabazus as satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia by 387 (Xen. *Hell.* IV, 1.40; V, 1.28); whether he should be identified with this one is uncertain, and what his relationship to Pharnabazus was is debated. For his career, see Weiskopf (1989: 26–44), who identifies the two and argues that Ariobarzanes was Pharnabazus' eldest son.

33. Tissaphernes' strategy dismissed

Xenophon, *Hellenica* I, 5.8–9.

When the Athenians heard what had happened,¹ they lost heart and sent ambassadors to Cyrus through Tissaphernes.² But Cyrus refused to see them, although Tissaphernes asked him to and said he should ensure, just as he was doing on the advice of Alcibiades,³ that none of them (sc. Greeks) whatever be strong, but all weak and fighting against each other.

Notes

1. In the preceding passage, Xenophon described negotiations between Cyrus and the Spartan general Lysander in which Cyrus affirmed that Darius II ordered the Persians to support Sparta against Athens, concluding with an agreement about pay for the Spartan crew.
2. The Cyrus–Lysander agreement seems to have reversed an earlier situation when Athens had drawn closer to the Persian king and Tissaphernes, as implied by a very fragmentary Athenian decree, SEG X, 127, datable between 411 and 407; cf. Lewis 1977: 129, and his restoration of part of the inscription (*id.*: 129–30, n. 132), which he is inclined to date to 408/7, and associate with the co-operative relationship between Tissaphernes and Athens attested to in this passage.
3. See **8, no. 31**, n. 1. For an example of Alcibiades' 'divide-and-rule' advice to Tissaphernes in 411, see Thuc. VIII, 46.

(c) Problems in the imperial territories in the reign of Darius II

34. Unrest in Egypt

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Egypt, late fifth century: AD 5; TADAE I, A6.7.¹

Translations: DAE, no. 66; Whitehead 1974: 53–9; Lindenberger 1994, no. 40.

From Arsham to Artavant.²

I pass along to you surpassing peace and prosperity.

Now then, here with me things are well. May things be well with you there too!

Now then, there are some 'Cilicians'³ of mine in Egypt, one named Pariyame, one named Ammuwana, one named Saran (alt. Saraka), one named Tuanapiya (alt. Tuanad/riya), one named [. . .]miya, one named Sadasbinzai, one named [. . .], one named Ka, one named Bagafarna, one named Piyatarunazi, one named Asimiraupa, and one named Muwasarma, altogether thirteen men⁴ – (men from) 'BSW.⁵ They had been consigned to my estates in Upper and Lower Egypt,⁶ but then when Egypt revolted and the garrison was besieged, Pariyame and his associates were not able to enter the fortress. Then the no-good [...]n[.]r/dw⁷ seized them and with him they remain.

Now then, if you please, let an order be issued by you that no one should do any harm to Pariyame and his associates; they should be released and do my work as previously.

From Prince⁸ Arsham to Artavant, who is Egypt.

Concerning the 'Cilicians',⁹ my [. . . who were not] able to [enter GN].¹⁰

Notes

1. This letter was written by Arshama (hellenised form: Arsames), Persian satrap of Egypt. He figures in many Aramaic documents from late fifth-century Egypt, between 428 and 408, of which only one is precisely dated to 412/11 (AP, 26, see Whitehead 1974: 18). The set of leather documents to which this one belongs (cf. **14, no.35**, n.1) is dated between 411 and 408 by Driver (AD, 8–10). An unpublished demotic text from Saqqara (H5-DP 434, to be published by Dr C.J. Martin), presented at a seminar in London by H.S. Smith (UCL, December 2002), attests him in the position of satrap in Egypt by January 435. For his possible installation at the end of the Egyptian revolt (454), see **8, no.9** & n.9; for his support of Darius II's successful bid for the throne, see **8, no.20** (50) & n.11. For his Babylonian and Egyptian estates and other activities, see **15, no.4; 16, nos.60(iii); 64–5; 69**.
2. Three other letters are addressed by Arshama to Artavant, whose position is not known. However, the fact that Arshama titles himself 'prince' (cf. below n.8) and sends him formal good wishes (see next line) suggests that he must be a very high-ranking individual; see Whitehead 1974: 20, n.1.
3. Cazelles (1955: 93) argued that Ar. HYLKYN should be translated 'farm workers' or 'gardeners', rather than the more usual 'Cilicians', which fits quite nicely here, but see below, n.4; cf. Briant 1988a: 143.
4. Apart from Bagafarna (unmistakably Iranian), all the names (including Ka and Ammuwana = 'MWN) could be understood as Anatolian, see DAE, no.66, n.e; Whitehead 1974: 56. This would fit the designation of the group as Cilician, but see above n.3.
5. This is translated as 'fugitives' by Driver (AD, 5, l.5), followed by Grelot (DAE, no.66, n.n & pp.306–7). Whitehead (1974: 56–7) suggests that it is rather a place name in south-east Anatolia, in keeping with his understanding of the personnel as Cilicians, while Porten and Yardeni (TADAE I, A6.7) translate tentatively 'pressers'.
6. For the estates held by Persians in the empire, see **16, Section C(d)**.
7. This is restored as Anudaru by both Driver (AD 5) and Grelot (DAE, no.66); cf. Whitehead (1974: 57), who stresses the uncertainty of the reading of the name. Note Driver's vigorous rejection of the suggestion, sometimes put forward, that this could be a rendering of the name Inaros (AD, p.54, n.3), and hence linked to the Egyptian rebel leader(s) (cf. **8, nos.6; 7; 9**). Grelot (DAE, 308) connects the disturbances in the letter with the beginnings of the Delta-based revolt led by Amyrtaeus II, which climaxed in the secession of Egypt in 400/399 (see **9, nos.57–60**). Lewis (1958) suggested, on the basis of a remark by Diodorus (XIII, 46.6) and allusions to disturbances in the Aramaic documents from Egypt, that this explains the non-appearance of the Phoenician fleet promised by Tissaphernes to aid the Spartans in 411 (Thuc. VIII, 87.4), i.e. it was diverted to deal with a serious rebellion in Egypt. For telling criticisms, see Briant (1988a: 143; 1996a: 614 [2002b: 596–7]), who warns against interpretations that try to turn random references to localised unrest into major revolts linked to Egypt's later secession from the Persian empire. Note Whitehead's reiterated stress on the uncertainty of the reading of the name, and hence its

restoration (quite apart from the uncertainties of linking 'Anudaru' with Amyrtaeus or Inaros (Whitehead 1974: 57)).

8. Ar. BR BYT'; for this title, which is a calque of OP *visa-puthra-, 'son of the house', see Stolper 1985: 59–60 with references; **13, no.13**.
9. See above, n.3.
10. Restored as Mizpah by Driver (AD 5) and Grelot (DAE, no.66), and tentatively accepted by Porten and Yardeni (TADAE I, A6.7).

35. Revolt in Media

Xenophon, *Hellenica* I, 2.19.

So this year ended,¹ in which the Medes who had revolted from Darius the Persian king yielded to him again.²

Notes

1. 408/7.
2. This passage is one of several considered to be an interpolation, because of certain inconsistencies in dating, spelling, etc., see Krentz 1989: 108–10. However, the reality of difficulties in Media at this time is accepted by Lewis (1977: 133–4) and Briant (1996a: 613 [2002: 596]); see also **8, no.37**.

36. Problems in southern Babylonia?

Babylonian tablet, Uruk, VII/10/17, Darius II (= 15 November 407): Stolper 1990a: 571–2, no.6.

A set of . . . beams, 24 cubits¹ long, is owed to Tanittu-Anu, son of Bel-eriba, by Re'indu, daughter of Iddinunu. When the gate is opened,² she will give (him) those beams, a . . . set, 24 cubits long, in Uruk.³ Until that (set of) beams is paid off, one bronze cup and one lantern are pledged to Tanittu-[Anu].

(Witnesses, scribe, date)

Notes

1. 1 cubit = approx. 50 cm, so the beams are about 12 m long.
2. This unusual way of specifying time appears in texts about two hundred years earlier, where it indicates a state of siege. Thus the use of the phrase here could suggest that Uruk, where the transaction is set, was under blockade, see Stolper 1990a: 572.
3. The old and important city in south Babylonia.

37. Darius campaigns in the northern mountains of Iran

Xenophon, *Hellenica* II, 1.13.

Then¹ Cyrus summoned Lysander,² as a messenger had come from his father saying that he was ill and wanted to see him. His father was in Thamneria³ in Media close to the Cadusians,⁴ against whom he was campaigning because they had revolted.

Notes

1. The year is 405, with Darius close to death; cf. **9, no.1**.
2. Spartan general.
3. For a suggested location, see Cook 1983: 262.
4. The precise location of this territory is not known, although what evidence there is suggests the mountainous territory south-west of the Caspian Sea (Syme 1988). The region recurs as a locus for regular royally led, heroic campaigns over the next sixty years (**9, no.67**, n.2; **10, no.5**; **11, nos.21(vi); 34**), which suggests that agreements between the Persian king and local leaders needed to be renegotiated and affirmed (cf. **13, no.30**), rather than that the local population were in revolt (cf. **17, Section A**). Cadusia also seems to function as an emblematic arena in which kingly qualities were tested and displayed (see Allen 2002, cf. **10, no.5**). Further, the presence of Cadusians in the Persian army (**11, no.22**; Xen. *Anab.* I, 8.24; Plut. *Artax.* 13.3–4) shows that the Achaemenid king forged bonds with leaders in the region allowing them to draw on their manpower (see **8, Introduction**). Note also **2, no.17**, where, according to tradition, this relationship was established in the distant past.

ARTAXERXES II AND ARTAXERXES III (405–338)

Introduction

General remarks

The source profile for this period of nearly seventy years is fundamentally the same as for the preceding two reigns and suffers from the same limitations (see **8, Introduction**). In other words, it is dominated by the material contained in Graeco-Roman historians and a handful of inscriptions, whose vision is largely confined to the north-western periphery of Achaemenid territory, only occasionally taking in places further afield, such as Egypt and Cyprus, and the more sensational stories of intrigues at court (see, e.g., **9, nos.5; 72**). Thus Greek–Persian relations and affairs in Asia Minor predominate, forcing us to focus attention on this region. The exception, again, is Egypt, which seceded successfully between 405 and 399. For the next sixty years or so Greeks were involved in the drawn-out conflict between Persia and Egypt as soldiers. As in the earlier Egyptian revolt (**8, Section A(b)**), it is on the stories of Greek involvement here that the classical writers concentrate, not on internal Egyptian developments as such. Egypt was only reconquered in 343/2, after repeated efforts. This long period of independence served to feed debates in Greek circles about the realities of Persian might. One powerful exponent of the idea that Achaemenid power was in decline was the Attic orator Isocrates (**9, nos.48; 62**). His impassioned speeches painted an image of a crumbling empire against which Greeks might well be successful, if only they would unite. The picture created by Isocrates’ urgings has left a strong imprint on subsequent evaluations of the strength of the Achaemenid empire, right up to our own time. A series of not very clearly related disturbances in Asia Minor, known to modern scholarship as ‘The Great Satrap’s Revolt’, also figure in our Graeco-Roman sources for this period (360s). But it is hard to see them as a concerted rebellion that threatened to destroy the empire’s integrity, given the lack of unanimity and cohesion among the rebels and the very uncertain chronology. The unrest is perhaps more symptomatic of the chronic problems of control experienced by the Achaemenid régime, especially given the endemic rivalries that existed in the ranks of the Persian nobility (see Weiskopf 1989; Briant 1996a: 675–94 [2002: 656–75]; Grabbe 2004: 346–7). Aspects of this ‘revolt’ are, therefore, presented in the context of relations between king and nobility (**13, nos.31–2; 35–6**).

The non-classical documents are limited, in both volume and content, although, sporadically, there is some extremely valuable material (see below, pp.351–2). Royal inscriptions from the heart of the empire display some intriguing changes (**9, nos.22; 71; 73**), although understanding their precise significance remains elusive. Three Babylonian astronomical

diaries (see **2, Introduction**) contain tantalising references to Persian military action in northern Mesopotamia, Iran and (probably) Cyprus (**9, nos.55; 67; 68**), but the fragmentary state of preservation restricts their usefulness as a counterbalance to the classical writers. More helpful is a Babylonian chronicle extract, which helps a little with the very confused chronology of the Sidonian revolt in Artaxerxes III's reign (**9, no.76**). A few texts from Egypt and inscribed statues (**9, nos.59; 60; 65; 78; 79(i)**) allow us to gain some, albeit limited, sense of how this period was seen and remembered by some of Egypt's inhabitants. Of great importance is a Phoenician inscription from Cyprus, which casts Evagoras' growing power in a rather different light from that of Isocrates' encomium (**9, no.50**).

In all, the events of this period that we can trace to some degree thanks to these sources are: first, the challenge to Artaxerxes II's accession mounted by his brother (405–401; **9, Section A**); secondly, the evolution of Greek–Persian relations which allowed the Persians gradually to establish a commanding position, so that they were able to impose a peace by 387/6 (**9, Section B**). Third, we can chart some of the activities of Evagoras, a petty ruler on Cyprus who attempted to extend his power (c.415–381; **9, Section C(a)**). Finally, we can say something about the very damaging secession of Egypt (405/4–343/2; **9, Section C(b) & nos.69; 77**), its occasional involvement with Greek, Cypriot and Phoenician cities, and its hard-won reconquest by Artaxerxes III. Our knowledge scarcely extends beyond that. The lay-out of this chapter more or less reflects this, with events in different regions traced chronologically, after the initial contest between Artaxerxes II and his brother down to the former's death, and ending with the little we can glean of the reign of his successor (**Section E**). Because of the complexity of events, and some chronological uncertainties, I have divided this introduction into sub-sections to help provide an orientation for the reader.

Cyrus the Younger (405–401)

One event that involved the centre of power directly was the war between Artaxerxes II and his younger brother, Cyrus (**9, Section A**), which ended in the latter's death in 401. It seems likely that Darius II had selected his oldest son Ars(ac)es (= Artaxerxes II, **8, no.21**, n.4; **9, nos.1**, n.1; **2**) as successor well before his death, and that Cyrus was building up his unusually powerful post in Asia Minor (**8, no.32; fig.9.1**), while manoeuvring to undermine his brother's position. It was this that probably prompted his father Darius to summon Cyrus to his deathbed (**8, no.37; 9, nos.1; 4**). The Greek accounts of this fraternal struggle, particularly that written by Cyrus' friend Xenophon (cf. Book I of his *Anabasis*; see **11, no.18**), are very much those of the younger brother's partisans. Nevertheless, they contain hints that allow us to gain a slightly more balanced picture. We should note, however, that some stories carry a distinct flavour of counter-propaganda emanating from Artaxerxes II (e.g. **9, nos.3; 5**).

What is the story that emerges? First, it is plain that Cyrus made extensive preparations to challenge his brother's tenure of the throne immediately on his return from the interview with his father. He ingratiated himself with envoys from court (**9, no.6**), bought the support of Greek mercenary captains, and funded exiles from some Greek cities, while trying to gain a following in others to the detriment of the immediate Persian governor, Tissaphernes (**9, no.7**). He also approached the Spartans, who provided him with some contingents while being careful not to declare their support openly (**9, no.8**). None of this escaped the notice of the king, who was kept informed by his commanders in Asia Minor, and who countered

with orders to some of Cyrus' subordinates to work against him (**9, nos.9–11; 19**; cf. also **9, no.13**). Artaxerxes' hands were tied at this point because of the Egyptian revolt (**9, Section C(b)**; cf. **9, no.16**, n.2), which demanded action. It is, indeed, possible that Cyrus was taking advantage of the Egyptian crisis to mount his attack at this very moment, although the reverse is equally plausible. Both views must remain speculative,

The second feature of the revolt that we can define is the fragility of Cyrus' support. The first book of Xenophon's *Anabasis* shows this clearly. The Greek mercenary troops were only gradually made aware of the true aim of Cyrus' expedition. Again and again, Cyrus misled them, with the result that the soldiers mutinied and were only bought off with ever more pay (**9, nos.15; 16; 18**). To ensure continued loyalty, Cyrus held the families of Greek commanders hostage, although even this did not prevent some from defecting (**9, no.17**). Some regions in the Asia Minor interior refused to comply with Cyrus' demand for provisions, while the Cilician dynast was brutally compelled to fall into line, although he managed to get word to the king assuring him of his fundamental loyalty (**9, nos.12; 14**). In fact, the impression is that Cyrus was forced to rely primarily on the loyalty of Greek guest-friends, free-booting exiles and some personal aides within the area of his jurisdiction in Asia Minor. As far as we can tell, the bulk of the Persian high nobility remained staunchly loyal to Artaxerxes. This may explain why Cyrus needed to recruit Greek mercenary troops in such unprecedentedly large numbers. But without the support of a significant proportion of the Persian aristocracy, his bid for the throne was doomed.

Thirdly, it is clear that, despite the short time he had for preparations, Artaxerxes made advance plans to counter his brother's attack. Aside from ordering subordinates to act against Cyrus (see above, pp.348–9), he had the Euphrates bridges destroyed (Xen. *Anab.* I, 4.18) and put a scorched earth policy into action (Xen. *Anab.* I, 6.2). He also prepared an elaborate system of defences in northern Babylonia, diverting waterways to prevent direct access into the region and refurbishing an older, very solid defensive structure (**9, no.20**). He further called up soldiers from the Iranian plateau and beyond (**9, no.21**) to reinforce his Babylonian, Susian, Median, Persian and Cadusian forces (Plut. *Artōx.* 13.3–4). In the event, they arrived only after the decisive battle at Cunaxa, which left Cyrus dead on the battlefield and Artaxerxes victorious (401).

It is probable that Artaxerxes' formal declaration of his genealogical entitlement to the throne was promulgated in the wake of this victory (**9, no.22**). At the same time, conspicuously loyal Persians, such as Tissaphernes, were rewarded, while several rebellious Persians, who had surrendered, received generous pardons (**9, nos.24; 25; 40**). Some of the stranded Greek mercenary troops now considered offering their services to the king, but what offers were made he turned down (**9, no.23**). After most of their commanders had been trapped and executed, the surviving Greek forces faced the daunting task of making their way home, with provisions running out and harassed by Persian contingents, who forced them to head directly north into the hostile mountains of Armenia, where they were abandoned (**9, nos.26; 27**). The story of the survival against the odds of this remnant forms the bulk of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.¹

The Aegean front (400–386)

Tissaphernes, Cyrus' former foe, was now reinstalled in a more powerful position in western Asia Minor (400). This inspired fear in those Greek cities which had sided with Cyrus. In response to their appeal for help, the Spartans (themselves heavily implicated in Cyrus'

revolt) sent troops to Asia Minor, swelled by survivors from Cyrus' forces (**9, nos.28; 29**). They profited from the persistent rivalry between Tissaphernes and his neighbouring satrap, Pharnabazus, to ravage some of the latter's province (see already **8, Introduction; 9, no.30**). The raid ended in a truce, which allowed Pharnabazus time to go to the king and persuade him to put a plan for developing the Persian navy into action (**9, no.30**, n.4). It had become evident in the preceding decades that for the Persians to have any chance of success in the Aegean, as well as against Egypt, they must build up their naval forces (see **8, Introduction**). This need was now met by appointing an Athenian exile, Conon, as an admiral in Persian service, ordering the Cypriot princes to prepare a flotilla of warships and fitting out a substantial fleet in the Phoenician ports, partly commanded by the prince of Sidon. This massing of maritime forces terrified the Spartans, who had begun negotiating for peace with Persia. They sought help from secessionist Egypt, whose ruler sent them some materials (396). But they were intercepted and seized by the Persian fleet at Rhodes, which had taken the opportunity to revolt from Sparta (**9, nos.31–4**).

Simultaneously, the Spartan authorities had despatched King Agesilaus to reopen the aborted negotiations (396). Tissaphernes played for time by agreeing to a truce, until military reinforcements and the Persian fleet, blockaded for the moment at Caunus, would be available (**9, no.35**). One piece of luck for Agesilaus was the arrival of Spithridates, a disaffected Persian from Hellespontine Phrygia. When Tissaphernes, with strong military support, demanded Agesilaus' withdrawal, the latter was in a position to use Spithridates' intelligence to raid part of Hellespontine Phrygia, the proceeds from which he then used to recruit a cavalry (**9, no.36**). Thus strengthened, he returned south and fought a successful battle against the Persians near Sardis (**9, no.37**). This humiliating defeat roused the anger of the king, who ordered Tissaphernes' execution. Agesilaus was again diverted northwards by the royal official in charge of this, where his eventual lack of success led Spithridates to abandon him. Agesilaus was forced to withdraw back home, where the strategic disbursement of Persian money now threatened Spartan power (**9, nos.38–40**).

The abortive Spartan campaign in Asia Minor provides us with an opportunity to observe Persian tactics and modes of control in a vulnerable frontier area. In this, we are particularly helped by the sober account (partially preserved on papyrus) of the 'Oxyrhynchus Historian' (Bruce 1967) for part of it (**9, no.39**).² As far as possible the Persians avoided battle; they allowed the intruder to wander until he was forced to retreat. For Agesilaus to have any chance of success he needed to capture a city, which he signally failed to do; apart from some success with an already disaffected Paphlagonian dynast, Agesilaus also failed to gain the support of the population in the countryside, who, in any case, did not form a unified group. The support of any Persian allies he had soon melted away, as the hopelessness of his enterprise became evident, when they hastened to try and obtain a royal pardon. The overall loyalty of peoples and commanders in the region to the Achaemenid régime emerges very clearly.

The Persians can be seen at this stage to assert themselves successfully against the constant harassment of Sparta. Their growing dominance was strengthened by their victory at Cnidus against Sparta's navy (394), followed by the ejection of Spartan garrisons from cities along the coast and the Aegean islands (**9, nos.41; 42**), and rounded off by the Persian liberation of the Cycladic islands, ravaging of the Spartan coastline and investment of Cythera (393; **9, no.43**). While the Persian commander of this campaign was favouring Athens, however, the Spartans sent an emissary to reopen the peace negotiations with Persia, forcing her Greek rivals to do the same (392). The confusions and internal contradictions besetting the Greek

cities at this point are well illustrated by Athens sending ships to support the rebellious Evagoras, which the Spartans captured. The murderous internecine rivalries of the Greek states seem to have dictated Greek actions at all times (**9, nos.44; 46**). But the overall Persian triumph was assured: a border conflict between two Greek cities in Asia Minor was arbitrated by the Persian governor (**9, no.45**), while Artaxerxes II sent peace terms, which guaranteed his control of the cities of the Aegean seaboard and Cyprus, as well as insisting, with few exceptions, on the autonomy of the Greek cities (387/6; **9, no.47**). To this the cities of European Greece had to bow, although Thebes, in the throes of building up its power, held out against it. Nevertheless, this spelt an overall victory for the consistency of Persian policy. It also freed the king from having to deal with the chronic Greek raids (cf. possibly **9, no.70**), while allowing him to draw on Greek manpower for the actions needed in Egypt and Cyprus.

Cyprus

Power in Cyprus was divided among a number of city-princes (Phoenician and Greek), competing with each other for pre-eminence. Simultaneously, they were subject to the Persian king, while entertaining links with Greek and Phoenician cities. The island's strategic location off the Levant coast meant that its control was in the interests of both Egypt and Persia. Certainly, if any Persian attempt to reconquer Egypt were to have any chance of success, Cyprus must be firmly held. But the Achaemenid grip was threatened in the late 390s by the ambitions of Evagoras, one of Cyprus' petty rulers.

Evagoras was a member of the ruling family of Cypriot Salamis, which was ousted in the 430s. At some point in the 410s, Evagoras was able to return from exile in Cilicia, depose the existing ruler and set himself up as city-king (**9, no.48**). It is possible, though this can be no more than a hypothesis, that Evagoras supported Cyrus the Younger's revolt, which would necessarily have led to some friction with Artaxerxes II. But whatever problems had arisen between the two, they had been resolved by 398, when Evagoras' guest, Conon, was appointed to his position in the Persian navy and Evagoras himself collaborated with the king against Sparta (**9, nos.31; 49**). Through the 390s, the Achaemenid régime was prepared to turn a blind eye to Evagoras' aggression against other Cypriot cities, possibly recorded in a Phoenician inscription from Kition (**9, no.50**), in return for his help. But once the Persians began to gain control of the situation in Asia Minor (**9, Section B(c)**), they moved to limit his power in order to maintain dominance (c.391–386; **9, nos.51–2**) and prevent any effective link-up with Egypt (cf. **9, no.61**). Diodorus' chronology and account of events in the 380s is unclear, but what is certain is: (a) that the Persians won a victory at sea against Salamis in 386; (b) that Evagoras failed to obtain any real help from Egypt; and (c) that the conflict ended in 381 with the Salaminian ruler acknowledging his subjection to Artaxerxes II (**9, nos.53–6**).

Egypt

We can only glimpse something of events in Egypt, given the very unsatisfactory sources. Secessionist moves probably began early in Artaxerxes II's reign, possibly making the most of Artaxerxes' preoccupation with his brother's revolt (above, pp.348–9). The leader(s) of revolt was (were) descended from the Delta princes who had caused problems for the Persian rulers in the mid-fifth century (**8, Section A(b)**). But Egypt had not seceded fully

until some point between 401 and 399 (**9, no.57**, n.11). A further fact that needs to be stressed is how unstable the hold on the Egyptian throne of any single claimant in this period was.³ The first (Saite) king, Amyrtaeus, was deposed (and probably executed) in 398/7 (**9, no.59**) by a rival from Mendes, Nephertites I, whose six-year reign was followed by a struggle, from which Akoris emerged successfully (392/1–379/8), only for his son to be deposed after a mere four months by Nectanebo I of Sebennytus. Although Nectanebo I's reign was relatively long, his son and co-regent Tachos was deposed by his nephew, Nectanebo II, while he was campaigning against the Persians in Syria. As a result Tachos was forced to take refuge at Artaxerxes II's court (**9, no.69**). The calamitous ups-and-downs of Egypt's kings in this period became the subject for Egyptian reflection on the nature of kingship in the Ptolemaic period (**9, nos.60; 65**). These struggles for control of Egypt indicate that Egypt was not united in some kind of 'nationalist' uprising against Persian rule (see further, Briant 1988a). It may also explain why Egypt's rulers needed to rely on such extensive recruitment of Greek mercenaries to fight off Persian attempts at reconquest.

We are not well informed about the Persian moves to reconquer Egypt, although passing hints indicate that this was a major focus of sustained effort, certainly from the 380s onwards (**9, nos.62; 64; 66; 69; 75** & n.1; **77**; note also, **9, no.16**, n.2). The Persian efforts were hampered by Egypt's support for dissident elements in the empire, providing a place of refuge as well as a potential source of aid for anti-Persian moves, although the rulers' responses to such requests could be ambivalent and reluctant (**9, nos.34; 54; 58; 61; 63**). Simultaneously, Egypt's rulers worked to create a network of alliances and foment rebellions in the southern Levant (**9, nos.61; 75**). Egypt's actions and areas of interest fit a recurrent pattern of political ambitions well known from the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and hellenistic periods (cf. Kuhrt 1995a: 487–8; 499–500; 544–5; 589–93; 638; 643–5; Will 1966–7, I: 127–30; 208–33; II: 21–35; 96–102; 161–2). But in 343/2 Artaxerxes III triumphed, and Egypt was reintegrated into the empire (**9, no.77; fig.9.8**). Later traditions about his reconquest are hostile (**9, no.79**), while contemporary Egyptian evidence counters them, at least in part (**9, no.78**). Whether reassertion of Achaemenid control was altogether successful is uncertain. There is good evidence for a Kushite(?) ruler, acknowledged in large parts of Egypt as pharaoh for at least two years, in the period following Artaxerxes' campaign (Lloyd 1988b; **9, no.77**, n.9), although the precise date is unknown. Further, only eleven years after the Persian victory Alexander of Macedon was able to conquer Egypt relatively easily (**10, no.24**). The growth of Macedonian power had attracted the attention of the Achaemenid régime by 340/39, with Artaxerxes III backing resistance to Philip's expansion eastwards (**9, no.80**).

Conclusion

The loss of Egypt, Agesilaus' ability to penetrate part of the imperial realm, however brief and abortive that was, the chronic local instability in western Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean, and Isocrates' impassioned invectives with their images of an enfeebled and tottering empire, can easily leave us with the impression that the Persian empire had indeed entered on its terminal decline. Against this picture we need to set the evidence of a royal decree (see **11, no.59**) showing that the region from Lydia through Syria and Babylonia to Bactria was under Achaemenid control. The call-up of soldiers from India and the Upper Satrapies (**9, no.21(i)** & cf. **fig.17.14**), as well as Ctesias' now-lost work on the royal roads

(15, no.2) describing the staging posts from Ephesus to Bactria and India, backs this up. The empire's territorial integrity from Asia Minor to Central Asia and India (save Egypt), contrary to the one-sided literary sources, was a reality at this time (see Briant 1996a: 699 [2002b: 680]).

Notes

1. See now the essays around Xenophon's work edited by Lane Fox (2005).
2. The sections of this history are preserved on two separate sets of papyri, found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt – one now in London, one in Florence, a total of about twenty pages. The copies date from the second century BC. The writer was almost certainly used by the late fourth-century historian Ephorus, who was Diodorus Siculus' main source for Greek history before Alexander, see Sacks 1994; OCD, s.v. Oxyrhynchus, the historian from.
3. For the chronology and sequence of kings, see fig.9.4.

A. The war of the brothers (405–401)

(a) The death of Darius II and Artaxerxes II's accession

1. Darius II's death¹

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 1–2.

Darius and Parysatis had two sons born to them,² the older of whom was called Artaxerxes³ and the younger Cyrus. When Darius was ill and suspected that he was at the end of his life, he wanted to have both his sons with him. It so happened that the older one was already with him; but he summoned Cyrus from the province over which he had made him satrap. He had also appointed him general in command of all who muster in the Plain of Castolus.⁴ So Cyrus went up⁵ taking Tissaphernes⁶ as friend and with three hundred Greek hoplites,⁷ commanded by Xenias of Parrasia.⁸

Notes

1. Cf. 8, no.37, for another reference to Cyrus' summons to his father's deathbed, suggesting that the latter was in Media at that point. However, Ctesias (FGrH 688 F16(57)) has Darius dying in Babylonia, after a reign of thirty-five years. The reliable Babylonian evidence shows that Darius II's reign lasted nineteen years. The latest published Babylonian text dating by him is 17 September 405 (TBER, pl.36 = no.34). Two texts indicate that the recognition of Artaxerxes II as king was immediate (see Stolper 1999b: 7–9, for full discussion and citation of texts).
2. Ctesias (8, no.21) says that Darius and Parysatis had four surviving sons and one daughter, of whom the later Artaxerxes II was the oldest. Darius also had surviving illegitimate offspring of both sexes, as some incidental references reveal.
3. Artaxerxes was the king's throne-name. Babylonian documents and Ctesias attest that his birth-name was Arses, or Arsaces; see 8, no.21 & n.4.
4. For Cyrus' extraordinary command in Asia Minor and the 'Plain of Castolus', see 8, no.32(3) & nn.8; 9.
5. I.e. up country to Iran.
6. Satrap of Lydia, see 8, nos.25, n.3; 26(5) & n.2; 27–30; 33.
7. See 7, no.59, n.6.
8. See 9, no.17, for his subsequent defection.

2. Uncertainty about the succession?

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 2.3–5.

The mother (sc. Parysatis) happened to love Cyrus more and wanted him to be king. And when the father fell ill, she immediately sent for him to come from the coast and he came up full of hope that she had managed to have him designated successor to the throne. And Parysatis did have a good argument, which Xerxes the Elder¹ had used on Demaratus' advice: namely, she had borne Arsikas while Darius was a private individual, but Cyrus while he was king.² But she did not succeed, and the older brother became king with the new name of Artaxerxes, while Cyrus was satrap of Lydia and general of the coast.

Notes

1. I.e. Cyrus' great-grandfather.
2. See **7, nos.2; 3**.

3. Darius' last words

Athenaeus XII, 548e.

Ochus,¹ again, held the throne much later, and acquired, in general, resources for living in a style sufficient for anybody. As he was dying, his eldest son² asked him what he had done to preserve his kingdom so many years, because he wanted to imitate him in this; and he answered: 'I have practised justice before all men and gods.'³

Notes

1. The Loeb editor of the text identifies this king with Artaxerxes III Ochus, which seems extremely unlikely given his bad press (**9, no.79**) and the story of his murder (**10, no.3**). The reported situation fits best with Darius II; for his personal name rendered Ochus in Greek, see **8, no.19**, n.7.
2. I.e. the future Artaxerxes II.
3. The background to this story may well have been court propaganda intended to underpin Artaxerxes' claim to be Darius' rightful successor, especially in the context of his brother Cyrus' counterclaims. The story is reminiscent of Cyrus II's death, as portrayed by Xenophon, see **3, no.36**, cf. Briant 1996a: 634 [2002b: 615].

4. Cyrus summoned to court to explain his behaviour

Xenophon, *Hellenica* II, 1.8–9.¹

Also in this year² Cyrus executed Autoboisakes and Mitraios, sons of Darius' sister, daughter of Xerxes, Darius' father,³ because in his presence they did not push their hands through the *kore*, which they only do for the king.⁴ The *kore* is longer than the *cheiris*; whoever has his hand in it cannot do anything.⁵ Therefore, Hieramenes⁶ and his wife told Darius that it would be a bad thing to overlook his excessive arrogance; so he, on the grounds that he was ill, sent messengers.

Notes

1. This is one of the passages regarded as an interpolation in Xenophon's text, see **8, no.35**, n.2.
2. 406.

3. Darius' father was Artaxerxes I. These two individuals are not otherwise known.
4. See further for this aspect of court etiquette, perhaps indicating submission, **11, no.22**; Briant 1996a: 273–4 [2002b: 262].
5. For the prominence of sleeves as a feature of Iranian dress, see Miller 1997: 156–7.
6. Probably to be identified with the Hieramenes who played a role in the third treaty between Persia and Sparta (411), Thuc. VIII, 58. It is possible, but not certain, that he was the husband of Darius' sister, and hence the father of the two executed men. The name also appears in the Lycian text of the Inscribed Pillar at Xanthus in conjunction with Tissaphernes, cf. Keen 1998: 138 (for an extract from this text, see **8, no.29**).

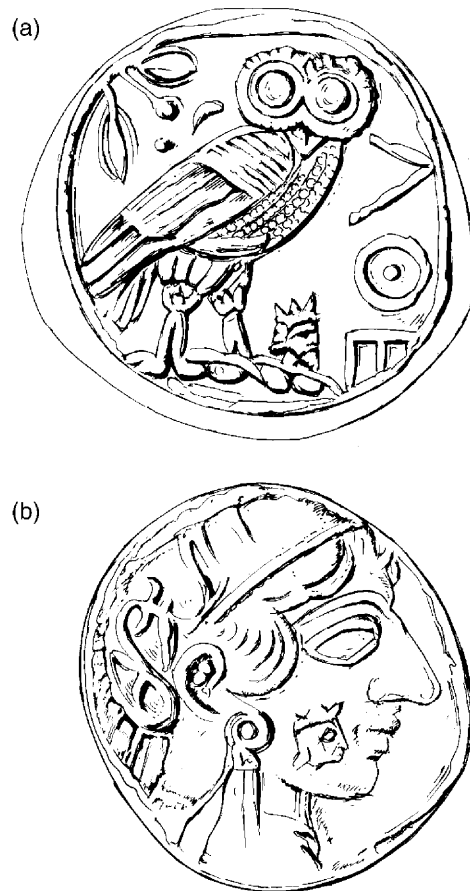


Figure 9.1 (a) Reverse of an Attic tetradrachm, with a bearded Persian royal head (Darius II) at the foot of the owl. (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum.)
 (b) Obverse of an Attic tetradrachm, with clean-shaven Persian royal head on Athena's cheek, argued to be Cyrus the Younger. (Cologne.)
 Type (a) has been recognised as an issue used by the Persian authorities to pay Greek mercenaries. Weiser (1989) has argued that type (b) was issued by Cyrus the Younger for recruiting his Greek forces. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

5. A tale about Cyrus' attempt on the life of his brother

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 3.3–6.

Artaxerxes was on the point of performing this (sc. ceremony),¹ when Tissaphernes² arrived bringing him one of the priests, who had presided over Cyrus' education, of the type normal for children,³ and had taught him the lore of the magi.⁴ He was thus more upset than any other Persian that Cyrus had not been designated king, and for that reason his accusation of Cyrus was believed. He accused him of planning to lie in ambush in the sanctuary and, when the king took off his garments, attack and kill him. Some say that Cyrus was arrested following this denunciation; others, that he entered the sanctuary and was betrayed by the priest as he lay hidden. He was already on the point of being executed, when his mother took him in her arms, covered him with her hair and pressed his neck against hers. With many laments and loud shrieks she obtained his pardon and return back to the coast.⁵ Cyrus was not enamoured of this appointment and unmindful of his pardon, only of his arrest. Bursting with rage, he aimed more than previously at the kingship.⁶

Notes

1. The royal 'rite de passage' within a temple at Pasargadae, which formed part of the coronation ceremony (**11, no.63**), which Plutarch has just described.
2. See **9, no.1** & n.5.
3. For the Persian education, see **13, no.8**.
4. See **11, Section H(d)**.
5. See **9, no.1** & n.4.
6. Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 3) only has Tissaphernes accusing Cyrus of an unspecified plot against the king, his arrest and return to his earlier command in western Asia Minor at the behest of his mother. For this more elaborated story, Plutarch almost certainly drew on both Ctesias and Deinon, the other two sources for his life (Stevenson 1997: 26–7).

(b) Cyrus' stealthy preparations for revolt

6. Cyrus gathers support

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 1.4–6.

Parysatis, his mother, supported Cyrus because she loved him better than Artaxerxes who was king. Then, whenever anyone came to him from the king, he treated them all in such a way that he sent them back more devoted to him than the king. He also ensured that the barbarians with him were effective fighters and were well disposed towards him. As for the Greek force, he began to collect it in absolute secrecy so that he might take the king totally unprepared.

7. Cyrus builds up his army

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 1.6–7; 9–11.

This is how he set about gathering (the army). He gave orders to all the garrison commanders he had in the cities to hire as many Peloponnesians of the best kind as each could, pretending that Tissaphernes was planning something against them. Because the Ionian cities had originally been under Tissaphernes by gift of the king,¹ but then they had seceded

to Cyrus, all save Miletus. Because Tissaphernes found out in time that in Miletus they were planning to go over to Cyrus, he executed some and expelled others. Cyrus then took the exiles under his protection, gathered an army, besieged Miletus both by land and sea, and tried to restore those who had been expelled. And this was another pretext to collect an army.

Yet another army was being collected for him in the Chersonese opposite Abydos² in this way. Clearchus was a Lacedaemonian exile;³ Cyrus got to know him, admired him and presented him with ten thousand darics.⁴ Clearchus took the gold and collected an army using the money; based in the Chersonese, he made war on the Thracians who dwell beyond the Hellespont and helped the Greeks. As a result, the Hellespontine cities voluntarily contributed money for the support of his army. Like that, this army was being secretly maintained for Cyrus.

The Thessalian Aristippus happened to be Cyrus' friend; hard pressed by his opponents at home, he came to Cyrus and asked him for three months' pay for two thousand mercenaries – like that he would be able to overcome his opponents. So Cyrus gave him six months' pay for four thousand mercenaries, and requested that he not come to terms with his opponents until he had consulted him. Like that the army in Thessaly was being secretly maintained for him.

Notes

1. See the references at **9, no.1**, n.6; for Tissaphernes' hostility to Cyrus, **9, no.5**.
2. See **fig.7.2**.
3. Clearchus had persuaded the Spartan government to send him to take action against the Thracians threatening Greek settlements in the Chersonese, but was recalled when he reached Corinth. Because he refused to obey, he was condemned to death and, hence, unable to return home (see Xen. *Anab.* II, 6.2–4).
4. For the Persian gold daric, see **8, no.28**, n.5.

8. Sparta colludes with Cyrus but keeps its options open

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 19.4–5; 21.1–2.

He (sc. Cyrus) also sent ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians reminding them of his good services in their war against the Athenians¹ and asking them to be his allies. The Lacedaemonians thought that the war would be to their advantage² and decided to help Cyrus. They immediately sent off ambassadors to their admiral, called Samus,³ that he should comply with all Cyrus' orders. Samus had twenty-five triremes, with which he sailed to Ephesus to Cyrus' admiral, ready to co-operate with him in everything. They also sent eight hundred foot soldiers, appointing Cheirisophus as commander. Tamos⁴ was the commander of the barbarian fleet with fifty expensively equipped triremes. Once the Lacedaemonians had arrived, the fleets set sail making for Cilicia.⁵

(21) As Cyrus was passing through Cilicia he reached the city of Issus, located on the sea and the last one in Cilicia.⁶ Simultaneously, the Lacedaemonian fleet put in there; the commanders disembarked, met Cyrus and communicated the Spartans' goodwill towards him; they disembarked and handed over the eight hundred infantry soldiers with Cheirisophus. They pretended that Cyrus' friends had sent these mercenaries, but the truth was that everything was done with the consent of the ephors. The Lacedaemonians had not yet

entered the war openly – they were hiding their plan and watching which way the war would go.⁷

Notes

1. See **8, no.33** & n.1; cf. Xen. *Hell.* II, 1.14; 3.8.
2. Cyrus' request to Sparta does not feature in Xenophon's *Anabasis* account, although he does mention it briefly in the *Hellenica* (III, 1.1). Plutarch has a rather flowery account of Cyrus' appeal to Sparta, in which he 'promised to provide mounts for foot soldiers and chariots for mounted ones, and give the owners of land, villages, those possessed of villages, towns' (*Artax.* 6.3). What precise advantage Diodorus' source may have had in mind here is not explained.
3. 'Samius' in Xen. *Hell.* III, 1.1; 'Clearchus', mistakenly, in Plut. *Artax.* 6.5.
4. Tamos was from Memphis (D.S. XIV, 19.6), previously a subordinate of Tissaphernes with responsibility for Ionia, see Lewis 1977: 92–3; **9, no.58**. The name of one of his sons, Glos (see **9, nos.53; 58; 63; 15, no.6**), seems to be Carian. Given the long-established presence of a Carian settlement at Memphis (Masson 1978, definitely attested already in the sixth century), it seems likely that Tamos should be regarded as a 'Caro-Memphite' rather than an Egyptian, see Briant 1988a: 161.
5. Diodorus says in the preceding passage (XIV, 19.3) that Cyrus had told his soldiers he was marching to deal with rebellious dynasts in Cilicia; see **9, nos.9; 16**, for other misleading explanations of Cyrus' aims; see **9, nos.15; 18** for the problems this caused him.
6. Site of Alexander's first victory over Darius III in person in 333, almost certainly to be located at Kinet Höyük – a multiple period site now being excavated by M.-H. Gates (see references in Casabonne 2004: 134–5).
7. Note also **9, no.10** for the secrecy of the negotiations between Cyrus and Sparta.

9. Cyrus sets out and Tissaphernes reports his suspicions to the king

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.1; 2.4.

When he (sc. Cyrus) thought that it was time to move up country,¹ he pretended that he wanted to expel the Pisidians² totally from the land, and that he had collected the barbarians and Greeks against them.

Tissaphernes observed these preparations and thought they were too substantial to be against the Pisidians. So he went to the king as fast as possible accompanied by around five hundred horsemen. And when the king heard from Tissaphernes about Cyrus' expedition, he made counterpreparations.

Notes

1. I.e. eastwards into the interior.
2. The various communities subsumed under the label 'Pisidian' by Graeco-Roman writers lived in the high terrain of central Anatolia, abutting on the territories of Lycia, Caria, Pamphylia and Phrygia. They caused recurring problems for imperial control and safety by raiding, not only to the Persians, see S. Mitchell 1993; for other instances, see **9, no.23(ii); 13, no.36; 17, no.5**.

10. The Persian king receives an early warning of his brother's plans

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 11.2–3.

He (sc. Ephorus)¹ states in his seventeenth book that Cyrus and the Lacedaemonians were preparing secretly to fight together against Artaxerxes, his brother. From certain quarters, Alcibiades² learnt of Cyrus' plan, went to Pharnabazus³ and laid it out in detail. He asked

him for an escort to go up country⁴ to Artaxerxes, because he wanted to be first to reveal the plot to the king. But when Pharnabazus heard the story, he appropriated the report and sent trusted men to disclose the matter to the king.⁵

Notes

1. Ephorus of Cyme (c.405–330) wrote a history in thirty books from the return of the mythical Heracleidae to 340. His work was one of the prime sources used by Diodorus Siculus for his Greek history down to Alexander of Macedon.
2. See **8, nos.31** & n.1; **33**.
3. Satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **8, no.26**.
4. See **9, no.9**, n.1; for authorisations to travel, see **15, nos.1; 4**.
5. The date for this story is 404, which would suggest that Artaxerxes II was well aware of Cyrus' plot from very early in his reign, as also implied by Plutarch's story (**9, no.5**).

11. Artaxerxes II orders a military commander to act against Cyrus

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 6.6, 6.7.

My (sc. Cyrus') father¹ gave me this man² to obey me. Then, at the behest, as he said himself, of my brother, he acted against me as an enemy when he held the Sardis citadel.³ I warred against him until he thought it better to stop being hostile, and he accepted, and I gave, a pledge.⁴

Did you not later – although, as you admit yourself, never harmed by me – desert to the Mysians⁵ and do all possible harm to my territory?

Notes

1. Darius II.
2. Cyrus is described addressing his close confidants in his tent, where Orontas, who has been discovered betraying him to the king, is being tried in secret; see further **9, no.19**.
3. I.e. Orontas was in command of the garrison there.
4. Gr. *dexia*, reflecting the fact that such an assurance was normally solemnised by a right-hand shake, although it could also be formalised through the sending of a hand token (Gr. *sumbolon*); see Sherwin-White 1978 (cf. **13, no.36**(10)).
5. Region in north-western Asia Minor, bordering on Lydia, Propontis and Bithynia, although trying to define precise frontiers is perhaps a futile exercise, cf. Strabo XII, 564; see also **9, nos.23(ii); 39; 17, no.4**.

(c) The fragility of Cyrus' support

12. Lycaonia refuses aid

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.19.

From here¹ he marched three stages twenty parasangs² to Iconium the last city in Phrygia. There he stayed three days. From there he marched through Lycaonia five stages thirty parasangs. This territory he turned over to the Greeks to plunder as being hostile.³

Notes

1. Thymbrium in Phrygia.
2. One stage (Gr. *stathmos*) is commonly reckoned as a day's march. The parasang is a Persian distance measure, the precise length of which is much debated. In general it is accepted that one parasang measures about 5.5 km (see Briant 1996a: 369–71 [2002b: 357–9]).
3. 'Hostile' here means that the Lycaonian population refused to supply Cyrus' army with the necessary provisions.

13. A plot against Cyrus

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.20.

With the others,¹ Cyrus marched through Cappadocia four stages and twenty-five parasangs² to Dana, a large and prosperous inhabited city. They stayed there three days, during which time, Cyrus executed a Persian called Megaphernes, a royal scribe,³ and another important man among his lieutenants, on the charge they were plotting against him.

Notes

1. At this point, Cyrus had despatched part of his army to accompany Epyaxa, the wife of the Cilician dynast, back home.
2. See **9, no.12**, n.2.
3. Gr. *phoinikistes basileios*. See **5, no.15** for the presence of the 'royal secretaries' in all the satrapal courts and note the evidence for very high level 'chancellors', e.g. **16, no.60**, cf. Briant 1996a: 461 [2002b: 447].

14. The Cilician dynast hedges his bets

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 20.2–3.

Cyrus led his force through these (sc. the Cilician Gates) and entered a plain which, in its beauty, does not stand behind any in Asia. He passed through it to Tarsus, the largest city in Cilicia, of which he swiftly took possession.¹ When Syennesis, dynast of Cilicia,² heard of the size of the enemy force, he did not know what to do because he was no match for it in battle. Summoned to Cyrus and given pledges, he went to him and, learning the truth about the war, agreed to be his ally against Artaxerxes; he sent one of his sons along with Cyrus and gave him a large army of Cilicians to accompany him. Syennesis was by nature treacherous and prepared for the unpredictability of fortune, so he had sent the other son secretly to the king to inform him of the force gathered against him and that he had joined Cyrus of necessity, but remained faithful; should the occasion arise, he would abandon him and join the king's army.³

Notes

1. Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 2.21–6) provides a fuller picture of Cyrus' difficulties in entering Cilicia, with part of the army possibly massacred, and plundering Tarsus and its palace in revenge. He also describes the Cilician dynast Syennesis terrified by the arrival of Cyrus' and Sparta's fleets, leaving him little choice but to surrender.
2. See **2, no.15**, n.6; **6, no.38**, n.2; for possible traces of Cyrus' passage through Cilicia, see Casabonne 1995.
3. Cf. Ctesias (FGrH 688 F16(63)): 'The author shows how Syennesis, king of the Cilicians, fought in both camps, that of Cyrus and that of Artaxerxes.'

15. A riot among the Greek mercenary force

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 3.1–2.

Here (sc. Tarsus) Cyrus and the army stayed for twenty days, as the soldiers refused to go further. Because they now suspected that they were going against the king and said that they had not been hired for that.¹ Clearchus was first to compel the soldiers to go; but they pelted him and his pack-animals, whenever they started to move forward. On that occasion, Clearchus barely escaped being stoned to death.²

Notes

1. See **9, no.9** for Cyrus' initial pretence that the army was engaged to fight the Pisidians.
2. The story continues with Clearchus making an emotional appeal and eventually succeeding in calming the soldiers by clever manipulation, aided by Cyrus.

16. Cyrus and his mercenaries reach a compromise

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 3.20–1.

This was agreed,¹ and they picked men, who were sent with Clearchus to ask Cyrus what the army had decided. He responded that he had heard that Abrocomas,² his enemy, was at the Euphrates river, twelve stages³ away. So it was against him, he said, that he wanted to move. If he were there, he said, he would inflict what he deserved on him; if he had fled, 'we will consider matters there'. The representatives heard this and reported it to the soldiers; the latter suspected that he was leading them against the king, nevertheless they thought they would follow. But they asked for more pay. Cyrus promised to give them all half as much as they had got before – three half darics⁴ per month to each soldier, instead of one. As for moving against the king, no one heard anything about it then, at least not openly.

Notes

1. The near mutiny (see **9, no.15**) ended with the soldiers deciding to demand a clear answer from Cyrus about the goal of his campaign and insisting on more pay if it turned out to be more dangerous than they had been led to believe.
2. One of the commanders in 385–383 of the unsuccessful Persian invasion of Egypt; see **9, no.62**. Apart from being told that he turned his army back from Syria to join Artaxerxes, destroying crossing points along the route and holding a command at Cunaxa (Xen. *Anab.* I, 4.5, 18; 7.12), nothing is said about the reason for his presence in Syria at this date. What seems likely is that he had been sent to move against Egypt, where Amyrtaeus (II) had been leading a revolt since 405/4 – a revolt that had spread throughout Egypt by 399. See further, **9, nos.57 & n.3; 60**.
3. See **9, no.12**, n.2.
4. See **8, no.28**, n.5.

17. Two mercenary leaders defect

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 4.7.

The Arcadian Xenias and the Megarian Pasion¹ embarked on a boat, put most of their valuables on it and sailed away. Most thought that it was because of their pride, after their

soldiers had joined Clearchus to return to Greece and not go against the king, and Cyrus had let Clearchus keep them.² After they had gone, word went round that Cyrus was pursuing them with triremes.³

Notes

1. Both early supporters of Cyrus: Xenias is said to have accompanied Cyrus when he was summoned to Darius' deathbed (9, no.1), while Pasion had participated in Cyrus' siege of Miletus (9, no.7).
2. This belongs to the story of Clearchus' deceptive ploys to avert a mutiny, see 9, no.15 & n.2.
3. Subsequently, Cyrus makes a speech declaring that they will not be pursued, and incidentally revealing that he is holding their families hostage in Tralles (Xen. *Anab* I, 4.8). This implies that the families of all the mercenary commanders were in a similar position.

18. The mercenaries bribed to ensure their support

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 4.11–13.

Cyrus summoned the Greek generals¹ and said the march would be to Babylon against the great king. He ordered them to tell this to the soldiers and persuade them to follow. So they called an assembly and made this announcement. The soldiers were angry with the generals and said that they had known this for long but kept it from them; moreover, they said they would not go, unless they were given money, just as those who had previously gone up country with Cyrus to his father² – those had not gone to fight, but only because his father had summoned Cyrus. The generals reported this to Cyrus. He promised to give each man five minas³ silver when they reached Babylon, and the whole of their pay until he brought the Greeks back to Ionia. The greater part of the Greek force was persuaded by this.⁴

Notes

1. The setting for this episode is Thapsacus, the major crossing point of the Euphrates, until the hellenistic period. Its precise location is not certain; see 15, no.8(ii) & n.4.
2. See 9, no.1. The request on this occasion was for a bonus payment.
3. A little under five pounds.
4. And, by implication, not all.

19. A traitor in Cyrus' camp

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 6.1–3.

As they advanced from there,¹ they noticed horse-tracks and dung. It looked to be the trail of about two thousand horsemen. As they advanced these were burning both the fodder and anything else useful. Orontas,² related to the king by birth and regarded as among the best of the Persians in military matters, laid a plot against Cyrus (he had fought against him previously, but had been reconciled).³ He said to Cyrus that if he gave him a thousand horsemen, he would either ambush and kill the horsemen who were doing the burning or take them alive and stop them burning along their path; and he would ensure that they would never be able to see Cyrus' army and report to the king. When Cyrus heard this, he thought it useful and ordered him to take a contingent from each of the commanders. When Orontas thought he was sure of the horsemen, he wrote a letter to the king saying that he would come to him with as much cavalry as possible. And he told him to order his horse-

men to receive him as a friend. Also in the letter was a reminder of his earlier friendship and loyalty. He gave this letter to a man he thought trustworthy. But he took it and gave it to Cyrus.⁴

Notes

1. The army was moving along the left bank of the Euphrates in northern Mesopotamia (cf. Joannès 1995).
2. See **9, no. 11**, for his position as garrison commander at Sardis, where he had worked against Cyrus at Artaxerxes' behest.
3. See above, n. 2.
4. The story continues with Orontas' arrest, secret trial and execution.

(d) Artaxerxes II's countermoves

20. Defences in northern Babylonia

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 7.14–16.

From there¹ Cyrus marched one stage and three parasangs² with the entire Greek and barbarian army in battle formation, because he thought that the king would offer battle that day as, at the middle of this stage, there was a deep dug trench, five fathoms wide and three deep.³ The trench stretched up through the plain for twelve parasangs as far as the Median wall.⁴ Along the Euphrates there was a narrow track between the river and the trench about twenty feet wide.⁵ The great king had constructed this trench as a defence, when he learnt that Cyrus was advancing against him.

Notes

1. The location is given, broadly, as Babylonia.
2. See **9, no. 12**, n. 2.
3. Gr. *orgua*, a little under 2 m, is almost equivalent to one English fathom; 100 orguai = 1 stadion. According to Plut. *Artax.* 7.2, the trench extended for 100 stadia, i.e. about 19 km.
4. This wall has been very plausibly identified with a remarkably substantial defensive wall built by the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562), running from north of Sippar to the Tigris. Substantial stretches of it were excavated in the 1980s, see Black et al. 1987; Gasche 1995: 204–7. Note also Xen. *Anab.* II, 4.12, where aspects of the wall's construction are described.
5. The Greek foot varied in length a little; in general, it was a little longer than an English foot, which measures about 30 cm. So this passage was a little over 6 m in width, which must have hampered Cyrus' progress considerably.

21. Gathering the royal forces

(i) The call-up of troops from the Upper Satrapies

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 22.1–2.

Now King Artaxerxes had long before been informed by Pharnabazus¹ that Cyrus was secretly gathering an army against him. When he then learned that Cyrus was on his way up from the coast, he summoned forces to Ecbatana in Media. When those from India and other peoples were late coming because of the great distance of the regions, he set out to face Cyrus with the army that was with him.

(ii) Royal reinforcements encounter the mercenaries

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 4.25.

There² lay a large city called Opis.³ Close to it the bastard brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes leading a large army from Susa and Ecbatana to aid the king encountered the Greeks.⁴

(iii) The Persian army advances at Cunaxa

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 7.4–6.

First, he appeared quite suddenly with nine hundred thousand men, brilliantly equipped, astonishing and terrifying the enemy who were not drawn up in order and unarmed. Cyrus had great difficulty, in the middle of this uproar and shouting, to draw up his army in battle order. Then, as the king's army advanced in silence and at a slow pace, its good order astounded the Greeks, who had expected disorderly shouting and movement, and had counted on such a crowd being in a great muddle and all over the place. Artaxerxes had drawn up the strongest of the scythed chariots⁵ facing the Greeks, ahead of his own phalanx, in order to cut through their ranks with a crushing attack before engaging in hand-to-hand fighting.

Notes

1. See **9, no.10** & n.3.
2. I.e. vicinity of Tigris.
3. East of the Tigris, very probably near the confluence of the Diyala and Tigris, see Zadok 1985, s.v. Upija; Black et al. 1987: 18–19.
4. The encounter took place after Cyrus' defeat and death, but indicates clearly that Artaxerxes had called up his troops earlier from the Iranian plateau.
5. See **17, no.40**, n.2.

(e) Artaxerxes triumphant**22. Artaxerxes II proclaims his genealogical legitimacy**

A²Sa. Four exemplars of trilingual inscription found on four column bases from Susa: Kent, A²Sa; additional OP fragment: Mayrhofer 1978, 7.1.

Translation: Lecoq 1997: 272–3.

Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of peoples, king on this earth, son of Darius the king, Darius son of Artaxerxes the king, Artaxerxes son of Xerxes the king, Xerxes son of Darius the king, Darius son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid,¹ proclaims: This apadana² Darius my great-great-grandfather built; afterwards in the time of Artaxerxes my grandfather, it was burnt. Then, by the favour of Auramazda, Anahita and Mithra,³ I built this apadana. May Auramazda, Anahita and Mithra protect me from all evil, and that which I have built, sorcery is not to destroy . . .⁴

Notes

1. The genealogy of the ruler is important in Persian royal inscriptions (see **5, no.1**, paras.2–4 & n.4), but such detail as here is not the norm in the proclamations of earlier rulers (Darius I to

Artaxerxes I). Emphasis on an unbroken royal lineage seems to become more important from the later fifth century on, in the context of contested successions: Darius II traced himself back to Darius I (**8, no.23(ii)**, cf. **8, nos.20; 22**), while Artaxerxes III went right back to Hystaspes' father, Arsames (see **9, no.73**). Here Artaxerxes II takes the line up to Darius I's father (cf. A¹Ha; A²Hc), which suggests a need to reassert his familial entitlement to the throne, in the wake of his brother's unsuccessful challenge.

2. The precise meaning of OP *apadana* is debated. It is usually taken to refer to the great columned audience halls, typical of the royal complexes at Persepolis and Susa, and has become the conventional way of referring to them. But they are not so called by either Darius I or Xerxes. For a divergent translation, see Lecoq 1997: 115–16, who suggests a possible link with OP *api*- 'water'.
3. For the first time, two other major Persian gods are named alongside Auramazda in a royal inscription. See further **11, Introduction**, and cf. **11, Section H(f) & (g)**.
4. The sense is not entirely clear; see the Old Persian fragment discussed, with a suggested translation, by Mayrhofer 1978: 30–1. Note the similar inscription from Ecbatana (A¹Ha; **11, no.37**), which has a different end.

23. Cyrus' Greek troops offer their services to Artaxerxes

(i) Some Greeks are tempted to serve the king

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 1.7–8; 1.14.

Now it was around the full market time¹ and there came from the king and Tissaphernes heralds, all barbarian except one Greek, Phalinus, who happened to be with Tissaphernes and had his esteem, because he claimed to understand strategy and tactics. They approached and called for the Greek leaders. They said that as the king had won and killed Cyrus, he bade the Greeks lay down their arms, go to the king's court and seek their fortune. (. . .)²

But they say that some others faltered and said that just as they had been faithful to Cyrus so they might be valuable to the king, if he wanted to be friends. He might want to use them for something, perhaps a campaign against Egypt³ and help him subject it.

(ii) Clearchus offers his forces to help against unruly tribes and Egypt

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 5.13.

I (sc. Clearchus) know that the Mysians⁴ give you⁵ trouble and I think that with my present force I could bring them to heel. I know the same is true of the Pisidians⁶ and I hear that there are many other peoples in the same position. I think I could stop them always disturbing your wellbeing. As for the Egyptians, with whom I gather you are particularly angry, I don't see what force you could use more effectively to help punish them than the one I now have.

Notes

1. I.e. around the middle of the morning. The setting is the Greek camp, after Cyrus' defeat and death in the Battle of Cunaxa.
2. Xenophon here reports some hostile Greek reactions to the royal request.
3. For the Egyptian revolt, see **9, nos.16**, n.2; **57–60**.
4. See **9, nos.11**, n.5; **39**.
5. Clearchus is in conversation with Tissaphernes.
6. See **9, no.9**, n.2.

24. Artaxerxes rewards Tissaphernes

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 26.4.

The king led his army off to Babylon.¹ There he bestowed fitting honours on all who had distinguished themselves in the battle and he judged Tissaphernes to have been the best of all. He accordingly honoured him with great gifts,² gave him his own daughter in marriage and for the rest continued to have him as his most trusted friend. He also gave him the command which Cyrus had held over the coastal satrapies.³

Notes

1. I.e. after the victory at Cunaxa.
2. See further on this **13, Section B**.
3. For Tissaphernes' earlier role there, see **9, nos.1**, n.6; **7**. For Cyrus' command in the west, see **8, no.32**.

25. The commander of Cyrus' troops changes sides

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 4.1–2; 4.

After this,¹ the Greeks and Ariaeus,² who were encamped close to each other, waited more than twenty days for Tissaphernes. During this time, both Ariaeus' brothers and other relatives came to him, and various Persians to those with him. They encouraged them and brought some of them pledges³ from the king to the effect that the king would bear them no ill-will for campaigning against him with Cyrus nor for anything else in the past. It was clear that, with this going on, those with Ariaeus paid less attention to the Greeks.

Meanwhile⁴ Tissaphernes came with his own force as though he were going home, as well as Orontas⁵ with his; he was also bringing the king's daughter with him to marry. With Tissaphernes in command and providing a market,⁶ they at last set forth. Ariaeus with Cyrus' barbarian army marched with Tissaphernes and Orontas and struck camp with them.⁷

Notes

1. I.e. following negotiations with the Persians about the return home of Cyrus' forces.
2. See Xen. *Anab.* I, 8.5 for Ariaeus' command of the non-Persian wing at Cunaxa, where he calls him Cyrus' *hyparchos* = 'deputy', 'sub-commander', 'lieutenant'; for his later career see **9, nos.38; 40**.
3. Gr. *dexia*, see **9, no.11**, n.4.
4. Xenophon has been describing the nervous discussions among the Greek mercenaries about their possible fate.
5. Not to be confused with the Orontas, garrison commander of Sardis under Cyrus, executed for treason en route to Babylonia, see **9, nos.11; 19**. This Orontas (or: Orontes) was governor of part of Armenia (Xen. *Anab.* III, 5.17); see further, **9, no.52; 13, no.32**.
6. The greatest difficulty faced by the mercenaries was obtaining provisions.
7. This marks Ariaeus' defection (cf. D.S. XIV, 26.5); note his role in the trapping of the Greek commanders shortly after this (Xen. *Anab.* II, 5.35–42). For his later career, as a trusted servant of Artaxerxes II, see **9, nos.38; 40**.

26. The Greek commanders trapped and executed

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 5.31–3; 6.1.

When they¹ got to Tissaphernes' doors, the generals were invited inside: the Boeotian Proxenus, the Thessalian Menon, the Arcadian Agias, the Laconian Clearchus, the Achaean Socrates; the captains waited at the doors. A little later, at the same signal, those inside were arrested and those outside cut down. After this, some of the barbarian cavalry moved around the plain, killing any Greek, slave or free, they encountered.

After the generals had been seized they were taken to the king and killed by beheading.

Note

1. The mercenaries sent five generals and twenty captains to parley with Tissaphernes followed by 200 soldiers hoping to obtain provisions.

27. Persian forces harass the Greeks

Xenophon, *Anabasis* III, 4.14; 4.16.

From there¹ they (sc. the Greeks) marched one stage four parasangs. During this stage Tissaphernes appeared. He came with his own cavalry, the troops of Orontas,² husband to the king's daughter, the barbarians who had come up with Cyrus and the ones whom the king's brother had brought to the king's aid.³ In addition, there were all the troops the king had given him, so that the army seemed huge. When he came close, he placed some of the contingents at their back, while moving others to their flanks. Because he did not dare nor wish to run risks, he ordered them to hurl and shoot forth with their slings.⁴

For the rest of the day, the Greeks marched on, while the others followed.⁵

Notes

1. Mespila, described as an abandoned Median city by Xenophon. It is frequently identified with Nineveh, see, for example, Brownson 1922: 228, n.1; Oates 1968: 60–1; cf. Kuhrt 1995b.
2. See **9, no.25** & n.5.
3. See **9, no.21 (ii)**.
4. Slingers were an important part of armies, see Foss 1975a, cf. **fig.9.2**. Note the contingents of slingers depicted on Sennacherib's Lachish reliefs (early seventh century, now in the British Museum; see, for an illustration, Curtis and Reade 1995, no.16).
5. Once the Greeks had been driven into the northern mountains, they were abandoned to the mercies of the hostile environment and aggressive inhabitants, cf. D.S. XIV, 27.4.

B. Achaemenid strategy in Asia Minor and Greece, 400–386

(a) Persian action in the wake of Cyrus' defeat (400–396)

28. Tissaphernes tries to impose his control

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 35.6–7.

When the Greek cities of Asia heard that Tissaphernes was coming,¹ they were in despair about their fate² and sent ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians, beseeching them not to let

the barbarians destroy them. The Lacedaemonians said they would help them and sent ambassadors to warn Tissaphernes not to attack the Greek cities.³ But Tissaphernes, with his troops, moved first against the city of the Cymaeans; he plundered the whole countryside and took many prisoners. After that he shut them up with a siege, until the approach of winter when, unable to take the city, he ransomed the prisoners for a heavy sum and raised the siege.

Notes

1. See **9, no.24**, for the award of Cyrus' command to Tissaphernes as a reward for his loyalty.
2. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* III, 1.3, who mentions their terror at expected reprisals for siding with Cyrus.
3. Given Sparta's support for Cyrus, it now lost its position as Persia's ally in the Aegean (see **8, nos.27; 30; 32; 33**, n.1).

29. A Spartan general recruits the remnants of Cyrus' mercenaries (400–399)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 1.4–6.

In response, the Lacedaemonians sent them Thibron as governor.¹ They gave him about a thousand soldiers of the *neodamodeis*,² about four thousand from the other Peloponnesians. Thibron also asked for three hundred horsemen from the Athenians.

When they arrived in Asia,³ he also collected soldiers from the Greek cities on the mainland, because at that time all the cities obeyed whatever a Spartan commanded. With this army, Thibron considered the enemy cavalry and did not descend into the plain; he was content if he was able to protect the land from harm, wherever he found himself. When those who had gone up with Cyrus got back safe and joined him,⁴ from that point on, he also drew up against Tissaphernes in the plain.

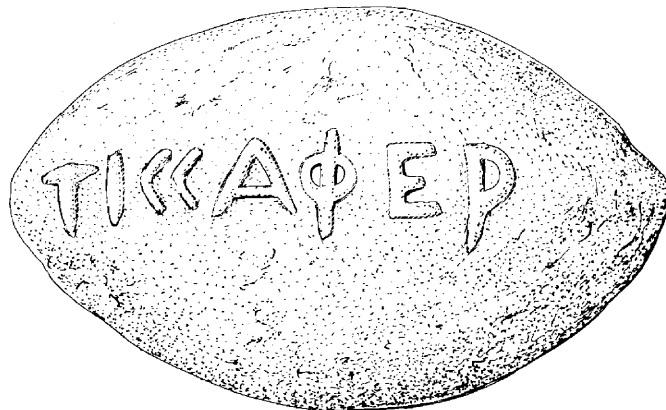


Figure 9.2 Lead sling bullet inscribed with the name of Tissaphernes. Weight: 40.423 g. Inscription: ΤΙΣΣΑΦΕΡ[...]. Provenance: said to have come from Gordes in Lydia; now in a private collection. Foss (1975a) suggests that these bullets were issued by Tissaphernes to Greek mercenaries or soldiers from Aspendus, whose coinage sports a slinger, between 401 and 395. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Notes

1. Thibron is not known previously. Gr. *harmostes* was the name used for the Spartan governors installed in the Aegean and Asia Minor as they came under their control in the late fifth century.
2. First mentioned at Thuc. V, 34.1, where he so calls the helots who had fought with Brasidas in 421.
3. Winter 400.
4. Xen. *Anab* VII, 6.1 describes Thibron's emissaries negotiating with Cyrus' mercenaries to join up for good pay. The date for the arrival of the mercenaries is early 399.

30. Satrapal rivalries exploited by the Spartans (399/8)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 1.9.

When Dercylidas took over the army,¹ he knew that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus² were suspicious of each other.³ He consulted with Tissaphernes and then led the army into Pharnabazus' territory, as he preferred to fight one rather than both.⁴

Notes

1. Thibron was recalled following complaints about his exactions (Xen. *Hell.* III, 1.8), and replaced by Dercylidas, who had operated in the area in 411 and 407 (Thuc. VIII, 61.1; 62.1; Xen. *Hell.* III, 1.9).
2. Governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **8, no.26**.
3. There was long-standing competition about relative status, power and influence between the two, see Weiskopf 1989: 16–17; **8, nos.26; 30**.
4. After winning some successes in the western part of Hellespontine Phrygia, Pharnabazus and Dercylidas agreed two truces (Xen. *Hell.* III, 2.1; 2.9). As **9, no.31** shows, this allowed Pharnabazus to gain time to try to win the king over to his plan for fitting out a maritime force to operate in the Aegean.

31. The Persian king appoints an Athenian to command the navy (398 or 397)

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 39.1–4.

After the armistice,¹ Pharnabazus went up to the king and persuaded him to prepare a fleet and appoint the Athenian Conon as admiral.² He had experience in waging war, particularly against this enemy.³ Although such a good soldier, he was now wasting his time on Cyprus with King Evagoras.⁴ Pharnabazus persuaded the king, took five hundred talents⁵ of silver and prepared to fit out a fleet. So he sailed over to Cyprus and ordered the kings⁶ there to get a hundred triremes ready. Then he discussed with Conon the question of the naval command and appointed him commander of the sea, indicating the great hopes he might have of the king. Conon hoped that he might both regain the leadership for his fatherland if the Lacedaemonians should be worsted in war and win great glory himself, so he accepted the naval command. Even before the whole fleet was ready, he took the forty ships that were there and sailed across to Cilicia;⁷ there he began to prepare for war.⁸

Notes

1. See **9, no.30**, n.4.
2. Athenian commander in the later part of the Peloponnesian War (see Thuc. VII, 31). He survived

- Athens' disastrous defeat at Aegospotami in 405, fleeing to Evagoras of Salamis on Cyprus (Xen. *Hell.* III, 1.29).
3. I.e. the Spartans.
 4. Close relations between Evagoras of Salamis and Athens are attested by a very fragmentary decree, SEG X, 127, passed in his honour, perhaps in 408/7; see **8, no.33**, n.2 for other important features of this inscription. For his later history, see **9, nos.46; 48–56**.
 5. A talent is about 30 kg.
 6. For the political situation in Cyprus, see CAH VI, ch.8d, cf. **9, Introduction**.
 7. For the importance of Cilicia as a naval and military base, see the references at **6, no.37**, n.2.
 8. The date of Conon's appointment is not clear, though 398 seems plausible.

32. The Persian governors and Sparta try to reach an agreement (397?)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 2.19–20.

Next day¹ they came to the agreed place and decided to hear from each other on what terms they might make peace. Dercylidas said 'if the king would allow the Greek cities to be autonomous', while Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus said 'if the Greek army withdrew from the country and the Lacedaemonian governors left the cities'. After they had said this to each other, they made a truce until the suggestions had been reported back to the Lacedaemonians by Dercylidas, and to the king by Tissaphernes.²

Notes

1. The setting is Caria, with the Spartans and Persians each discussing proposals for a peace.
2. According to D.S. XIV, 39.6, it was Pharnabazus who was to contact the king about the proposals. The date is probably 397.

33. The Spartans are told of Persia's naval preparations

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 4.1.

Then Herodas, a Syracusan who was in Phoenicia with a shipowner and saw Phoenician triremes – some sailing in from elsewhere, others already there and manned, yet others in the process of being fitted out¹ – and heard further that there would be three hundred in all, boarded the first boat going to Greece and told the Lacedaemonians that the king and Tissaphernes were preparing this fleet;² but he said he did not know its destination.

Notes

1. This is clearly part of the major Persian naval build-up, see **9, no.34**.
2. The passage shows that the Persian naval preparations were not limited to the Cypriot ships under Conon, see **9, no.31**.

34. Conon intercepts Spartan ships returning from Egypt (396)

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 79.4–8.

Meanwhile,¹ the Lacedaemonians sent ambassadors to Nephereus, king of Egypt,² for an alliance.³ Instead of help, he presented the Spartans with the equipment for one hundred triremes and five hundred thousand (measures) of grain.⁴ The Lacedaemonian admiral

Pharax sailed from Rhodes⁵ with one hundred and twenty ships and put in at Carian Sasanda, a fortress one hundred and fifty stadia from Caunus.⁶ From his base there he besieged Caunus and Conon, commander of the king's fleet, who was staying at Caunus with forty ships. When Artaphernes and Pharnabazus⁷ came with a large force to help the Caunians, Pharax raised the siege and withdrew with the whole fleet to Rhodes. After that, Conon collected eighty triremes and sailed to the Chersonese;⁸ the Rhodians expelled the Peloponnesian fleet, revolted from the Lacedaemonians⁹ and received Conon with his entire navy into the city. The Lacedaemonians, who were bringing the gift of grain from Egypt, were unaware of the Rhodian revolt and sailed confidently to the island. The Rhodians and Conon, the Persian admiral, brought the ships ashore and stocked the city with grain. Ninety more triremes came to Conon, ten from Cilicia, eighty from Phoenicia, of which the Sidonian dynast was the commander.

Notes

1. I.e. while the Spartan king, Agesilaus (see below), was already in Asia Minor (396).
2. More commonly known in the hellenised form Nephtherites (Eg. N3y:f-rwd), king c.398/7–392/1; see further, **9, nos.59; 60**.
3. The Spartan action is in response to the breakdown of the Sparta–Persia talks (**9, no.32**), indicated by the massive naval preparations, the appointment of Conon and the mobilisation of Persian troops (cf. Briant 1996a: 655–6 [2002b: 636–7]; **9, no.33**).
4. Diodorus does not specify the measure used; if he means the choinix, it would be about 500,000 litres.
5. Rhodes was under Spartan control.
6. Caunus lay along the Lycian–Carian frontier; Sasanda was some 27.5 km distant from it.
7. This Artaphernes is not otherwise known; for Pharnabazus, see **9, nos.30 & n.2** for earlier references; **31; 32**.
8. The south-western tip of Asia Minor, not to be confused with the better known Chersonese in Thrace.
9. According to Pausanias VI, 7.6, they were encouraged to do so by Conon.

(b) A Spartan incursion into western Asia Minor (396–394)

35. Agesilaus despatched to Asia Minor (396)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 4.2–6.

The Lacedaemonians were extremely disturbed,¹ brought their allies together and deliberated about what to do. But Lysander² thought that the Greek fleet would be far better and also weighed up the fact that the army which had gone up with Cyrus was safe, so he persuaded Agesilaus³ to promise that, if they gave him thirty Spartiates, about two thousand *neodamodeis*⁴ and a contingent of another six thousand or so allies, he would campaign in Asia. (. . .)

When Agesilaus announced the campaign plan, the Lacedaemonians gave him everything he demanded as well as grain for six months. (. . .)⁵ After he arrived at Gerastus,⁶ he collected there as much as possible of the army and set out for Ephesus.

When he got there, Tissaphernes immediately sent to ask him what he intended by coming. He said: 'That the cities in Asia be autonomous, just as they are with us in Greece.'

To this Tissaphernes replied: 'Now if you are prepared to make a truce until I have sent to the king, I think you could after that sail off, if you want.'

‘I should like that’, he said, ‘provided I don’t think you are deceiving me.’

‘Well it is possible’, he said, ‘to get a pledge that I shall not act dishonestly.’

‘And you too’, he said, ‘can get a pledge from me that, if you act honestly in this, we shall not harm your province during the truce.’

After this exchange of words, Tissaphernes swore to those sent to him – Herippidas, Dercylidas and Megillus – that he would act honestly with respect to the peace; while they swore in response on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that he would respect the truce while he was doing this. But Tissaphernes immediately broke his oath, for instead of keeping to the peace, he sent for a large army to the king to add to the one he had.⁸

Notes

1. By the news of the Persian naval preparations, see **9, no.33**.
2. The famous Spartan general, cf. **8, no.33**, n.1.
3. Agesilaus became king in 397, see *Xen. Hell.* III, 3.1–3; the present year is 396.
4. See **9, no.29**, n.2.
5. Xenophon here describes a foiled attempt by Agesilaus to sacrifice at Aulis before setting sail for Asia Minor, in imitation of Agamemnon at the start of the Trojan War, thus implicitly claiming to be acting for all Greeks. Note also the Trojan War motif in Herodotus’ account of Xerxes’ invasion (**7, no.19** & n.2), and at the start of Alexander of Macedon’s campaign in 334 (*Arr. Anab.* I, 11.5–12.1).
6. Harbour about 3 km north of Cape Gera(e)stus at the southern end of Euboea.
7. A reiteration of Dercylidas’ demand the previous year, see **9, no.32**.
8. The truce was also a means for the Persians to gain time until their new fleet, blockaded at Caunus, had been liberated; see **9, no.34**.

36. Persian intelligence for the Spartans

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 4.10.

There (sc. the Hellespont) Lysander observed that the Persian Spithridates¹ had somehow been insulted by Pharnabazus.² So he spoke with him and persuaded him to rebel together with his children, the money he had and around two hundred horsemen. He left everything else at Cyzicus,³ put Spithridates and his son on board ship and brought them to Agesilaus. When Agesilaus saw them, he was pleased with what Lysander had done and immediately enquired about Pharnabazus’ territory and rule.⁴

Notes

1. His precise identity and position is not certain. Weiskopf (1989: 23, n.15) suggests that he could be the son of the Spithridates who helped in putting down the revolt of Pissuthnes (**8, no.25** & n.4). For his close links to Pharnabazus, see *Hell.Oxy.* 21.4, cf. Sekunda 1988: 178–80; for his probable ownership of an estate in Hellespontine Phrygia, see Weiskopf 1989: 23, n.16.
2. See **9, nos.30**, n.2 for earlier references; **31; 32; 34**.
3. Coastal city on the Propontis in Hellespontine Phrygia.
4. Spithridates’ intelligence was put to immediate use by Agesilaus, when Tissaphernes, strengthened by the arrival of additional troops and ships (**9, no.35** & n.8), ended the truce; to which Agesilaus’ response was to mount a raid on Hellespontine Phrygia to obtain money for raising a cavalry (*Xen. Hell.* III, 4.11–15), which was only partly successful.

37. *Battle near Sardis (spring 395)*

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 80.1–5.

After this¹ Agesilaus led the army to the Cayster plain² and the land around Sipylus³ and pillaged the inhabitants' possessions. Tissaphernes gathered ten thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry and pursued the Lacedaemonians closely, killing those separated from the main body while plundering. Agesilaus formed the soldiers into a square and kept to the foothills of Sipylus, waiting for the right moment to attack the enemy. He overran the countryside as far as Sardis and destroyed Tissaphernes' gardens and park,⁴ which had been beautifully laid out at great cost with plants and other things for luxury and enjoyment in peace of all good things. Then he turned back until he reached a point midway between Sardis and Thybarnae⁵ where he detailed off the Spartiate Xenocles together with fourteen hundred soldiers to go by night to a thickly wooded place to lay an ambush for the barbarians. He himself moved off at daybreak with the army. When he had passed the spot for the ambush and the barbarians were advancing in a disorderly manner and harassing the rearguard, he unexpectedly and suddenly turned round against the Persians. As a bout of fighting broke out, he raised the signal to those lying in ambush. Raising the battle cry they charged the enemy and the Persians realised that they were caught in the middle; they panicked and instantly took to flight. Agesilaus pursued them for a while and killed more than six thousand,⁶ collecting up many captives and plundering the camp filled with many valuables.⁷ Tissaphernes was astonished at the daring of the Lacedaemonians and withdrew to Sardis. Agesilaus was going to attack the satrapies inland, but when he did not get favourable omens from the sacrifices he led the army back again to the sea.

Notes

1. At the end of Agesilaus' raiding expedition to Hellespontine Phrygia (9, no.36, n.4), he had moved south again to Ephesus.
2. The plain of the river Cayster, flowing from Mount Tmolus, south of Sardis, into the sea north of Ephesus.
3. Mountain chain extending from the Gulf of Smyrna (Izmir) northeastwards for about 30 km.
4. Gr. *paradeisos*; see further 11, no.21; 12, no.46; cf. 16, nos.43–7 & 16, Introduction.
5. Precise location not known.
6. Six hundred, according to *Hell.Oxy.* 11.6.
7. The profit from the sale of the plunder was over seventy talents, according to *Xen. Hell.* III, 4.24.

38. *Artaxerxes' anger and the execution of Tissaphernes*

Polyaenus VII, 16.¹

Artaxerxes despatched Tithraustes² to arrest Tissaphernes, equipped with two letters: one to Tissaphernes himself, entrusting him with the command of the war against the Greeks; another to Ariaeus,³ ordering him to assist Tithraustes in the arrest. As soon as Ariaeus, living at that time in Phrygian Colossae,⁴ had read the letter, he summoned Tissaphernes to confer on important matters, especially in relation to the Greeks. Tissaphernes did not suspect that anything was being plotted against him, so he left his camp at Sardis and, accompanied by a regiment of three hundred Arcadians and Milesians, he went immediately to Ariaeus. On arrival, he took off his sword to have a bath. Ariaeus with his servants seized

him. They bound him in a covered wagon⁵ to transport him and handed him over to Tithraustes. He conveyed him secretly to Celaenae,⁶ where he cut off his head and sent it to the king. The king sent it to his mother Parysatis, who was especially keen to punish Tissaphernes for Cyrus' death.⁷

Notes

1. Diodorus (XIV, 80.6) describes Artaxerxes' rage at the Persian defeat and Agesilaus' invasion. The Polyaeus anecdote presented here almost certainly derives from the quite full account of the king's reaction and Tissaphernes' execution originally contained in the manuscript of the Oxyrhynchus Historian (*Hell.Oxy.* XIII (VIII)). For discussion of the various versions and their dependence on this writer, see Bruce 1967: 89–92.
2. The exact position of Tithraustes within the Persian command and hierarchy is not certain (cf. Lewis 1977: 19, n.96). He seems to have been sent to deal with a specific critical situation.
3. This is the Ariaeus who had commanded Cyrus' non-Greek contingents, and been wooed away after the battle (9, no.25). Clearly, he had been fully reinstated in the king's favour and rewarded with a position of trust (Bruce 1967: 92; 9, no.40).
4. Colossae on the Lycus, not far from the later Laodicea-ad-Lycum. It was a significant stopping point along Xerxes' route to Lydia, see *Hdt.* VII, 30.
5. Gr. *harmamaxa*; for the use of enclosed wagons of this type for travel, especially by women, see 11, no.24, n.6; 12, nos.28; 30–1.
6. One of the most important cities near the Phrygian–Pisidian border, developed as an important royal centre by Xerxes, see 7, nos.17 & n.4; 77 & n.2.
7. See in general 9, Section A, particularly nos.2; 5. For Tissaphernes' end and the supposed role of Parysatis, see also *D.S.* XIV, 80.6–8; cf. *Xen. Hell.* III, 4.25; *Ages.* 10.5; *Plut. Artox.* 23.1. Tithraustes confiscated Tissaphernes' property and used the proceeds to pay soldiers, before appointing Ariaeus and Pasiphernes (otherwise unknown) as generals in command of the coast (*Hell.Oxy.* 19.3).

39. Agesilaus diverted to raid Hellespontine Phrygia and Paphlagonia (autumn 395)

Hellenica Oxyrhynchia 21.1–3, 5–6; 22.1–3.

On the advance to the Hellespont with the Spartan and allied army, Agesilaus did not harm the inhabitants as long as he was in Lydia because he wanted to keep to the truce agreed with Tithraustes.¹ But once he lit on Pharnabazus'² land he led the army forward plundering and ravaging the country. Once he had crossed the Thebes plain and the so-called Apia one, he invaded Mysia³ and put pressure on the Mysians with the order to join his army, because many of the Mysians are independent and did not obey the king.⁴ To all those Mysians who chose to join his army he did no harm, but ravaged the land of the rest.

(21.2) As he advanced, he came to the middle of the so-called Mysian Olympus, and realised that the way through it was difficult and narrow. As he needed a safe passage through it, he sent some people to the Mysians, made a truce with them and led his army through the region. [. . .]⁵ of the Peloponnesians and the allies, they attacked their rearguard and killed [. . .] as the soldiers were not drawn up in order because it was so narrow. Agesilaus encamped the army and passed the day quietly, carrying out the customary rites for the dead. About fifty soldiers had been killed. Next day he posted many of the so-called Dercylidean mercenaries⁶ in an ambush and led the army forward again. Everyone of the Mysians thought that Agesilaus was leaving because of the losses of the previous day, so they emerged from their villages and started to pursue them hoping to attack the rear in the same way. But when they were near the Greeks lying in ambush, these rushed out from the

ambush and engaged the enemy in hand-to-hand combat. The Mysian leaders and frontline in pursuit, who thus were suddenly engaged by the Greeks, were killed. When the main body saw those at the front in difficulties, they fled to their villages. When Agesilaus got the news he turned round and led the army again along the same route until he met those who had been in ambush; then he pitched camp where he had camped the day before.

(21.3) After this, all the Mysians who had suffered fatal losses, sent heralds [. . .] they recovered the corpses under truce. Over one hundred and thirty had died. Agesilaus took some guides from the villages. He rested the soldiers [. . .] days and led the army forwards. He descended into the Phrygian country, not the part he had invaded the previous summer,⁷ but a still-unravaged area with Spithridates⁸ and his son as his guide.

(21.5) Leading the army ever forwards and ravaging Pharnabazus' territory, he reached a place called Leontocephalae.⁹ He mounted attacks against it but failed to take it, so he moved the army and led it forwards, laying waste and plundering the previously untouched territory.

(21.6) He got to Gordium,¹⁰ a place built on a hill, well constructed, and encamped the army. He stayed six days, attacking the enemy and keeping the soldiers together with many good things. When he failed to take the place by force because of the energy of Rhathanes,¹¹ a Persian by race and the commander there, he moved the forces and led them on, as Spithridates was pressing him to enter Paphlagonia.¹²

(22.1) After this he led the Peloponnesians and allies towards the Phrygo-Paphlagonian frontiers, where he encamped the army and sent Spithridates to Gyes.¹³ He went, convinced him and brought him with him.

(22.2) Agesilaus made agreements with the Paphlagonians and led the army rapidly back to the sea because he feared that they would lack provisions for the winter. He did not take the same route by which he had come, but another one, because he thought the crossing of the Sangarius¹⁴ would be less fatiguing for the soldiers. Gyes sent him [. . .] about one thousand horses and more than two thousand infantry.

(22.3) He led the army down to Kios¹⁵ in Mysia, where he stayed for ten days, doing harm to the Mysians in revenge for their treachery near Olympus.¹⁶ Later he led the Greeks through coastal Phrygia and attacked Miletou Teichos,¹⁷ but was unable to take it and led the soldiers away. Making his way along the Rhyndacus¹⁸ he reached Lake Dascylitis,¹⁹ below which lies Dascylium, a great stronghold built by the king,²⁰ where they said that Pharnabazus stored the silver and gold he had.²¹

Notes

1. When Agesilaus refused to leave Asia Minor, Tithraustes persuaded him to move off northwards, see Xen. *Hell.* III, 4.25–6.
2. Governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **9, nos.30**, n.2 for earlier references; **31; 32; 34; 36**.
3. See **9, no.11**, n.5.
4. On the existence of 'free' population groups in the Persian empire, see Briant 1982a; **17, Introduction & Section A**.
5. Square brackets and dots, here and elsewhere, indicate that the text is so fragmentary in the papyrus at this point that it cannot be plausibly restored.
6. Judging by the name, a corps formed by Dercylidas, the previous Spartan commander, see **9, nos.30** & n.1; **32**. Presumably Agesilaus' senior adjutant of that name in 396 (**9, no.35**) is the same man. It is generally assumed that they were veterans of Cyrus' campaign, see Bruce 1967: 136.
7. See **9, no.36**, n.4.

8. For Spithridates, see **9, no.36**, n.1; for his subsequent desertion, see **9, no.40** & n.1.
9. In Phrygia, stopping place on one of the main roads (see **15, no.18**), although the exact location is uncertain, see Bruce 1967: 139–40.
10. The capital of the old Phrygian kingdom on the Sangarius river and that portion of the Persian road system described by Herodotus, see **15, no.3**.
11. Rhathanes appears as a lieutenant of Pharnabazus in 401 (cf. Xen. *Anab.* VI, 5.7) and had fought Agesilaus near Dascylium in 396 (Xen. *Hell.* III, 4.13, cf. **9, no.36**, n.4).
12. The mountainous territory of the Pontic Alps on the southern shore of the Black Sea, roughly co-extensive with the territory of the unpredictable, disunited and warlike Gasga people of the Hittite kingdom in the second millennium (cf. Kuhrt 1995a: 244; 257–8). From Xen. *Hell.* IV, 1.2–14 it emerges that Spithridates had close links with one of the Paphlagonian leaders, subsequently cemented by a marriage (see **17, no.37**).
13. Gyes is called Otys by Xenophon at *Hell.* IV, 1.3–15, Cotys at *Ages.* 3.4 (cf. Plut. *Ages.* 11.1–3); he should probably be identified with the Th(u)ys of Theopompus (FGH 115 F179) and Nepos *Dat.* 2–3 (cf. **13, no.36**). He is described as ‘king’ of the Paphlagonians, but it seems unlikely that Paphlagonia was a unified state subject to the rule of one man, cf. the earlier Gasga of the region (Kuhrt 1995a: 257–8).
14. Modern Sankarya, flowing into the Black Sea, on whose banks Gordium is located.
15. On the coast of the Propontis, see **fig.7.2**.
16. See above, 21.2.
17. For its probable location on Lake Manyas, see Bruce 1967: 145–6.
18. Modern Adirnas Cay, flowing into the Propontis.
19. Lake Manyas on which Dascylium was located, see Bruce 1967: 146; Bakir 1995: 270.
20. And the satrapal centre. Contrast Xen. *Hell.* IV, 1.15–16, which only describes it as Pharnabazus’ seat and then concentrates on the outlying villages and park, ravaged by Agesilaus and his soldiers.
21. The Oxyrhynchus history breaks off soon after this, only mentioning Agesilaus loading his booty onto boats at Cyzicus, dismissing his soldiers and dreaming of a future campaign further into Asia Minor, which never materialised as he became embroiled in the Spartan struggle to maintain political hegemony in Greece.

40. Spithridates and the Paphlagonians abandon Agesilaus

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 1.26–8.

When the Paphlagonians and Spithridates brought back the goods they had carried off, Herippidas¹ stationed corps commanders and captains and relieved Spithridates and the Paphlagonians of the lot, so that he would bring back much loot to the booty-sellers.²

But they were not prepared to put up with this. Because they felt themselves to have been mistreated and insulted, they packed and left at night for Ariaeus at Sardis; they trusted in the fact that Ariaeus, too, had rebelled against the king and made war on him.³

For Agesilaus, the desertion of Spithridates, Megabates⁴ and the Paphlagonians there was nothing more upsetting in this campaign.

Notes

1. One of Agesilaus’ commanders, see **9, no.35**.
2. See D.S. XIV, 79.2 for the merchants following in Agesilaus’ train to realise the value on his plunder.
3. See **9, nos.25; 38** & n.3.
4. Spithridates’ son, see *Hell.Oxy.* 21.4; not previously named by Xenophon in the *Hellenica* (cf. III, 4.10; IV, 1.6). See Xen. *Ages.* 11 for Agesilaus’ particular fondness for Megabates.

(c) The Persians gain the upper hand (394–387/6)

41. Persian victory at Cnidus (394)

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 83.4–7.

The commanders of the royal fleet, the Athenian Conon¹ and Pharnabazus,² were spending their time at Loryma of the Chersonese.³ When they heard that the enemy's navy was at Cnidus,⁴ they prepared for a sea-battle. The Lacedaemonian admiral Peisander sailed out from Cnidus with eighty-five triremes and put in at Physcus of the Chersonese.⁵ Sailing out from there he fell in with the king's fleet; he joined with the ships in the vanguard and got the advantage. But when the Persians came to help with their massed triremes, all the allies fled to the land. But Peisander thought craven flight shameful and unworthy of Sparta and turned his own ship to face them. After putting up a brilliant fight and killing many of the enemy, he was eventually overcome fighting in a manner worthy of his native land. Those with Conon pursued the Lacedaemonians up to the shore and captured fifty triremes. Most of the crew leaped overboard and fled by land, but he captured about five hundred. The remaining triremes found safety at Cnidus.⁶

Notes

1. The Athenian admiral of part of the newly outfitted Persian navy, see **9, nos.31; 34.**
2. Governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **9, nos.30**, n.2 for earlier references; **31; 32; 34; 39.**
3. The south-western tip of Caria, not to be confused with the better-known Chersonese (i.e. peninsula) in Thrace.
4. On the opposite shore, see **fig.7.2.**
5. To the north of Loryma.
6. For a more abbreviated account of the Spartan defeat, see Xen. *Hell.* IV, 3.11–12.

42. Persia ejects Spartan garrisons (394/3)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 8.1–2.

First, after the victory at sea over the Spartans, Pharnabazus¹ and Conon² sailed from island to island and to the coastal cities, expelling the Spartan governors and encouraging the cities by telling them that they intended to leave them autonomous and did not plan to build strongholds within their walls. This was good news, pleasing for the city inhabitants to hear; with pleasure they sent gifts to Pharnabazus as tokens of friendship. It seems that Conon was advising Pharnabazus, and Pharnabazus was acting in accordance with the advice.³

Notes

1. See **9, nos.30**, n.2 for earlier references; **31; 32; 34; 36; 39; 41.**
2. See **9, no.41** & n.1 for references.
3. This is, of course, partisan speculation by Xenophon, although the warm gratitude felt by many of the Asia Minor cities for Conon is shown by an Erythraean decree in his honour (*SIG*, 126), granting him citizenship and voting for the erection of a bronze, gilded statue. Note also the statues of Conon in Ephesus and Samos reported by Pausanias (VI, 3.16).

43. Pharnabazus in Greece (393)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 8.7–10.

So the winter passed, and at the beginning of spring, Pharnabazus manned a large number of ships to which he added a hired force of mercenaries. Then, accompanied by Conon, he sailed through the islands to Melos, which was his base for the campaign against Spartan territory. First he put in at Pherae, where he laid waste the countryside, and then he went on to make landings at other points along the coast, doing all the damage he could. Then, because he was apprehensive about the lack of harbours, the possibility of relief forces arriving and the shortage of food supplies, he quickly left and found harbour at Phoeniceus on Cythera.¹ The people of the city of Cythera abandoned their walls since they feared they would be taken by storm, and Pharnabazus allowed them a safe conduct to the Spartan mainland.² He then repaired the fortifications and left behind a garrison in Cythera, with Nicophemus, an Athenian, as governor.

Next he sailed to the Corinthian Isthmus, where he encouraged the allies to continue with carrying on the war³ energetically, and to show the king that they were men whom he could trust. After leaving them all the money he had, he sailed off home. Conon, however, asked to be allowed to keep the fleet.⁴ He said that he could support it by contributions from the islands, and that he proposed to sail to Athens and help his countrymen rebuild the Long Walls⁵ and the fortifications of Piraeus. 'There is nothing', he said, 'which would hurt the Spartans more. And', he continued, 'by doing this you will not only have given the Athenians something for which they will be grateful but you will have made the Spartans suffer. Because the chief aim of all their efforts will have come to nought thanks to you.' When Pharnabazus heard this, he gladly sent him off to Athens and even gave him money for the rebuilding.⁶

Notes

1. Island lying off the southern tip of the Peloponnese.
2. Cf. Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 39. Persian lead sling bullets were found on the close-by island of Anticythera. One of these (from Aigilia) is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but cannot now be traced (personal communication, M. Vickers). It is described by Foss (1975b: 40, no.10; 43) as weighing 36.7 g and inscribed (in Greek) 'BASILEOS' (genitive), i.e. 'of the king'.
3. I.e. the struggle against Spartan dominance.
4. This was only a segment of the Persian fleet, as Xenophon's description of the Battle of Cnidus (*Hell.* IV, 3.11–12, cf. **9, no.41**) makes plain.
5. The Long Walls, providing Athens with protected access to its main harbour at Piraeus, had been dismantled after a lengthy blockade by the Spartans in 405 following their devastating victory at Aegospotami (*Xen. Hell.* II, 2.3–20).
6. An Athenian decree honouring the Persian general Memnon in 327/6 (Tod II, 199) refers back to Pharnabazus as a benefactor of the city, suggesting that his financing of the rebuilding of the Long Walls may have earned him public honours in Athens.

44. Persians between Athens and Sparta (393–1)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 8.12–14, 16–17, 21.

The Spartans now heard that Conon was not merely rebuilding the walls of Athens with the king's money¹ but was also, from this same source, maintaining his fleet and winning over

for Athens the islands and the cities on the coast of the mainland. They thought that if they informed Tiribazus, the king's general,² of this, they would either bring him into alliance with them or, at least, stop him from maintaining Conon's fleet. When they had reached this conclusion, they sent Antalcidas³ to Tiribazus, instructing him to inform Tiribazus of what was happening and to try to bring about peace between Sparta and the king.

When the Athenians heard of this, they too sent out an embassy, consisting of Conon himself, together with Hermogenes, Dion, Callisthenes and Callimedon. They also invited their allies to send ambassadors with them, and ambassadors came from the Boeotians, from Corinth and from Argos.

When their embassies arrived, Antalcidas addressed Tiribazus and told him that he had come because he wanted peace as the king himself desired. 'The Spartans', he said, 'are putting forward no claim against the king for the Greek cities in Asia, and are content that all the islands and all the other cities should be governed according to their own laws. And now, when we are willing to agree to all this, what reason can the king have for being at war with us, and spending all the money he is spending? Under these conditions no one could undertake a campaign against the king. The Athenians could not unless we took the lead; and we could not if the cities were autonomous.'⁴

Tiribazus thought it would be unsafe for him to side openly with the Spartans unless he had the authority of the king. However, he gave money secretly to Antalcidas, with the idea that, if the Spartans manned a fleet, the Athenians and their allies might be more ready to make peace. And he imprisoned Conon on the grounds that he was doing harm to the king, and that the situation presented by the Spartans was true. After doing this he went to see the king himself in the interior, to tell him what the Spartans had said and that he had arrested Conon, and to ask what he should do about it all.

When Tiribazus joined him in the interior, the king sent down Struthas to take charge of affairs on the coast.⁵ Struthas recalled all that the king's territory had suffered at the hands of Agesilaus and thus strongly favoured the Athenians and their allies. When the Spartans saw that he was behaving like an enemy to them and a friend to the Athenians, they sent Thibron⁶ to make war on him. After crossing over into Asia and basing himself on Ephesus and the cities in the plain of the Maeander (Priene, Leucophrys and Achilleum), Thibron ravaged and plundered the king's territory.⁷

They also sent out Diphridas with orders to cross to Asia to safeguard the cities which had welcomed Thibron; he was to take over what was left of Thibron's army, raise another one from all possible sources and carry on the war against Struthas.

Diphridas proceeded to carry out these instructions and things went well with him. In particular he succeeded in capturing Tigranes,⁸ who had married Struthas' daughter, together with his wife as they were travelling to Sardis. He got a large ransom for them and so was able to start hiring mercenaries immediately.

Notes

1. See **9, no.43**.
2. Described as commander of the land forces in Asia Minor; he had been governor of part of Armenia in 401 (Xen. *Anab.* IV, 4.4, 7, 17, 18, 21; 5.1). See further **9, nos.47; 52; 56; 13, nos.16(i); 31**.
3. This attempt by Sparta, using Antalcidas as ambassador, to reach a settlement with Persia in 392/1, in the wake of its defeats (**9, nos.41–3**) was rejected by Athens (see Andocides, *On the Peace*; FGrH 328 F149a & b), but accepted in 387/6 (**9, no.47**). For a suggestion about Antalcidas' family connections, see Lewis 1977: 35, n.65; he was a Spartan ephor in 370/69.

4. At this point, the other delegates object for fear of being forced to renounce the power they exercise over other Greek cities.
5. For the lack of clarity of his precise function see Lewis 1977: 118–19, n.75; Briant 1996a: 1,016 [2002b: 991]; for a divergent opinion, see Jacobs 2003. For the strong likelihood of the creation of Caria as a separate province under the control of the local Hecatomnid family at this time, see Hornblower 1982: 32–8; a view opposed by Petit 1990: 181, n.318; 199; Jacobs 2003. For Struthas' arbitration in the border dispute between Miletus and Myus, see **9, no.45**.
6. The general sent out to Asia Minor in 400, see **9, no.29**.
7. IV, 8.18–20 describes skirmishes between Persian and Spartan troops and Thibron's death, followed by the sending of a Spartan expeditionary force to reinstall the Rhodian oligarchs who had been exiled during the revolt of 396 (see **9, no.34**).
8. Possibly identical with a hyparch active in 366, referred to by Demosthenes XV, 9, cf. CAH VI, 81; 88.

45. The Persian governor arbitrates between Miletus and Myous (391–388)

Two fragments of marble stela from Miletus: SIG, 134; Tod II, 113.¹

Translation: Harding 1985, no.24.

[. . .] Dionys[. . .] satrap[. . .] they were quarrelling(?) [over the land] in the Maeand[rian plain². . .] to become [. . .] dispute³ [. . .] of the city [. . .] the king and [. . . St]rouses⁴ in order that(?) [the jurymen of the Ionians], after coming together(?) [. . .]⁵

[. . .] and after the institution of the trial by the Milesians and the Myesians⁶ and after the witnesses had testified for both sides and an inspection had been made of the boundaries of the land, when the jurymen were about to pass their judgement, the Myesians withdrew their case. The advocates put this in writing and gave it to the cities that were in judgement on the case, to serve as evidence. As the Myesians had withdrawn from the case, when Strouses heard (this) from the Ionian jurymen, being satrap of Ionia, gave his final decision(?) that the land belonged to the Milesians. The advocates of the Milesians were [. . .]

Notes

1. The Greek text is also available at www.achemenet.com/ressources/enligne.
2. The Maeander flows into the sea on the shore directly opposite Miletus, see **fig.7.2**.
3. Part of speech not certain.
4. His identity with the Struthas of **9, no.44** (& n.5) is virtually certain, which dates this inscription between 391 and 388, on the assumption that he was replaced by Tiribazus again in 388/7, see **9, no.47**. Note discussion of the arbitration, with references, in Briant 1998a: 334, n.105, and cf. **17, no.33**.
5. This is followed by the partially preserved names of the jurymen of six of the twelve cities of the Ionian League: Erythrae, Chios, Clazomenae, Lebedus, Ephesus and GN X. Clearly the dispute had been referred by Struthas to the members of the Ionian League, connected to the Panionium, see **3, no.20** & n.3; **6, no.43**. As the final lines make clear, he acted as a court of last instance.
6. Myous in the Maeander plain.

46. The perverse behaviour of Athens and Sparta (390–389)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 8.24.

By the time he reached Rhodes, Teleutias¹ had a fleet of twenty-seven ships, since on his way there he had met with Philocrates, son of Ephialtes, who, with ten ships, was sailing from Athens to Cyprus in order to bring help to Evagoras,² and he had captured all ten of them. In

this incident both sides were acting directly contrary to their own interests: the Athenians, who enjoyed the friendship of the king, were sending help to Evagoras who was fighting against the king; and Teleutias, although the Spartans were at war with the king, was destroying the force that was sailing against the king.³

Notes

1. Spartan naval commander ordered to help reinstall the Rhodian exiles, see **9, no.44**, n.7.
2. Ruler of Salamis, who was in revolt at this point, see **9, nos.51–6**. For his earlier links with Athens, see **9, no.31** & n.4.
3. A further example of Athenian perversity is the brigandry practised by the Athenian general Thrasybulus along the southern coast of Asia Minor, which finally cost him his life at Aspendus (Xen. Hell. IV, 8.30, cf. D.S. XIV, 99.4).

47. The King's Peace (387/6)

Xenophon, *Hellenica* V, 1.25, 28, 30–1.

Now Antalcidas¹ came back to the coast with Tiribazus.² He had succeeded in coming to an arrangement by which the king would join the war on the side of Sparta, unless the Athenians and their allies would accept the peace which he, the king, was sending.

There now came to him the twenty ships from Syracuse,³ while others came from the part of Ionia governed by Tiribazus. Yet more had been manned from the country controlled by Ariobarzanes,⁴ for Antalcidas was an old friend of Ariobarzanes. Pharnabazus⁵ had already gone up country, because he had been called to the king's court; for it was at this time that he married the king's daughter.

When Tiribazus called a meeting of all who wished to hear the peace terms which the king had issued, everyone came swiftly to the meeting. When they were assembled, Tiribazus showed them the king's seal and then read out the text, which was as follows:

'King Artaxerxes considers it just that:

- the cities in Asia and, among the islands, Clazomenae⁶ and Cyprus should belong to him;
- the other Greek cities, both big and small, should be autonomous, except for Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros, which should belong to Athens, as in the past.

And if either of the two parties refuses to accept this peace, I, together with those who do accept it, will make war on that party both by land and by sea, with ships and with money.'⁷

Notes

1. See **9, no.44** & n.3.
2. For his position in western Asia Minor before 392/1, see **9, no.44** & n.2.
3. For the fleet from Syracuse and Italy, see Hell. 5.1.26.
4. I.e. Hellespontine Phrygia. Ariobarzanes' precise relationship to Pharnabazus is uncertain, see **8, no.32**, n.11, although Weiskopf (1989: 27) argues that he was Pharnabazus' eldest son. He certainly had taken over Pharnabazus' post by this point.
5. Governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **9, no.30** (& n.2, for earlier references); **31–2; 34; 36; 39; 41–3**.
6. Clazomenae was claimed by Athens, and is here explicitly removed from its control. An Athenian

- decree of early 387/6 (IG II² 28; Tod II, 114, cf. Harding 1985, no.26) honouring Clazomenae indicates that Athens was already preparing to accommodate itself to a new relationship.
7. This peace (also called the 'Peace of Antalcidas') was eventually sworn to by the Greek states, despite Thebes' initial refusal to do so because it meant losing control of the Boeotian cities (Hell. V, 1.33). It is possible that the fragment of an Athenian decree for Erythrae (Sahin 1976; SEG XXVI, 1,282; Hornblower 1982, M14), which refers to 'not surrendering the Erythraeans to the barbarians' should be linked to the negotiations and discussions unleashed by Artaxerxes II's peace terms (cf. Hornblower 1982: 108). While it worked well for the Persians, in that it kept the Greeks away from Persian territory and left Artaxerxes' hands free to deal with Cyprus and Egypt (9, **Section C**), it did not result in ending the interminable intercity fighting in Greece. At the insistence of the Persian king, it was reaffirmed in 375 and 371 (cf. Philochorus, FGrH 328 F151; D.S. XV, 50.4).

C. Conflict and revolt in Cyprus and Egypt

(a) Events in Cyprus (c.400–381)

48. A panegyrist's view of Evagoras' seizure of power in Salamis (c.415?)

Isocrates, *Evagoras* 23–32; 47.

His (sc. Evagoras') virtues of both body and soul were so superior that when the kings of the time¹ beheld him, they were terrified and trembled for their power, because they thought someone of his type would not spend his life in a private capacity.² Whenever they observed his ways, they felt such extraordinary trust that they thought that, should anyone dare harm them, Evagoras would come to their aid. Despite the paradoxical nature of these opinions, neither was wrong – because he neither remained in the private sphere nor harmed them. In fact the god³ was so concerned that he should take the kingship with honour that all the necessarily impious preparations for it were made by someone else, while preserving for Evagoras the possibility of taking over power piously and justly. For one of the princes⁴ plotted and killed the tyrant and tried to arrest Evagoras because he thought he would not be able to hold on to power, unless he got him out of the way. But Evagoras escaped the danger; when he had saved himself in Cilician Soli, he did not show the same kind of intention as those who encounter similar problems. Others driven from power are humbled in spirit by their circumstances. But Evagoras reached such greatness of spirit that, although he had, until then, lived as a private individual, once forced into exile, he decided to gain the throne. He scorned the wandering life of a fugitive, seeking help from others to restore him or wooing those inferior to himself. Instead, he took as his guideline that which those who wish to be reverent must take – only to defend himself and not be an aggressor. So he chose either to obtain the throne by success or die if he failed. He called to him, at most, so they say, around fifty men; with them he prepared to make his return. From this in particular Evagoras' nature and reputation among other people can be seen. When he was planning to sail with such a number on such a great enterprise and he was up against all danger, he neither lost heart nor did any of his companions think of shirking the dangers. Rather, as though following a god, they all remained true to their promises, while Evagoras stuck to his idea as though he had a better army than his opponents or foresaw the outcome. This is clear from his acts. When he landed on the island, he did not think it necessary to seize a strong position and make sure of his personal safety, then wait to see whether some of the citizens would come to his aid. Instead, just as he was, he immediately that very night broke through a gate in the wall, led the men with him through it and attacked the palace. The

confusion arising from such an event, the fears of his supporters and his encouragements – why should I waste time on describing them? When the tyrant's men opposed him while the citizens looked on – fearing the power of the one, the valour of the other, they kept quiet – he did not stop fighting, either alone against many or with few against the massed enemy, until he had captured the palace, exacted vengeance from the enemy and aided his friends. In addition, he restored the ancestral honours to his family and established himself as tyrant of the city.⁵

After he had taken over the city, which had been reduced to barbarism⁶ and, as a result of Phoenician rule, was neither favourable to the Greeks nor versed in the arts, nor possessed of a trading-port or harbour, he put all these things right. What is more he acquired much more territory, surrounded it with a wall and constructed triremes. Along with other works, he promoted the city to the point where it was not inferior to any in Greece, and made it so powerful that many who had previously despised it now feared it.

Notes

1. The Athenian rhetorician Isocrates' encomium of Evagoras was delivered in the presence of Nicocles, Evagoras' son and successor at Salamis, on the occasion of a festival honouring his father, who died in 374 (Evag. 1). The precise date of the occasion is not certain; both 370 and 365 have been suggested (cf. van Hook 1945: 2–3).
2. Evagoras is described by Isocrates as descended from Teucer, the Greek hero and legendary founder of Salamis (Evag. 13–18). At some point in the 430s, a Phoenician fugitive (Abdemon of Tyre, according to D.S. XIV, 98.1, although Theopompus (FGrH 115 F103) refers to a governor of Kition called Abdymon defeated by Evagoras) seized the throne, expelled the Salaminian ruling family and, in Isocrates' partisan hellenocentric view, made Cyprus subject to the Persians (Evag. 19–20). This must be rejected given the very clear evidence of firm Persian control of Cyprus after a short-lived revolt in 499/8 (**6, no.37**; cf. Briant 1996a: 628–9; 655–6 [2002b: 611; 635–6]; CAH VI, 307–10). Note also Evagoras' mediating role between Tissaphernes and Athens sometime between 410 and 407, as shown by the very fragmentary Athenian decree, almost certainly granting him honorary citizenship (see **8, no.33**, n.2), which implies that his relationship with the Persian authorities was close. For his links with Athens, see also Isoc. Evag. 53–7 and the further honours voted him after the Battle of Cnidus in 394 (**9, no.41**), including erection of a bronze statue in the stoa basileos (IG II² 20, Tod II, 109 = *Salamine de Chypre* X, 117, no.250).
3. Gr. *daimon*, 'deity', 'providence', 'fate'.
4. See n.2, above.
5. Isocrates uses the same, essentially neutral, term (Gr. *tyrannos*) to describe both Evagoras' position and that of the ruler he displaced.
6. This is part of Isocrates' partisan presentation of Evagoras as a representative and champion of 'Greek freedom' (and culture) versus 'barbarian (i.e. Persian) despotism', with the Phoenician population of Cyprus cast in the role of barbarian agents. For the inappropriateness of such a characterisation, see CAH VI, ch.8d.

49. Friction between Evagoras and Artaxerxes II (before 398)

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F30(72–4); Lenfant, 163–4.

The reasons for the row between Evagoras, king of Salamis, and King Artaxerxes;¹ messengers from Evagoras to Ctesias² to receive the letters from Abulites,³ and Ctesias' letter to him to reconcile him with Anaxagoras, king of the Cypriots.⁴ Arrival of Evagoras' messengers on Cyprus, and the return to Evagoras of Ctesias' letters, and Conon's⁵ speech to Evagoras about going up to the king; and Evagoras' letter about what he had been deemed worthy of by

him.⁶ And Conon's letter to Ctesias and the tribute (paid) to the king from Evagoras⁷ and receipt of the letters by Ctesias. Ctesias' interview with the king about Conon, and his letter to him (sc. Conon). Return of the gifts from Evagoras to Satibarzanes,⁸ and arrival of the messengers on Cyprus. And Conon's letter to the king and Ctesias. How the messengers sent by the Lacedaemonians to the king were imprisoned. The king's letter to Conon and the Lacedaemonians of which Ctesias himself took charge. How Conon became admiral due to Pharnabazus.⁹

Notes

1. Neither the date of this episode, what had provoked it nor what had happened is known. All that is certain is that it must have been resolved by 398, when Pharnabazus ordered the Cypriot princes to construct and fit out a fleet for the Persians, as well as appointing Evagoras' guest, Conon, to command part of the Persian navy, see **9, no.31**. It is possible that the original incident was related to Cyrus' revolt (see **9, Section A**). Note also the end of the passage, which reflects the Persian shift to a policy hostile to Sparta. Persia's apparently lenient treatment of Evagoras at this date was dictated by its need to limit Spartan aggression and re-establish control in western Asia Minor (cf. Isoc. *Evag.* 67–8).
2. The doctor and historian from Cnidus (from a summary of whose work this passage comes), who seems to have acted as an intermediary between the Persian king and the Cypriot prince on this occasion.
3. An Abulites was satrap of Susa in 331, confirmed in that position by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* III, 16.9). Whether he was related to this man cannot be established. Schmitt (1971: 23) suggests that it is a deformation of the Babylonian PN, Nabu-na'id – possibly a royal secretary?
4. This is presumably a ruler of one of the other Cypriot principalities, with whom Evagoras had come into conflict, and who had probably appealed to the king for help. For Evagoras' aggressive attempts to expand his power on Cyprus, see **9, nos.50; 51**.
5. See **9, no.31**, for Conon's residence at Evagoras' court.
6. It is possible to understand this as Evagoras reminding the king of the services rendered in the past which were to be taken into account when his case was being judged; see Lenfant, 285 (n.740) for a tentative alternative interpretation.
7. The implication appears to be that Evagoras had defaulted on tribute payment, but was now paying the arrears.
8. A Satibarzanes figures briefly as a trusted member of Artaxerxes II's court in an incident placed in the early years of his reign (FGrH 688 F16(60)).
9. Cf. **9, no.31**.

50. Kition commemorates its victory over Evagoras (392/1?)

Limestone base inscribed with five lines in Phoenician, found at Bamboula (Kition): Yon and Sznycer 1991; text, Sznycer, *ibid.* 805; Yon 2004, no.1,144.¹

This (is the) trophy,² which King Milkyaton,³ king of Kition and Idalion,⁴ son of Baalrom,⁵ and all the people of Kition⁶ have erected to their lord Baal 'Oz.⁷ When our enemies and their allies the Paphians⁸ went on campaign to make war on us, on day [22/10?] of month ZYB⁹ in year 1 of his reign over Kition and Idalion,¹⁰ then the army of the men of Kition went on campaign against them to make war on them, in this place, by the sea(?), there where I made it (sc. the trophy).¹¹ And Baal 'Oz gave to me and to all the people of Kition strength, and I won a victory over our enemies and over their allies the Paphians. Then I erected, myself and all the people of Kition, this trophy here to Baal 'Oz, my lord, because he heard their voices. May he bless them.



Figure 9.3 Coin of Demetrius Poliorketes (late fourth century). BM 1873.8–3.1: R. Payne Bequest (see Tatton-Brown, *Ancient Cyprus*, 1987: 59, fig.69). This image was inspired by Demetrius' victory at Salamis 306; Yon and Sznycer (1991) suggest that Milkyaton's trophy erected over the harbour at Kition (9, no.50) may have had this form. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Notes

1. The find spot was the site of the Astarte and Melqart temple in the fourth century located above Kition's fortified trireme harbour. It is clear from the surviving stone that a large object had originally been fixed with metal tenons to the top of the slab, which may well have been the 'trophy' referred to in the text. The occasion for erection of the monument must have been the victory commemorated by the inscription, and the excavators suggest that it may have taken the form of a winged victory mounted on the prow of a war galley (see fig.9.3). The excavators suggest that Kition's triumph was over Evagoras, trying to expand his control over Cyprus in 392/1. The oddities if this is right (as pointed out by Bakker 2005) are: (a) that the enemy, apart from allies, is not named nor is any Persian involvement (which one would expect), and (b) that the people of Idalion, subjects of Milkyaton, are excluded from the act of dedication. Is Milkyaton perhaps memorialising his own success in establishing himself as ruler in Kition after a prolonged, but essentially local, struggle?
2. Phoen. TRPY is a loanword from Gr. *tropaion*, attested here for the first time. The usual monument for a Phoenician inscription was either a stela or a sarcophagus (see, e.g., 13, no.45; fig.13.6).
3. '(The god) Milk-has-given', well attested in both Phoenician and Phoenician-Greek inscriptions from Kition, Idalion and Tamassaos, as well as on his silver and (later) gold coinage. His reign extended from 392/1 to 361 and is marked by major construction work at Kition. He was succeeded by his son Pumyaton, who remained in power until 312.
4. Kition is located on the south-east coast of Cyprus, close to modern Larnaca; Idalion, originally an independent city to the north, had become part of the kingdom of Kition by the reign of Ozbaal, c.449–425 (see CAH VI, 310). A long inscription (in Cypriot Syllabic script) from mid-fifth-century Idalion (ICS, 217) relates to an agreement about payment to a doctor following a siege of the city by 'the Medes (i.e. Persians) and Kitians', reflecting the endemic internal warfare and competition for pre-eminence on the island with which the Persian kings had to contend, but which they could also exploit (cf. 6, no.37).
5. 'Baal-is-exalted.' Note that Milkyaton's father does not have the royal title, which shows that his

- son was the founder of a new dynasty at Kition (cf. KAI, no.39, a Phoenician–Greek dedication from Idalion, where Baalrom is called simply ‘lord’).
6. See ICS, 217, for the phrase ‘the city (people) of Idalion’ (cf. Yon and Sznycer 1991: 819) giving a hint of Cypriot city-institutions.
 7. ‘Lord of the Power/Strength’, the first attestation of this god.
 8. If the proposed date for the inscription is right, then this together with the evidence of Diodorus (9, no.51) would make it virtually inescapable that the chief enemy of Kition here is Evagoras of Salamis, together with the cities he had brought under his control, of which only Paphos is named.
 9. Almost certainly the second month of spring, April–May, equivalent to Babylonian Ayaru (see Yon and Sznycer 1991: 813).
 10. The implication is that the victory over Evagoras and his allies brought Milkyaton to the throne and marked the foundation of a new dynasty in the city, which continued in power until 312 (but see n.1, above).
 11. See the discussion in Yon and Sznycer 1991: 813–16, for this translation and the implication that the victory monument was erected close to the scene of the battle (cf. find spot, n.1 above).

5.1. Evagoras’ aggressive expansion and the Persian reaction (c.391–386)

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 98.1–4.

When he (sc. Evagoras) took control of the city, he was first king of Salamis, the largest and most powerful of the cities in Cyprus. But when he rapidly acquired much money and mobilised an army, he set about making the entire island his own. He subdued some of the cities by force, others he took by persuasion. Although he swiftly gained control of the other cities, the people of Amathus, Soli and Kition¹ resisted with arms and sent envoys to Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, for help. They accused Evagoras of killing King Agyris,² a Persian ally, and promised to join in gaining the island for the king. The king was not only concerned about Evagoras getting stronger, but also appreciated the strategic position of Cyprus and its great naval power, by which it could protect Asia in front,³ and decided to accept the alliance.⁴ He dismissed the envoys and himself sent letters to the coastal cities and the satraps controlling them to construct triremes and prepare speedily everything the fleet would need. And he ordered Hecatomnus, the Carian dynast,⁵ to make war on Evagoras. Hecatomnus⁶ travelled through the cities of the Upper Satrapies and crossed to Cyprus with a strong force.

Notes

1. For Kition’s possible war with Salamis, see 9, no.50, but note the reservations at n.1.
2. The ruler of one of the Cypriot princedoms.
3. I.e. in view of its position off the Levantine coast.
4. Artaxerxes’ action is dated to 391, a time when Persia no longer needed Evagoras’ support against Greek incursions, while full control of Cyprus was essential for mounting the campaign to reconquer Egypt (see 9, no.75, n.2).
5. For the probable creation of a separate province of Caria under the rule of the local Hecatomnid dynasty around the time of Struthas’ appointment in Ionia (391–388), see 9, no.44, n.5.
6. This sounds rather unlikely and is emended by many to read either ‘the king’ or ‘Autophradates’ (CAH VI, 92 & n.134). Autophradates makes sense, given that Theopompus (FGrH 115 F103) says that Artaxerxes appointed him to the land command (although he was almost certainly not the governor of Lydia at this point, see Weiskopf 1989: 38–9), with Hecatomnus as his admiral. The immediately subsequent actions in the conflict are obscure: Athenian aid for Evagoras’ war

preparations is indicated by **9, no.46** & n.3; Xen. *Hell.* V, 1.10; for Evagoras' network of allies built up between 391 and 386, as well as the Persian preparations, see **9, no.52**.

52. Persian preparations against Evagoras and his allies (c.391–386)

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 110.5; XV, 2.

Now that the king had settled his differences with the Greeks,¹ he prepared the forces for the Cypriot war. For Evagoras had gained possession of almost the whole of Cyprus² and brought together great forces, because Artaxerxes was distracted by the war against the Greeks.

(xv, 2) At this time, Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, campaigned against Evagoras, ruler of Cyprus. For a long time he was busy with the preparations for war, putting together a large naval and land force.³ The land army numbered three hundred thousand including cavalry, and he fitted out more than three hundred triremes. He picked his son-in-law Orontes⁴ for the land force, for the fleet Tiribazus,⁵ a man held in high esteem among the Persians. These took over the forces in Phocaea and Cyme,⁶ moved down to Cilicia and crossed over to Cyprus where they pursued the war with energy.

Evagoras, for his part, made an alliance with Akoris,⁷ king of the Egyptians, as he was an enemy of the Persians, and received a strong force from him; from Hecatomnus, dynast of Caria, who was co-operating with him in secret, he got a lot of money to support his mercenary troops.⁸ Similarly, he brought others to join the war who were at odds with the Persians, either secretly or openly. He was master of almost all the cities in Cyprus, and in Phoenicia of Tyre⁹ and some others. He had ninety triremes, twenty of which were Tyrian, seventy Cypriot, six thousand soldiers of his own and many more from his allies. In addition he enlisted many mercenaries, as he had plenty of money. And the king of the Arabs¹⁰ sent him quite a few soldiers as did others, who were suspected by the king of the Persians.

Notes

1. I.e. following the King's Peace of 387/6, which specifically recognised Cyprus as within the Persian sphere, see **9, no.47**.
2. For the definite exceptions, see **9, nos.50; 51**.
3. The chronology of many aspects of the Salamis–Persia conflict is obscure; the impression gleaned from Diodorus' account is that the period between 391 and 386 was spent in preparing for war rather than any action (cf. **9, no.51**, n.6). Note, for example, the change in commanders.
4. Orontes/Orontas was governor of part of Armenia, and married to a daughter of the king at the time of Cyrus' revolt, **9, nos.25; 27**; see further **13, no.32**, cf. Osborne 1973; Weiskopf 1989: 19–22.
5. For his earlier commands in Armenia and Asia Minor, see **9, no.44** & n.2; for his role in the King's Peace in 387/6, **9, no.47**; for other aspects of his career, see **13, nos.16(i); 31**.
6. Both in north-western Asia Minor.
7. The longest-ruling king of the secessionist dynasty XXIX (c.392/1–379/8); for the chronology, see CAH VI, 356–9 & **fig.9.4**; for the Egyptian revolt and Persian attempts at reconquest, see **9, nos.57; 62; 64; 66; 75** & n.1; for Akoris, see **9, nos.60; 61**.
8. The alleged support of Hecatomnus is mystifying and should perhaps be treated as no more than a later rumour. Suspicion of its reliability is raised: (a) by the fact that he was in command of the navy against Evagoras in 391 (**9, no.51**); (b) by the fact that the support is described as 'secret' and limited to cash, so that proving Hecatomnus' actions (either way) becomes impossible and must remain in the realm of speculation (see also Briant 1996a: 670 [2002b: 651]).
9. According to Isoc. *Evag.* 62, Evagoras had conquered Tyre and caused Cilicia to revolt, but gives no details. The last was either short-lived or partial, given that it was used as the base for the Persian

forces against Cyprus; note also the coins struck by Tiribazus to pay soldiers in Cilician cities (Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1990: 147).

10. This is an emendation for 'barbarians', see for a different suggestion, **9, no.61**, n.2. The fortunes of Arab groups in the Gaza region were closely linked to Egypt. With Egypt supporting Evagoras, neighbouring Arab leaders will inevitably have followed suit, Briant 1982a:164; 1996a: 670–1 [2002b: 651]. Note the brief reference to an earlier joint Arab–Egyptian action in 411/10 (D.S. XIII, 46.6).

53. The Persians defeat Evagoras at sea (386?)¹

Diodorus Siculus XV, 3.4–4.1.

Therefore,² when the king's fleet sailed by towards Kition, he (sc. Evagoras) attacked the ships unexpectedly and had a considerable advantage over the Persians. The reason being that he attacked with ships drawn up in order against ships not in any order, and fought with men whose plans were ready against men who were unprepared – so, in the first encounter, he instantly won a victory that had been prepared for. As he was sailing with close-gathered triremes against dispersed and confused ones, he destroyed some and seized others. But Glos,³ the Persian commander, and the other commanders put up a noble resistance, so that a fierce sea-battle ensued, in which Evagoras at first prevailed. But later on, Glos attacked with a substantial force and fought nobly, so that Evagoras took to flight and lost many of his triremes.

Once the Persians had won the sea-battle, they gathered both their forces at the city of Kition. With this as their base, they mounted a siege of Salamis and beleaguered the city both by land and by sea.⁴

Notes

1. The date for the naval battle off Kition is disputed; for an analysis of all the arguments concluding that Diodorus' date of 386 is probably right, see van der Spek 1998: 241–7.
2. This has been preceded by a description of Evagoras' moves to build up his naval strength and disrupt Persian supplies (cf. **16, no.62**).
3. Glos was the son of the Caro-Memphite Tamos, who had held an important post under Tissaphernes, then supported Cyrus and fled to Egypt with his family and possessions after Cyrus' defeat (see **9, nos.8 & n.4; 58**). But Glos remained in Persian service (D.S. XIV, 35.3), so must have been among those pardoned by the king later, and was Tiribazus' (**9, no.52 & n.5**) son-in-law; see further **9, no.63**.
4. It is difficult to believe that the siege can have lasted continuously until the end of the war (probably 381, see **9, no.55**), although that was Isocrates' contemptuous perception (*Paneg.* 141). More persuasive is the suggestion (van der Spek 1998: 246) that, as there were only two years of actual fighting, the rest of the time was taken up with negotiations between Evagoras and the king mediated by the Persian commanders.

54. Evagoras obtains grudging help from Egypt

Diodorus Siculus XV, 4.3; 8.1.

He (sc. Evagoras) decided to carry on the war, so he left his son Pnytagoras in command of everything in Cyprus while he himself took ten triremes, evaded the enemy at night and sailed away from Salamis. When he reached Egypt and met the king, he pleaded with him to continue the war with vigour and consider it a joint venture against the Persians.

This year¹ Evagoras, king of the Salaminians, arrived in Cyprus from Egypt bringing less money from Akoris, king of Egypt,² than he had expected.

Notes

1. Diodorus places this in 385/4.
2. See **9, no.52**, n.7.

55. A Babylonian notice of the Persian subjugation of Salamis? (spring 381)

Babylonian Astronomical Diary: Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.-440; van der Spek 1998: 240-1.¹

[That month (XII)² the king of(?)] the land Sa<la>mis, a famous city of the land of Cyprus, who in order to make [. . .]sundu³ the land lamuniammu⁴ whom/which the king made [. . .]

Notes

1. This astronomical diary (see **2, Introduction**) was published as dating to 441/0, but J. Koch 1991/2 has shown that it must date to 382/1.
2. The date is restored on the basis of the calendrical information contained in the main body of the text. The intercalary month XII ran from 27 March 381 to 26 April 381. The entry indicates that, if this note does indeed refer to the taking of Salamis as seems likely, then the Persian victory over Evagoras was achieved in 381, see the detailed discussion by van der Spek 1998: 241-51.
3. Possibly a place name, not further definable, cf. van der Spek 1998: 241.
4. Probably a peculiar rendering of the Akkadian term for Ionia = KUR ia-a-man-a-a, see van der Spek 1998: 241.

56. The Persians reach a settlement with Evagoras (381?)¹

Diodorus Siculus XV, 8.1-3; 9.1-2.

When he (sc. Evagoras) discovered that Salamis was under heavy siege and his allies had abandoned him, he was forced to negotiate for a settlement. Tiribazus, who held the overall command,² said he would agree to a settlement provided that Evagoras withdraw from all the Cypriot cities, that as king solely of Salamis he pay the Persian king the full annual tribute and that he obey like a slave does a master. Although these were tough conditions, Evagoras agreed to all of them except that he refused to obey like a slave does a master; he said that he should be subject as a king to a king. But Tiribazus would not agree to this. (. . .)³

Orontes⁴ succeeded to the command of the forces on Cyprus.⁵ He sent to Evagoras to discuss the settlement and press him to agree to the peace on the conditions he had agreed with Tiribazus. So then Evagoras was unexpectedly able to fend off captivity and agreed to the peace: he would rule in Salamis, pay annually the fixed tribute and obey the king's orders as a king. So the Cypriot war ended in this way; it had lasted for nearly ten years, but most of the time was spent in preparations, two years in all in continuous warfare.

Notes

1. Diodorus places the negotiations, which must have taken a considerable time, in 385, when they clearly come at the end of the war. If the Babylonian text (**9, no.55**) has been rightly interpreted, the situation was only finally resolved in 381.
2. See **9, no.52** & n.5.
3. Diodorus here relates a story about Tiribazus' fellow commander, Orontes (**9, no.52** & n.4), accusing the former of plotting with Evagoras, as a result of which Tiribazus was imprisoned and later put on trial, cf. **13, no.31**. According to Theopompus (FGrH 115 F103), the accusation came from Evagoras. The one thing that seems fairly certain is that Orontes concluded the negotiations with the defeated king.
4. See **9, no.52** & n.4.
5. According to Diodorus, Evagoras renewed his resistance to the Persians after Tiribazus' withdrawal.

(b) Egypt secedes from the empire (401–374/3)**57. A late summary of the end of the first period of Persian rule in Egypt**

Manetho, FGrH 609 F3c.¹

Cambyses conquered Egypt in his sixth year as king of Persia.² The last was Darius, son of Xerxes.³ Altogether they ruled 111 years.⁴ Egypt rebelled against the Persians. Amyrtaeus of Sais ruled six years.⁵

<u>Chronology of Egyptian rulers of Dynasties XXVIII–XXX</u>	
(after Lloyd, <i>CAH VI</i> , 356–9)	
<u>Dyn. XXVIII (Sais)</u>	
Amyrtaeus	c.404/3–398/7
<u>Dyn. XXIX (Mendes)</u>	
Nepherites I	c.398/7–392/1
['king x'	391/0]
Akoris	c.392/1–379/8
Psammuthis	1 year, probably contemporary with Akoris RY2
Nepherites II	c.379/8 (4 months)
<u>Dyn. XXX (Sebennytus)</u>	
Nectanebo I	379/8–361/0
Teos/Tachos, co-regent	364/3–361/0*
sole rule	361/0–359/8
Nectanebo II	359/8–342/1
*See <i>CAH VI</i> , 341 and n.16.	

Figure 9.4 Chronology of Egyptian rulers of Dynasties XXVIII–XXX.

Notes

1. This is Jerome's Latin version (fourth–fifth centuries AD) of Eusebius' summary (fourth century AD) of the history of Egypt by the Egyptian scholar, Manetho, written in the third century BC (reign of Ptolemy II, 282–246), which he based on Egyptian documents. The complex and tortuous paths of transmission, and the inevitable distortions, are discussed by Verbrugghe and Wickersham 1996: 115–18.
2. See **4, Sections B–D**, for Cambyses' conquest.
3. I.e. Darius II, son of Artaxerxes I.
4. Africanus' (third century AD) and Eusebius' versions, as preserved by the ninth-century monk Syncellus and (in the case of Eusebius) a sixth-century Armenian translation give the length of Persian rule as 124 years, 4 months and 120 years, 4 months respectively, both of which are closer to historical realities than Jerome's 111.
5. Amyrtaeus was given by Manetho as the sole ruler of Dynasty XXVIII. His name suggests that he was related to the Egyptian Delta kinglets of Artaxerxes I's reign, see **8, nos.7** & n.11; **11**. No Egyptian monuments bear his name and most of his reign seems to have been confined to the Delta. This is confirmed by an Aramaic document drawn up at Elephantine: AP, 7 = TADAE II, B7.2, dated to 18 January 401 in Artaxerxes II's fourth year, while the next one (AP, 35 = TADAE II, B4.6, with corrected reading of date) is dated by Amyrtaeus' fifth year (June 399). The implication is that only between those two dates (January 401 and June 399) was Amyrtaeus able to impose his control over Upper Egypt and be recognised as king there (see DAE, 419–20; Lemaire 1991: 200–1, but note Porten and Yardeni's corrections for BP, 11 & 12 = TADAE II, B3.13 & B3.12, now to be dated to December 402, not 401). For the contested and troubled nature of Amyrtaeus' power, signalled by his short reign and the fact that he is the only ruler of this dynasty, see **9, nos.58**, n.5; **59; 60**. Note also AP, 43 = TADAE II, B5.5, which appears to have overwritten dates of Darius II RY?, Artaxerxes II RY4 (September 401) and Amyrtaeus RY5 (11 September 399). For the chronology, which is very uncertain and bristles with problems, see Lloyd in CAH VI, 355–60, whom I have followed here for convenience. His dates for Amyrtaeus diverge by one year from those of Porten and Yardeni (TADAE II), thus placing him between c.404/3 and 398/7.

58. One of Cyrus' partisans seeks refuge at the Egyptian court (401/0)

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 35.3–5.

So all the other satraps sent envoys to Tissaphernes,¹ courted him and as best they could arranged matters to suit him. But Tamos,² the greatest of them and in command of Ionia,³ put his possessions and all his sons on board several triremes, except one called Glos, who was later commander of the royal forces.⁴ Afraid of Tissaphernes, Tamos left with his flotilla and fled to Psammetichus,⁵ the king of the Egyptians, a descendant of the Psammetichus.⁶ He had performed a good service for the king in time past, so he thought he would be a kind of haven from the dangers posed by the king (sc. of Persia). But Psammetichus paid no attention either to the good deed or to the sacred behaviour due to suppliants and killed the suppliant and friend, together with his children, so that he would gain possession of Tamos' possessions and flotilla.

Notes

1. Diodorus is describing the situation following Cyrus' death in 401, when Tissaphernes arrived in western Asia Minor, the command of which he received as a reward for his loyal service during Cyrus' rebellion, see **9, no.24**.
2. An Egyptian-born Carian from Memphis, who served under Cyrus, see **9, no.8**, n.4.
3. His exact position is not known; Diodorus, like all the Greek writers, uses a variety of administrative terms without any real precision.

4. At the Battle of Kition in 386, see **9, no.53**; further **9, no.63**.
5. Only Diodorus calls the Egyptian king Psammetichus; Manetho (**9, no.57**) only notes a ruler named Amyrtaeus, as does the Elephantine papyrus (AP, 35; cf. **9, no.57**, n.5). It is possible, as de Meulenaere (LÄ I, 252) maintains, that this is an error, and that Tamos sought refuge with Amyrtaeus. However, Kienitz (1953: 77 & 233) suggests that, as there is evidence for a Psammetichus placeable here, it was the name of another ruler competing for control with Amyrtaeus (i.e. Psammetichus 'VI'); see also Traunecker 1979: 399; Briant 1996a: 638 [2002b: 619]. However, the demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir (Kharga oasis) raise the possibility that Amyrtaeus took the name Psammetichus, see Chauveau 1996: 44–6; 2003: 39; 2004: 39–40.
6. I.e. the founder of the Saite, Dynasty XXVI, who reigned 664–610. For the recurrence of this name among Delta rebels in the fifth century, and its possibly programmatic nature, see **7, no.6**, n.2; **8, no.7**, n.2.

59. Aramaic letter referring to the end of Amyrtaeus' reign and the accession of Nephertites I (398)

Aramaic papyrus. Elephantine (Egypt); 5th Epiphi (28.9/1.10(?), 398): BP, 13 = TADAE I, A3.9.¹

Translation: DAE, no.105.

[To my lord Yislah, your servant] Shewa.

May all the gods [seek after] the welfare of my lord abundantly at all times.

No[w, . . . i]n the matter of . . . saying: [It/He rea]ched me. When [this] le[tter] will reach you [. . .] they [will] bring (to) Memphis the king, Amyrtae[us² . . .] King Nephertites³ sat (upon the throne) [in] Epiphi⁴ [. . . until the gods show me] your face in peace . . .[. . .] . . . the King Nephe[rites.] The silver which you sent me by the hand of [. . .] . . . these things/words. Menahem bought/sold it [. . .] above . . . [. . .] . . . bronze which [. . .]

Greetings to Anani son of Neriah. Greetings to all the sons of [. . .] here. Do not be [concerned about us(?). In] the matter of [. . .] each word/thing [. . .] The boat has [re]ached/will reach us here, they will release [me in the matt]er of Vidranga⁵ [. . .] force [. . .]

On 5 Epiphi th[is] letter was written.

(Address)

Notes

1. This letter, together with sixteen other Aramaic documents from the Jewish garrison at Elephantine (see **Chapter 1**), was acquired in 1893 by Charles Wilbour, and deposited in 1947 in the Brooklyn Museum, New York (BP, 3). Given the contents of the letter, it must be dated to 398; for the extremely insecure chronology, see CAH VI, 355–60.
2. Normally the convention when naming, or dating by, a reigning king in the Aramaic documents is 'RN, king' (Ar. MLK´) (see, for an example with Amyrtaeus (Eg. *Imn-yr-dys*; Ar. ´MNRTY), AP, 35 = TADAE II, B4.6). Here the order is reversed, implying that he had been deposed, as emerges from the subsequent regular entitlement of Nephertites and the reference to the latter's coronation. This, together with the reference to Amyrtaeus' removal in the Demotic Chronicle (see **9, no.60**), may suggest that he was about to be executed.
3. Nephertites was the first ruler of Dynasty XXIX, reigning from c.398/7 to 392/1. The dynasty's home town, according to Manetho, was the Delta city of Mendes. Nephertites is the hellenised form of the Egyptian name, N3y.f-rwd (NF´ WRT in the Aramaic here), although the name, like those of all the rulers of Dynasties XXVI and XXVIII–XXX, has a Libyan origin.
4. Month XI of the Egyptian calendar, which was employed interchangeably with the Aramaic–Babylonian one.
5. For this Persian commander in southern Egypt, see **17, no.32**.

60. Amyrtaeus and the rulers of Dynasty XXIX judged in an Egyptian tract on kingship

Demotic papyrus, Egypt. Demotic Chronicle; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Pap.215: Spiegelberg 1914.¹

Translations: Roeder 1927: 238–49; Bresciani 1969: 551–60; Devauchelle 1994a, no.73.

(i) Amyrtaeus (cols.III 18–19; IV 1–2)

Yesterday has gone:²

I.e., the first ruler who came after the foreigners, who are the Medes, that is Pharaoh Amyrtaeus, when violation of the law was done in his time, he was caused to make the movements of yesterday.³ There was no rule by his son after him.

The first:

I.e., the first who came after the Medes, when he ordered violation of the law, the things which were done for him were seen; his son was not allowed to succeed him; but, instead, he was caused to remove himself (from) upon his throne while he was alive.⁴

(ii) Nephertites I & 'X'⁵ (cols.III 20–1; IV 3)

Today has come into being:

I.e., the second ruler, who came into being after the Medes, is Pharaoh Nephertites. When he did what he did firmly, his son was allowed to succeed him.⁶

Only a few days are what were given to him, himself, because of numerous sins which were done in his time.

The second of the dynasty:

I.e., the second ruler, who was after the Medes, i.e. Nephertites. You saw what befell him: he was caused to be succeeded by his son.

(iii) Psammuthis (col.IV 7–8)

The fourth: he did not live:

I.e., the fourth ruler, who lived after the Medes, was Psammuthis.

He did not live, i.e., he did not live in god's way. He did not exercise his ruling office long.⁷

(iv) Akoris (col.IV 9–10)

The fifth: he completed:

I.e., the fifth ruler who came after the Medes, i.e. Akoris, Repeater of Appearances, whose days of rule were caused to be complete,⁸ i.e., when he was beneficent to the temples. He was deposed, because he neglected the law and did not care for his brothers.

(v) Nephertites II (col.IV 11–12)

The sixth: he did not live:

I.e., the sixth ruler who lived after the Medes, was Nephertites.⁹

He did not live, i.e., the order was not given to let him live. Because the law was abandoned under his father, a crime was made to reach his son after him.

Notes

1. The Egyptian demotic text, from which this extract comes, is the obverse of a large, but not completely preserved, papyrus now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (for the regulations preserved on the reverse, see **4, no.14**). The only full edition, transliteration and translation so far is Spiegelberg 1914 (summary and bibliography: Depauw 1997: 97–8). The beginning and end of the text are lost, which probably set the series of ‘prophecies’, with their accompanying commentaries, into a narrative framework, a feature typical of Egyptian literature (see, for an earlier example of this in a prophetic work, *The Prophecies of Neferty*, Lichtheim 1973: 139–44). It was composed in the early Ptolemaic period (late third century), a little later than Manetho’s history, almost certainly at Heracleopolis (Johnson 1974: 2–7; 1983: 61–6), and was a disquisition on kingship, using the history of the rulers of the XXVIII–XXX Dynasties as exemplary cases (Johnson 1983). The translations presented here and subsequently (**9, nos.65; 80**) are based on her readings and emendations.
2. The words in bold are the oracles, which are then followed by the interpretation.
3. The meaning of this is obscure.
4. See **9, no.59** & n.2.
5. The name of this son is not known; he was perhaps killed in a dynastic struggle with Akoris (see CAH VI, 359) and never exercised kingship fully. Note the statement in the next line of his failure.
6. Nephertites I reigned c.398/7–392/1; for the Egyptian form of his name, see **9, 59**, n.3. The effectiveness of his rule is indicated by the fact that his monuments have been found in both Upper and Lower Egypt, including Memphis and Karnak (cf. the list in Kienitz 1953: 191–3; add Traunecker 1979: 407).
7. Psammuthis’ (Eg P3-sry-n-Mwt) one-year reign should perhaps be placed in Akoris’ second year, i.e. 391. What is certain is that Akoris ruled after him, as shown by the erasure of Psammuthis’ name on the small kiosk in front of the south wing of the first pylon at Karnak, which was replaced with that of Akoris. As Psammuthis’ monuments have only been found in Upper Egypt, his support base may have been there; perhaps his rule was even restricted to that region (Kienitz 1953: 80; 193; Traunecker 1979).
8. Despite the problems at the beginning of his reign, Akoris (Eg Hkr) ruled for twelve years (c.392/1–380/79 or 379/8). His death, according to the Chronicle, seems to have been natural, although the succession was immediately contested. The relative length and success of his reign are indicated by the many monuments bearing his name found throughout Egypt, including Medinet Habu, El Kab, Heracleopolis, the Lower Egyptian stone quarries, Siwa oasis (where he was acknowledged as overlord by the local ruler Sutekhirdis), Mendes (Redford 2005: 11) and especially Karnak (see Kienitz 1953: 194–8; add Traunecker 1979: 407–18).
9. According to Manetho (FGrH 609 F2), Nephertites II reigned four months, perhaps in 379/8. No monuments are attested for him.

61. Akoris’ allies

Theopompus, FGrH 115 F103.

Book 12¹ contains the story of the Egyptian king Akoris: how he made a treaty with the inhabitants of Barca² and sided with Evagoras of Cyprus against Persia.³

Then the Egyptian Akoris⁴ made a pact with the Pisidians⁵ concerning their territory and Aspendus.⁶

Notes

1. This passage comes from Photius’ summary of the twelfth book of Theopompus’ *History of Philip*, which contained extensive coverage of events in the fourth century. Theopompus of Chios was a pupil of the famous Attic orator Isocrates (see **9, no.48**). For other references to this work, see **9, nos.48**, n.2; **51**, n.6.

2. Gr. *Barkaious* is the reading of one of the Photius manuscripts, while others give *barbarous*, 'barbarians', which does not make such good sense. Barca was a city in Cyrenaica, to the west of Egypt; for its close links with, and dependence upon, Egypt, see **4, no.8**(13) & n.3; **6, no.4**. Note that Kienitz (1953: 83, n.4) suggests that Evagoras' supporter at D.S. XV, 2.4, be emended to 'king of the Barcaeans', thus linking this prince with Egyptian help for Cyprus (cf. **9, no.52** & n.10).
3. See **9, nos.52; 54**. Note also Aristophanes' reference to an Athenian alliance with Egypt, *Ploutos* 178, cf. Lewis 1977: 147 & n.73.
4. This passage comes considerably later in Photius' summary, after events dating to the 370s and, indeed, after Nectanebo I's accession to the throne (see **9, nos.65; 69**). Either the chronological sequence of events is totally confused, or this is a mistake for Nectanebo I.
5. See **9, nos.9** & n.2; **23(i)** for the chronic problem of control posed by the Pisidians.
6. City on the Pamphylian–Lycian frontier.

62. The Persians defeated in Egypt (385–3?)

Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 140.¹

First, Egypt: since it revolted from the king, what has he achieved against its inhabitants? Did he not despatch to this war the most renowned of the Persians, Abrocomas,² Tithraustes³ and Pharnabazus⁴ and did they not, after remaining there three years and suffering more disasters than they inflicted, eventually withdraw in such disgrace that the rebels are no longer content with their freedom, but already are trying to dominate the neighbouring people?⁵

Notes

1. The passage comes from Isocrates' speech (published in 380) urging Athens to take up the cudgels against Persia at the helm of a united Greece, as in the days of Xerxes' invasion. As part of his demonstration that this could be a realistic enterprise, he paints a picture of Persian weakness. This allusion to a failed Persian invasion of Egypt is part of his *mise-en-scène*. Unfortunately, it is the only mention of this campaign.
2. For his probable move against Egypt in 401, which was frustrated by Cyrus' rebellion, see **9, no.16**, n.2.
3. For his role in affairs in western Asia Minor (395), see **9, nos.38** & n.2; **39**.
4. Formerly Governor of Hellespontine Phrygia and, by this date, Artaxerxes II's son-in-law, see **9, no.30**, n.2 for earlier references, as well as **9, nos.31–4; 36; 39; 40–3; 47**.
5. Cf. **9, no.61**.

63. A Persian commander seeks help from Akoris (384/3?)¹

Diodorus Siculus XV, 9.3–4; 18.1.

Glos,² who had been in command of the fleet and was married to Tiribazus³ daughter, was afraid that he might be thought to have worked with Tiribazus in his plan and that he would be punished by the king⁴ and decided to protect himself by a new attempt. As he had plenty of money and soldiers and had gained the adherence of the trireme captains by his acts of goodwill, he decided to revolt from the king. So, he immediately sent envoys to Akoris, king of the Egyptians, and concluded an alliance against the king. He also wrote to the Lacedaemonians and incited them against the king; he promised to give them a great deal of money and made other big promises. (. . .)

In Asia⁵ Glos, the Persian admiral in the Cypriot war, who had rebelled against the king

and called on the Lacedaemonians and the Egyptian king to make war against the Persians, was assassinated by someone and thus did not realise his aim. After his death, Tachos⁶ continued his activities: he gathered an army around him and founded a city close to the sea on a crag called Leuce, which has a shrine sacred to Apollo.⁷

Notes

1. The date of this incident is uncertain. Diodorus has it follow Evagoras' surrender, which occurred in 381, and Tiribazus' arrest (9, no.56 & n.3); some point in the late 380s and before Evagoras' final defeat seems likely. Note that Diodorus places Glos' death in 383.
2. The victor of the naval battle of Kition in 386; see 9, no.53 & n.3.
3. See 9, nos.52 & n.5; 56.
4. For the accusation against Tiribazus in the course of the Salamis peace negotiations, see 9, no.56, n.3; 13, no.31.
5. Diodorus has returned to this area after narrating events in Sicily.
6. An Egyptian name (cf. the Egyptian king of the same name, 9, nos.65; 69), which suggests that his background may have been similar to that of Glos; he may even have been related.
7. This implies the possibility that, for some time, a city in Asia Minor was a base for anti-Persian action with links to Egypt. Possession of Leuce was the cause of a later conflict between Clazomenae and Cyme, which locates the city on their frontier (Clazomenae won).

64. Egypt and Persia prepare to face each other

(i) Egyptian and Persian recruitment (c.379)

Diodorus Siculus XV, 29.1–4.

Akoris, king of the Egyptians, was hostile to the king of the Persians and collected a substantial mercenary force.¹ He offered high pay to those who joined up and bestowed favours on many, so he quickly had many of the Greeks enrolling for the campaign. But he lacked an adequate general and so he sent for Chabrias the Athenian, a man excelling in prudence and intelligence with respect to military matters, who had obtained a great reputation for valour. Without permission from the people, he accepted the position, took command of the forces in Egypt and made rapid preparations to fight the Persians. Pharnabazus² had been appointed general of the Persian forces by the king and made major preparations of all the things needed for the war.³ He further sent envoys to the Athenians to denounce Chabrias because his command in Egypt would alienate the king's goodwill towards the people; and he requested them to give him Iphicrates⁴ as general. The Athenians were anxious to gain the Persian king's favour and have Pharnabazus on their side, so they hastily sent for Chabrias from Egypt and dispatched Iphicrates as general to be an ally of the Persians.

(ii) The Persian king recruits Greek soldiers in 375/4

Diodorus Siculus XV, 38.1.

At this time,⁵ the Persian king Artaxerxes wanted to make war on Egypt and was busy putting together a sizable mercenary force, so he determined to settle the wars in Greece. He hoped very much that when, by these means, the Greeks had been released from their internal warring, they would be more prepared to sign up as mercenaries.⁶

Notes

1. As the latest date for Akoris' reign is 379/8 and Chabrias was defending Athenian territory in winter 379/8 (Xen. *Hell.* V, 4.14), this episode, too, must date to 379 at the latest, although the subsequent despatch of Iphicrates and the recruitment of soldiers clearly stretched over several years, see **9, no.66**.
2. See **9, no.62** & n.4.
3. For Pharnabazus' Cilician coinage to pay soldiers, see Le Rider 2001: 209–10; 215–16; 228–30 & pl.VI, 5–8.
4. The famous fourth-century Athenian soldier, credited with introducing a series of army reforms, see Nepos, *Iphicrates* and the extensive treatment of his exploits by Polyaeus, *Strat.* 3.9, cf. *OCD*, s.v. *Iphicrates*.
5. 375/4.
6. And, by implication, be obliged to fight for the Persians and not the Egyptian ruler.

65. The rulers of Dynasty XXX according to an Egyptian tract on kingship

Demotic papyrus, Egypt. Demotic Chronicle; Bibliothèque Nationale Pap.215: Spiegelberg 1914.¹

Translations: Roeder 1927: 238–49; Bresciani 1969: 551–60; Devauchelle 1994a, no.73.

(i) Nectanebo (IV 4–5)

The third dynasty:

I.e., the one who is ruler today, i.e. Nectanebo.² He is the one who gave goods of Egypt and all the temples to obtain money. I.e., the dynasty name Nectanebo, which is the family name.³ I.e., he was not the first of his time.

(ii) Nectanebo and Tachos (IV 13–5)

The seventh: on the 10th day [. . .] the 30th day:

I.e., the seventh ruler, who will be after the Medes, is Pharaoh Nectanebo; he is given 6 (+) 10 (=) 16 years.

He will be given day 30:

I.e., it is the completion of the weeks. Three months of three weeks are what occurred in three years, which the interest from 16 to 19 years makes you know his years of rule which he was in.⁴

(iii) Tachos (IV 16–7)

The measure of the building, day one:

The one who is on the road his father built.

Day one:

One year is what he will be allowed to spend ruling.⁵ I.e., Pharaoh Tachos,⁶ who will walk against(?) the measure of his father.

(iv) Nectanebo II⁷ (IV 17–8)

The hammer of the mason, day seven:

The ruler who comes after him, he will be granted a rule of 18 years.

Notes

1. See **9, no.60**, n.1 for discussion of this text and references.
2. Nectanebo I = Eg. *Nḥt-nb.f*, an army commander from Sebennytus, son of 'Prince' Tachos/Teos (cf. Kienitz 1953: 89, n.2; 199, *Vorbemerkung*: 212, no.107), who was recognised as king of Egypt in 379/8 as shown by documents from Edfu and Naucratis. Sixteen years of his reign are attested in material from Philae, in Upper Egypt, to the Delta, as well as in Kharga oasis and at Mendes, see Kienitz 1953: 199–212 (Anlage 10; add Roeder 1952; Redford 2005: 11).
3. See Johnson 1974: 8–9 & n.41.
4. See Johnson 1974: 14–15 for this reading, which confirms that, between 364/3 and 361/0, Tachos was Nectanebo's co-regent, i.e. from his father's seventeenth to nineteenth year. Tachos is called 'king' by Greek writers, as well as in an Athenian honorary decree, at precisely these dates (Kienitz 1953: 94–5).
5. I.e. 361/0 to 359/8.
6. Eg. *Dd-h.r*. For documents and monuments dated to Tachos, see Kienitz 1953: 212–13; add the demotic papyrus from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, Saqqara, dated to Tachos RY2 (possibly 1), see S. Davies 2002: 79; for his deposition on campaign and flight to the Persian court, see **9, no.69**.
7. Eg. *Nḥt-H.rw-h.bt*, cf. Kienitz 1953: 199 '*Vorbemerkung*'. For the troubles surrounding his accession, see **9, no.69**. There is extensive documentation for his reign from RY2 to RY18 (359/8–342/1), including acknowledgement of his rule by the local lord of Siwa, Wenamun, see Kienitz 1953: 228–9, no.100. Note that Johnson (1974: 9, n.43) suggests that the passage at IV, 6: 'THE THIRD, HE WAS DEPOSED: the third ruler, who came among the Medes, he was deposed. When he abandoned the law, he was succeeded while he was alive', usually linked to an unnamed successor of Nephertites could be a reference to Nectanebo II, with 'the third' meaning the third dynasty after the Persians.

66. The war against Egypt (374/3)

Diodorus Siculus XV, 41–43.4.

At this time,¹ King Artaxerxes campaigned against the Egyptians who had rebelled against Persia. The leaders of the forces were Pharnabazus, in charge of the barbarians, and the Athenian Iphicrates in charge of the mercenaries, who numbered twenty thousand. The latter had been summoned for this campaign by the king² and was given the appointment because of his expertise in strategic matters. Pharnabazus lavished several years on the preparations, and Iphicrates observed that he was clever in word but slothful in action so, with no beating about the bush, he told him that he was amazed how someone so quick in speech could be so slow in taking action. Pharnabazus responded that, while he might be his own master with respect to speech, the king was master of his actions. When the Persian army had assembled at Ake,³ the barbarian forces under Pharnabazus numbered two hundred thousand, while the Greek mercenaries led by Iphicrates were twenty thousand.⁴ The number of ships was three hundred triremes and two hundred thirty-oared boats. The number of those supplying food and other provisions was immense. At the start of the summer the king's generals set off with the whole force; with the fleet sailing along with them they headed for Egypt. As they approached the Nile, they realised that the Egyptians were obviously prepared for the war, as Pharnabazus' advance was slow so that he gave the enemy plenty of time to get ready.

Nectanebo, the Egyptian king,⁵ had heard about the size of the Persian army, but mostly he took courage from the country's strength: Egypt is extremely difficult of approach, and all access by land and sea had been carefully blocked. The Nile flows into the Egyptian Sea through seven mouths and at each of the mouths a city with great towers had been set up on

every channel bank with a wooden bridge commanding the approach. In particular, he had built up the Pelusiac mouth⁶ because its position meant it was the first encountered by those coming from Syria, and this seemed the most likely point for the enemy's entry. He dug a ditch here, fortified the navigation channel at the most appropriate points, flooded the land approach and blocked the shipping route with embankments. This made it hard for the ships to sail in, and for the cavalry and infantry to approach. When Pharnabazus' commanders discovered that the Pelusiac mouth was so astonishingly well fortified and defended by a mass of soldiers, they absolutely refused to force a way through and decided to make their entry by ship through one of the other mouths. So they went on the open sea so that the ships would not be observed by the enemy and sailed in via the mouth known as Mendesian,⁷ which had an extensive beach. There they landed with three thousand soldiers, and Pharnabazus and Iphicrates moved forward against the fortified stronghold set at the mouth. The Egyptians sallied forth with three thousand horse and infantry and there was a stiff battle. But the many men from ships augmented the Persian numbers so that the Egyptians were surrounded; many died, quite a few were taken alive, while the rest were chased into the town. Iphicrates' men rushed along with the defenders inside the walls, got control of the fort, razed it and enslaved its population.

After this, the commanders quarrelled, as a result of which the undertaking came to grief. Iphicrates discovered from the prisoners that Memphis, the most important city in Egypt, was undefended. His advice, therefore, was to sail immediately to Memphis in order to get there before the Egyptian army. But Pharnabazus' men thought that they should wait for the whole Persian force, which would make the campaign against Memphis less risky. When Iphicrates asked to be given the mercenaries that were there, promising to take the city with them, Pharnabazus suspected that his boldness and bravery might lead him to seize Egypt for himself. So Pharnabazus would not agree. Iphicrates protested and said that if this opportunity was passed up, they would cause the entire campaign to fail. There were some generals who were jealous of him and trying to pin unjust charges on him. So the Egyptians were able to rally fully: they despatched an adequate defence force to Memphis and moved with all their forces against the ravaged fort. They now held a considerable advantage given the strength of the place and met the enemy in engagements. They grew constantly stronger, killed many Persians and became bolder against the enemy. As the campaign around the fortress dragged on and the Etesian winds⁸ had already begun to blow, the Nile was rising and the whole region was covered with the mass of waters securing Egypt ever more. The Persian leaders decided to withdraw from Egypt as this situation constantly operated against them.⁹

Notes

1. A very fragmentary Babylonian astronomical diary dated to 374/3 may contain a reference to this Egyptian campaign; see van der Spek 1998: 251–2.
2. See **9, no.64(i)**, for Iphicrates' recruitment and Pharnabazus' preparations for this campaign.
3. Akko/Acre in Palestine, see **fig.15.5**.
4. Nepos, *Iphicrates* 2.4 gives the number of mercenary soldiers as 12,000.
5. See **9, no.65**.
6. Originally the easternmost branch of the Nile Delta, at the end of the coastal road from Palestine, which skirts the Sinai desert, see **fig.15.4**; cf. Cambyses' invasion of Egypt, which followed this route and met the Egyptian army at Pelusium (**4, no.8**).
7. Named after the capital of the Lower Egyptian 16th nome, which lies considerably further inland than Pelusium (see **fig.4.1**).
8. The name given to the winds which set in regularly from the north around mid-July and blow for

forty days. Diodorus had discussed a theory which made them responsible for the annual Nile flood (see D.S. I, 39), although he pointed out that this did not fit the phenomenon. However, the Nile flood and the Etesian winds certainly coincided. See further, *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Etesien.

9. Apart from mentioning a quarrel between Pharnabazus and Iphicrates, ending in the latter's secret flight home, Diodorus says no more about the consequences of this campaign. What seems clear from his narrative is that the the Persians only evacuated to Palestine, whence the subsequent campaigns were launched. For an analysis of the Persian strategy in this campaign, see Briant 1996a: 673–4 [2002b: 654–5].

D. The final decade of Artaxerxes II's reign (369–359)

67. A royal campaign in northern Iran(?) in 369

Babylonian Astronomical Diary: Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–369, rev.8'–10'; van der Spek 1998: 252.

The king mustered his [troop]¹ for battle in the land Razaundu² [. . .] . . . from the end (of?) a far journey [. . .] . . . to [. . .] . . .

Notes

1. The campaign is noted in a diary (see **2, Introduction**) dated to the last month (XII) of Artaxerxes II's 35th regnal year, so that the mustering occurred between 14 March and 12 April 369.
2. This place name is not otherwise known from Mesopotamian texts; Zadok (1997, no.7/B.1; erroneous date) derives the name from Iranian *Raza-vant(a)– 'provided with vines, vineyards'. Stolper (CAH VI, 239) identifies it with Ptolemy's Rhazounda (*Geog.* VI, 2.12), in Media east of Ecbatana. Van der Spek (1998: 252) argues for a location somewhere between Lake Urmia and the Caspian, and thence links it to Artaxerxes II's war against the Cadusians (but see **8, Introduction; no.37**, n.4) which, according to classical writers, the king led in person as here (Plut. *Artox.* 24.1; Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* X; **11, no.21(vi); 13, no.31**). Whichever location is correct it serves as a reminder that the central authority was not exclusively concerned with affairs on the western front (cf. **8, nos.35; 37**).

68. Fighting in northern Mesopotamia in 367

Babylonian Astronomical Diary: Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–366, ii, 2–10; van der Spek 1998: 253–4.

. . . That month,¹ the lord(?) [of . . .] The troops of the king did battle against the troops [of . . .] the mountainous region of Mesopotamia.² The tr[oops of . . .] Mesopotamia were defeated.³

That month the . . .[. . . pl.] of Esangil⁴ at the command of the king to the ho[use of the king?]⁵ were brought.

That month, day 19 (i.e. 7 June 367) the steward⁶ [of . . .] in Susa to the office of satrap⁷ [was appointed?].

The 25th (13 June 367) Tattannu, the *rab umma*⁸ [. . .]

That month, sickness . . . [. . .]

Notes

1. The war is dated by the diary (see **2, Introduction**) to month II of Artaxerxes II's 38th regnal year, i.e. 20 May to 19 June 367.
2. Lit. 'Between the Rivers'; this, and a diary dating to 112/11 BC, show that the term was applied in Babylonia (at least by this time) to the region east of the Euphrates bend, confirming the Graeco-Roman usage (see further, van der Spek 1998: 254, n. ad l.4; cf. Briant 2001a: 120).
3. Van der Spek (1998: 254–5) argues that the invading army is that of Datames (see **13, no.36**) during the so-called Satrap's Revolt (see **9, Introduction**), as Polyaeus (*Strat.* VII, 21.3) refers to his crossing of the Euphrates and confronting the king's troops. However, as the diary does not disclose the identity of the protagonists, this argument is vitiated by circularity (cf. Briant 2001a: 93–4).
4. The chief temple of Bel-Marduk in Babylon.
5. For the 'House of the King', see **14, no.10**, n.7.
6. Akk. *mašēnu*, official in charge of irrigation system and crown property, cf. Stolper 1985: 45–9; Jursa 1995a: 181–2.
7. Akk. *muma'irutu*, cf. CAD M, s.v. *muma'iru*, c) & *muma'irutu*.
8. The (Akk.) *raḥ umma* was an important officer (his estate with staff is mentioned in Babylonian texts) who appears controlling the land of temple personnel; see Stolper 1985: 44, n.30; 76, no.36.

69. The Egyptian king seeks refuge at the Persian court (361/0–359/8)

Diodorus Siculus XV, 92.2–5.

In Egypt, Tachos the king¹ had made his preparations for the war; he had two hundred expensively equipped triremes,² ten thousand picked Greek mercenaries and, in addition, eighty thousand Egyptian infantry soldiers. He gave the command of the mercenaries to Agesilaus the Spartan,³ who had been sent by the Lacedaemonians as an ally together with a thousand hoplites. He was well able to command soldiers and admired for his courage and grasp of tactics. Tachos handed command of the navy to the Athenian Chabrias;⁴ he had not been sent officially by his country, but privately persuaded by the king to take part in the campaign. The latter commanded the Egyptians himself and was general of the entire force, and took no notice of Agesilaus' advice to stay in Egypt and pursue the war through the generals. Yet it was excellent advice, because, when the army had gone a long way and camped near Phoenicia, the general left in control of Egypt rebelled against the king, sent a message to his son Nectanebo and persuaded him to take the kingship of Egypt, thus igniting a major struggle.⁵ Nectanebo had been placed in command of the Egyptian soldiers and sent from Phoenicia to lay siege to the cities in Syria. Once he had approved his father's plan, he bribed the commanders with gifts and the soldiers with promises and so persuaded them to join his side. Eventually Egypt was seized by the rebels; Tachos was seized by panic and took the risk of crossing Arabia⁶ to the king (sc. of Persia) to beg his forgiveness for injuries inflicted. Artaxerxes not only cleared him of the charges against him, but even appointed him general in the war against Egypt.⁷

Notes

1. For his chronology and co-regency with Nectanebo I, see **9, no.65** & nn.4 & 5.
2. According to Ps.-Arist. *Oec.* 2.37, the number of ships was 120, of which only sixty were needed; none of the numbers should be accepted uncritically.
3. The now-aged Spartan king (see **9, Section B(b)**, for his activities in Asia Minor) took part in the

campaign culminating in the Battle of Mantinea in the autumn of 362, which put paid to Theban ambitions for hegemony in Greece (Xen. *Hell.* VII, 5.9–10). As his Egyptian command comes after that, it confirms that the date of Tachos' war against Persia cannot be earlier than 361/0, by which time he was sole ruler of Egypt (see **9, no.65**, n.5).

4. See **9, no.64(i)** for his involvement in Egyptian war preparations in 379.
5. The man in charge of Egypt was Tachos' brother, T3-h3p-imu, while his son Nectanebo was in the field with Tachos, see de Meulenaere 1963; von Kaenel 1980.
6. The topography envisaged by Diodorus throughout this passage is vague. Presumably he is suggesting that Tachos took the risky, but fast, route across the deserts of northern Arabia; see further Briant 1996a: 683–4; 1,020 [2002b: 665; 994]; cf. **15, no.5**. Note Nebuchadnezzar II, who is said to have taken this route from the Levant to reach Babylon on receiving the news of his father's death: FGrH 680 F9a(37).
7. Some late and very brief references suggest that the Egyptian incursion into the southern Levant was countered by a Persian army under Artaxerxes II's son, the later Artaxerxes III (Kienitz 1953: 99, n.4, citing Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* X and Syncellus). It is possible that the upheavals in Egypt were in part unleashed by defeats sustained by Tachos in the field; see Briant 1996a: 684 [2002b: 665]. Cf. for the use of dethroned kings in such a situation, Nebuchadnezzar II and Apries in 570–568 (Edel 1978); for Tachos' life at the Persian court and death from overindulgence, Athen. IV, 150b; Ael. VH 5.1. For the possibility that the physician Wennofer (Onnophris) joined Tachos at the Persian court and returned to Egypt with, or at the behest of, Artaxerxes III in 342, see von Kaenel 1980; cf. Burkard 1994: 40–2. Diodorus' subsequent, extraordinarily confused, account (XV, 93) relates to the struggles surrounding Nectanebo II's seizure of his uncle's throne in 359/8, which was challenged by a Mendesian, related to Dynasty XXIX; see Kienitz 1953: 97–8; CAH VI, 341.

70. The Greek cities affirm their neutrality vis-à-vis the Persian king

Fragment of marble stela, now lost, in Attic dialect, said to have been seen at Argos: IG IV, 556; SIG³ 182; Tod II, 145; Bengtson, *Staatsverträge* II, Nr.292.¹

Translations: Harding 1985, no.57; Bertrand 1992, no.54.

(a) unrestored text

[. . .]
 [. . .] . . . in the common [. . .]
 [. . .] who has come [. . .] the satraps that the [. . .] . . .
 . . . to one another have resolved their [. . .]
 [. . .] common peace, in order that having put an end to [. . .] . . .
 . . . they may each make their own cities as great as possible [. . .]
 [. . .] and may remain useful to their friends [. . .]
 they are not aware that the king has any war against [. . .]
 [. . .] . . . he keeps quiet and does not set the He[. . .] against each other [. . .]
 peace that we [. . .] have attempt [. . .]
 at all or by stratagem, we too shall be [. . .] k
 ing. But if he makes war against any of those [. . .]
 makes . . . for any of them with a view to the dissolution of [. . .] peace [. . .]
 [. . .] against the Hellenes who [. . .] this peace
 or someone else from his territory [. . .]
 . . . in a manner worthy of the . . . that we now have [. . .]
 [. . .]ments.
 (space)

(b) restored text

[. . .] by those participating(?) in the common [peace. It shall be made clear to the one] who has come [from] the satraps² that the [Hellenes] by sending embassies(?) to one another have resolved their [differences and achieved] a common peace, in order that having put an end to [their interstate] warfare(?) they may each make their own cities as great as possible [and prosperous] and may remain useful to their friends [and strong.] They are not aware that the king³ has any war against [them. If] therefore(?) he keeps quiet and does not set the He[l]lenes against each other [and does not, (in the case of) the] peace that we [now] have, attempt [to dissolve (it) by any device] at all or by stratagem, we too shall be [at peace with the] king. But if he makes war against any of those [who share the treaty with us or] makes trouble(?) for any of them with a view to the dissolution of [this] peace, [either in person] against the Hellenes who [have made] this [peace], or (through) someone else from his territory, [we shall defend ourselves jointly] all(?) (of us) in a manner worthy of the peace(?) that we now have [and of our previous achieve]ments.

Notes

1. The text now exists in two separate modern copies, of which the one by Fourmont (pub. CIG, 1,118) is generally considered the more reliable. However, he copied only the first sixteen lines, while the other copyist, Pouqueville, has one further line, followed by a space and then another inscription (in Doric dialect) relating to a territorial dispute. The date is lost, but generally thought to be 362/1, i.e. after the Battle of Mantinea (see **9, no.69**, n.3), when the Theban defeat led to the establishment of a 'common peace' (Gr. *koine eirene*, l.5, see Ryder 1965: 85–6; 140–4), whose unique epigraphic mention occurs here. However, 371, 344 and some time between 338 and 334 have also been suggested, and must remain possibilities. Many of the restorations in the text are uncertain, especially in view of the absence of the original, and there is a suspicion that some of them derive from the Graeco-Roman literary accounts (particularly Diodorus) of the so-called 'Great Satrap's Revolt' (see **9, Introduction**; Briant 1996a: 677–8; 1,018–19 [2002b: 658; 993]). On the uncertainties, see further Weiskopf 1989: 84–5, with references. Because of the problems I give the text twice: unrestored and restored.
2. This, together, with the presumed date, has suggested that the decree was issued in response to a request by the combined rebel satraps for support from Greece. The text is, as a result, often called 'The reply to the satraps'. For the lack of evidence for concerted action by the satraps, see Weiskopf 1989, cf. **9, Introduction**.
3. I.e. the Persian king.

71. A new royal palace at Susa¹

A²Sd. Trilingual inscription from Susa: Kent, A²Sd; Vallat 1979.
Translation: Lecoq 1997: 274.

I am Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of peoples, king on this earth, son of Darius, the Achaemenid.

Artaxerxes the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda I built this palace² in my lifetime as a pleasant retreat.³

May Auramazda, Anahita and Mithra protect me from all evil and what I have built.

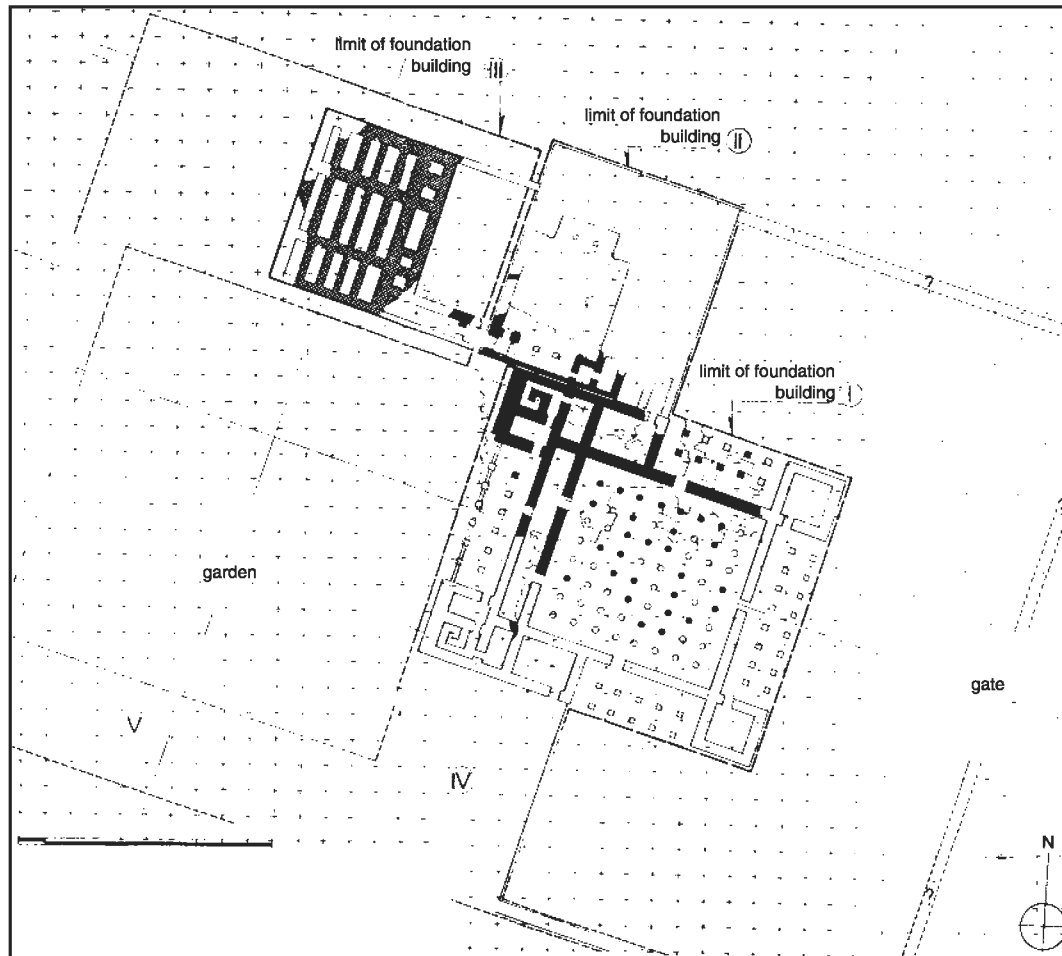


Figure 9.5 Plan of Artaxerxes II's new palace at Susa, showing the location of the palace garden. (After Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979.)

Notes

1. Artaxerxes II built an immense, new palace on the right bank of the Chaour river, opposite the great structure of Darius I, which he himself restored after it had been damaged by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I (see **9, no.22**). The four hectare residence, lying in the plain close to the river, is thought to have been set in gardens (Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979; **fig.9.5**). The inscription has been reconstructed from several fragments, see the edition and discussion by Vallat (1979). The text is almost identical to an inscription from Babylon, where Artaxerxes II (almost certainly) constructed a small Persian-style palace inside the old Babylonian castle (Vallat 1989; **fig.12.10**).
2. OP *hadiš*; the more usual pattern of the royal building inscriptions after Darius I is to stress the restoration or completion of buildings put up by predecessors.
3. OP *paradayadam*, thought to be the very word hellenised as *paradeisos*, describing the famous Persian parks and gardens (**11, no.21**). The probable setting of the royal residence in gardens (see above, n.1) makes this understanding of the text attractive, but it is disputed. Lecoq (1997: 274, with ref. to p.116) rejects it outright, suggesting a translation of 'I built this palace and

consecrated it in my lifetime.' However, Schmitt (1999: 82–5) argues in favour of a meaning 'enclosed park'.

72. The death of Artaxerxes II (359/8)

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 30.¹

With Atossa's² encouragement, Ochus³ was now fired with hope, although he still feared Ariaspes, the (other) surviving legitimate son, and, among the bastards, Arsames. Ariaspes was deemed worthy to rule by the Persians, not because he was older than Ochus, but because he was mild, simple and kindly. As for Arsames, it did not escape Ochus that he seemed to be intelligent and was most dear to his father. So he laid plots for both; and, as he was both cunning and murderous, he used his natural cruelty against Arsames, and his clever wickedness against Ariaspes. He sent secretly to the latter the king's eunuchs and friends, who constantly reported threats and terrible words supposedly uttered by his father, who had decided to kill him in a savage and humiliating manner. He was given these reports daily with an air of great secrecy, sometimes with the message that the king would do this at some time, at others that he was just on the point of carrying it out. This terrified the man and threw him into such a state of fear and panic and depressed him so much mentally that he obtained a lethal poison and set himself free by downing it. When the king heard how he had died, he mourned deeply for him as he suspected the reason; but his great age prevented him from enquiry and questioning. He now became even fonder of Arsames and it was clear that he trusted him most and spoke freely with him. So then Ochus did not delay with his plan. He obtained the help of Tiribazus'⁴ son, Arpates, and had Arsames killed by him. Because of his great age, even a small shock was enough for Artaxerxes. Struck down by Arsames' fate, he put up little resistance; he died swiftly under the impact of grief and despair. He had lived ninety-four years, and been king for sixty-two.⁵ He was renowned as a gentle person, a friend to his subjects, not least by comparison with his son Ochus, who outstripped all in cruelty and bloodlust.

Notes

1. Plutarch's main source for this and earlier intrigues at the Persian court was almost certainly Deinon's *Persica* (Stevenson 1997: 24–5), probably written in Asia Minor in the 330s; see further, **Chapter 1**.
2. The youngest daughter of Artaxerxes II, to whom, according to Plutarch (*Artax.* 23.3–7; 27.8), he was married; see further **12, no.38(i)**.
3. The later Artaxerxes III, see **9, no.74** & n.3.
4. Tiribazus was close to the king and had held several important commands (**9, nos.44** & n.2; **47; 52** & n.5; **56**; further, **13, nos.19; 31**). Plutarch had presented him as implicated in an earlier plot against Artaxerxes II out of chagrin.
5. Artaxerxes II reigned forty-six years. The approximate date of his death was late 359/early 358. The latest Babylonian document dated by him is 25 November 359 (Parker and Dubberstein 1956: 19). A lunar eclipse possibility, noted in the Babylonian text, BM 71537, for 15 November 359, almost certainly refers to the accession of Artaxerxes III within the next six months (C. Walker 1997: 22). Hunger (2001: 44) notes in his comment to II' obv.1' of this (now-published) text that Artaxerxes III must have acceded before 11 March 338 (information courtesy of C. Walker and D. Brown).

E. Artaxerxes III

73. Artaxerxes III recites his genealogy

A³Pa. Monolingual OP inscription surviving in four copies from Persepolis,¹ three on panels of North Staircase façade, Palace H; one on West Wall, Palace of Darius:² Kent, A³Pa; Schmitt 2000: 114–18 (cf. **fig.9.6**).

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 275–6; Stolper 1998b, A3Pa.



Figure 9.6 Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes III (9, no.73) on the East Panel of the North Stairway of Palace H, south-west corner of the Persepolis Terrace (see **fig.9.7**). (Shahbazi 1985, pl.XLII. Photograph courtesy of the editors of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*.)

A great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness³ for man, who made me, Artaxerxes, king, one king of many, one lord of many.

Proclaims Artaxerxes, great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this earth: I (am) the son of Artaxerxes the king, of Artaxerxes, son of Darius the king, of Darius, son of Artaxerxes the king, of Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes the king, of Xerxes, son of Darius the king, of Darius, son of one called Hystaspes, of Hystaspes, son of one called Arsames, an Achaemenid.⁴

Artaxerxes, the king, proclaims: This stone stairway I have built in my time.⁵

Artaxerxes, the king, proclaims: Me may Auramazda and god Mithra⁶ protect, and this country and that which (has been) built by me.

Notes

1. For the archaising language and grammatical faultiness of the text, see Schmitt 1999: 91–104 (cf. Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 89–90, who give the OP text as an example of error-riddled late Old Persian).
2. For location of texts, see Shahbazi 1985, maps 1 & 2; **fig.9.6**. Note that Artaxerxes III erected a palace (H) in the south-western corner of the terrace, with a relief-decorated staircase. Simultaneously, he equipped the Darius palace with a stairway, whose façade depicted twelve tribute-bearing delegations on the model first used by Darius I and Xerxes (see further Tilia 1974; 1977).
3. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
4. This is the longest-spelling out of a royal genealogy, going back to the father and grandfather of Darius I, neither of whom was a king. For the increased stress on the royal genealogy in the late fifth and fourth centuries and its possible significance, see **9, no.22**, n.1.
5. Note the location of the inscriptions, above n.2.
6. Cf. **9, no.22**, for the naming of gods other than Auramazda (but note the absence here of Anahita); see further **11, Introduction**.

74. Artaxerxes III succeeds his father

Diodorus Siculus XV, 93.1.

Shortly after, the king of Persia died¹ after a reign of forty-three years.² Ochus, who changed his name to Artaxerxes,³ took over the kingdom and reigned twenty-three years.⁴

Notes

1. The passage follows Diodorus' account of Nectanebo's revolt against Tachos, which he places in 362/1 (**9, no.69**), but which needs to be dated to 359/8. That date is confirmed by his report of Artaxerxes II's death (**9, no.72**, n.5). Note that Diodorus' sober account differs markedly from Plutarch's melodramatic story of the sinister court-intrigues surrounding Artaxerxes III's accession, see **9, no.72**.
2. In fact, his reign lasted forty-six years, from 405/4 to 359/8, see **9, no.72**, n.5.
3. Babylonian astronomical diaries, a chronicle extract (**9, no.76**) and another Babylonian text (Sachs 1977; cf. **10, no.2**) all attest that Artaxerxes III's personal name was Um/wakush (alt. Um/wasu), like that of his grandfather Darius II (see **8, no.19**, n.7).
4. The entry in BM 71537 (see **9, no.72**, n.5) clearly dates Artaxerxes III's death after 26 July 338 (C. Walker 1997: 22; **10, no.1**), confirming that he reigned twenty-one years as attested by other

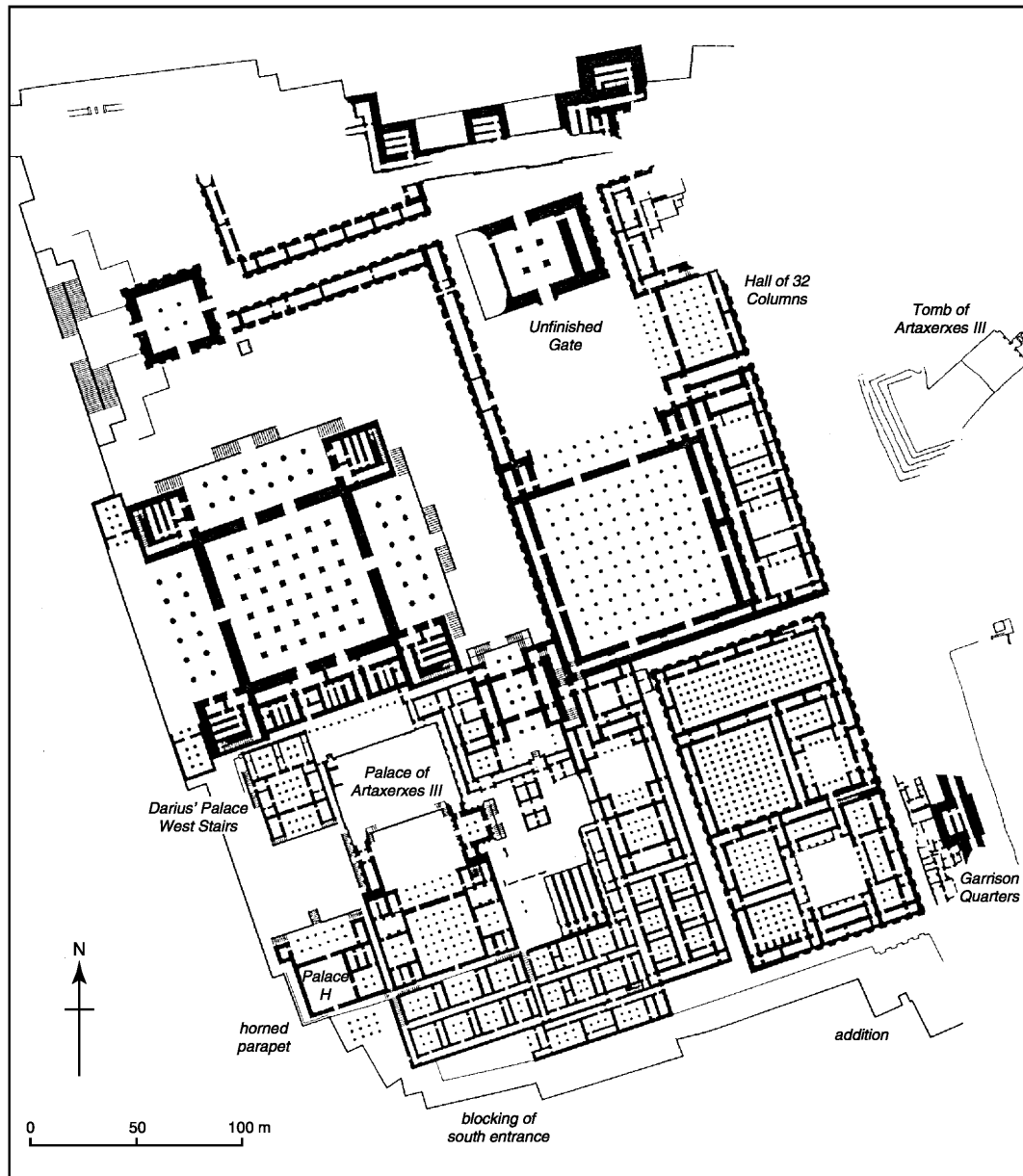


Figure 9.7. Plan of the palace terrace at Persepolis, c.450–330. Note the extensive additional building and the location of royal tombs in the vicinity (for their attribution, see **fig.11.8** (caption)). (After Roaf 1983.)

dated documents (CAH VI, 240 & n.20). Hunger's comment to the now-published text (2001: 40–5, III' rev.9–10) dates the transition from Artaxerxes III to IV between 26 August and 25 September 338 (information courtesy C. Walker).

75. Artaxerxes III's war against Egypt delayed by rebellions in Phoenicia and Cyprus

Diodorus Siculus XVI, 40.3; 40.5–43.3; 44.1–2, 4; 45.1–6; 46.1–3.

The king of the Persians had previously campaigned unsuccessfully against Egypt¹ with a great mass of soldiers; at the time now being considered he made war on the Egyptians again. He achieved some very worthy deeds and by his own efforts regained Egypt, Phoenicia and Cyprus.

Now at this time, the Phoenicians and the rulers of Cyprus, in imitation of the Egyptians² and contemptuous of the king, made a move to revolt. He became enraged and decided to make war on the rebels. He preferred not to send out generals and decided to undertake the struggles for the kingdom personally. For this reason he made major provisions of weapons, missiles, food and forces and gathered three hundred thousand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, three hundred triremes and five hundred freighters and other vessels to carry supplies.

(41) The reasons he also made war on the Phoenicians were these. The satraps and generals were living in Sidon and behaved arrogantly and high-handedly towards the Sidonians in ordering things to be done.³ The victims resented the insult and decided to rebel against the Persians. They persuaded the other Phoenicians⁴ to hold out for independence, sent an embassy to the Egyptian king Nectanebo,⁵ as he was a foe of the Persians, persuaded him to take them on as allies and prepared for war. Sidon was markedly wealthy and its private inhabitants had become very rich through commerce and so they quickly fitted out a number of triremes and gathered a host of mercenaries; in addition, weapons, missiles, food and everything else useful in war were provided rapidly. The beginning of hostilities was the felling and destruction of the royal park in which the Persian kings were accustomed to relax.⁶ Then they burned the fodder for the horses which the satraps had collected for the war, and, finally, they arrested the Persians who had behaved so arrogantly and took their revenge. That was the start of the war with the Phoenicians. When the king heard about the bold acts of the rebels, he threatened all the Phoenicians, particularly the Sidonians.

(42) As soon as he had collected together the infantry and cavalry forces in Babylon, he assumed command and led them against the Phoenicians. While he was still en route, Belesys, governor of Syria, and Mazaeus, governor of Cilicia,⁷ joined up and fought the Phoenicians.⁸ Tennes, king of Sidon,⁹ got four thousand Greek mercenary soldiers from the Egyptians, commanded by Mentor the Rhodian.¹⁰ With these and the citizen soldiers he engaged the satraps just mentioned, defeated them, and threw the enemy out of Phoenicia.

While all this was happening, war also broke out on Cyprus which had connections with the war just discussed. For in this island were nine notable cities, and below them were ranged small towns close to the nine cities. Each of them had a king ruling the city and subject to the king of the Persians. All of them came to an agreement and, imitating the Phoenicians, revolted. They prepared for war and declared their own kingdoms independent. Artaxerxes was furious at this and wrote to Idrieus, dynast of Caria, who had just taken up office and was a friend and ally of the Persians through his ancestors,¹¹ to collect a force of infantry and a fleet in order to make war on the Cypriot kings. He rapidly got ready four

hundred triremes and eight thousand mercenary soldiers and sent them off to Cyprus with Phocion the Athenian¹² and Evagoras, who had been king in the island previously.¹³ So they sailed to Cyprus and led their army against Salamis the largest of the cities. They erected a fortified camp, strengthened the fortification and besieged Salamis by land and sea. The whole island had long been at peace and the land was prosperous, so as the soldiers were in control of the open country they gathered a lot of booty. As news of their riches spread, many soldiers from the adjacent regions of Syria and Cilicia came over of their own free will in the expectation of profit. Eventually, with Evagoras' and Phocion's army doubled, the kings in Cyprus fell into panic and terror. That is what was going on in Cyprus.

(43) After this, the king of the Persians, who had set out from Babylon, marched with the army against Phoenicia. When Tennes, the ruler of Sidon, learnt the size of the Persian force, he realised the rebels would be no match for them and decided to make arrangements for his own safety. So, in secret from the Sidonians, he sent Thettalion, the most trusted of his courtiers, to Artaxerxes, with the promise that he would hand over Sidon to him, aid in the war against Egypt and help him enormously because he was familiar with Egypt's topography and knew the landing places along the Nile precisely.¹⁴ The king was very pleased when he heard these details from Thettalion and said that he would release Tennes from the charge of rebellion; he promised to present him with great gifts if he did what had been agreed. (. . .)¹⁵

(44) In view of his earlier defeat, the king thought it very important that, in order to triumph in Egypt, he send messengers to the greatest Greek cities asking them to join the Persians in fighting the Egyptians.¹⁶ The Athenians and the Lacedaemonians said that, while maintaining their friendship with the Persians, they were opposed to sending allies. But the Thebans chose Lacrates as commander and sent him off with a thousand hoplites.¹⁷ The Argives sent three thousand soldiers, but did not select the commander; when the king specifically requested Nicostratus, they acquiesced. Like them, the Greeks living along the Asian coast despatched six thousand soldiers, so the total of Greek auxiliaries was ten thousand.

Before their arrival, the king crossed Syria and arrived in Phoenicia, where he encamped close to Sidon. As the king moved slowly, the Sidonians had been very busy with preparing food, armour and missiles; and they had surrounded the city with immense triple ditches and very high walls. They also had a sufficient number of citizen soldiers trained in exercises and hard work, in excellent physical condition and strong. The city far exceeded the other Phoenician cities in wealth and other resources and, most important, it had over a hundred triremes and quinqueremes.

(45) Tennes let Mentor, commander of the mercenaries from Egypt, into his treacherous scheme and left him to guard a section of city and act together with those involved in the betrayal. He himself marched out of the city with five hundred soldiers on the pretence that he was on his way to a common meeting of the Phoenicians. He took with him a hundred of the most distinguished citizens as advisors. When they were close to the king, he seized the hundred and handed them over to Artaxerxes. The king received him as a friend and had the hundred shot down as originators of the revolt. When five hundred of the leading Sidonians approached him with olive branches, he called Tennes and asked him if he could hand over the city to him; because he was anxious not to receive Sidon's surrender, as he wanted to overwhelm the Sidonians with a merciless disaster which would terrify the other cities. So when Tennes assured him that he would hand over the city the king maintained his merciless rage and had all the five hundred holding olive branches shot down. Then Tennes

approached the mercenaries from Egypt and persuaded them to let him and the king inside the walls. So by this underhand treachery Sidon came into Persian hands; and the king put Tennes to death as he thought him to be of no further use. Before the king arrived, the Sidonians burnt all their ships so that no one in the city would be able to sail away to personal safety. When they saw the city and walls taken and covered with many tens of thousands of soldiers, they shut themselves up, with the children and women, in their houses, and burnt them down. They say that those destroyed by the fire, including the servants, were more than forty thousand. After this disaster had befallen the Sidonians and the entire city together with its inhabitants had been wiped out by the fire,¹⁸ the king sold the funeral pyre for many talents. As a result of the wealth of the inhabitants a mass of silver and gold had been melted down by the fire. So the misfortunes that befell Sidon led to this catastrophe, and the other cities, terrified, surrendered to the Persians.

(46) In Cyprus¹⁹ the people of Salamis were under siege by Evagoras and Phocion, while all the other cities had capitulated to the Persians; Pnytagoras, ruler of Salamis,²⁰ alone persisted under siege. Evagoras was trying to regain his ancestral rule of Salamis and be restored to the throne with the aid of the Persian king. But later on he was slandered before Artaxerxes and the king supported Pnytagoras. Then, after Evagoras had despaired of being restored and had defended himself against the accusations, he was granted another and greater command in Asia,²¹ but after misruling the province, he took refuge again in Cyprus, was arrested and paid the penalty. Pnytagoras, however, surrendered willingly to the Persians and remained unchallenged ruler of Salamis.

Notes

1. Diodorus' chronology, here and subsequently, is quite hopelessly confused, as he places everything down to, and including, the fall of Sidon in 351/0; into the following year he packs the surrender of Cyprus and victory in Egypt. One failed attempt against Egypt in 351/0 by the Persians is confirmed by Isoc. Phil. 101; Dem. Lib.Rhod. 11–12, but no details are known, nor anything about Persian moves after 361 (**9, no.69**). Diodorus is clearly moving with a certain fluidity between events assignable to various years between 351 and 343/2, as indicated by the Babylonian Chronicle extract which fixes the *terminus ante quem* for the fall of Sidon as 345 (**9, no.76**).
2. The Phoenician and Cypriot cities were strategically linked to Egypt; cf. the importance of the adherence of these regions for Cambyses preparatory to his invasion of Egypt (**4, no.7(iv)**); also **9, no.51** & n.4). It is possible that the failed Persian attack on Egypt in 351/0 provoked their revolt against Persia, although the chronology remains obscure, see Briant 1996a: 701–3 [2002b: 682–5].
3. The context must relate these demands to the war preparations in progress.
4. Diodorus suggests strongly (note his discussion of a common Phoenician council at Tripolis, not included here) that all the Phoenician cities joined the revolt, although the Babylonian Chronicle (**9, no.76**) only refers to Sidon.
5. See **9, no.69**, nn.5 & 7.
6. For the royal *paradeisoi*, see **11, no.21**.
7. A Belesys appears as governor of Syria early in Artaxerxes II's reign (Xen. *Anab.* I, 4.10; **12, no.46(iii)**), but this is very unlikely to be the same man (cf. Stolper 1999a: 373). Mazaeus figures later during Alexander's invasion, see **10, no.40**. The titles Diodorus gives them here are of uncertain significance.
8. This suggests that what Diodorus is compressing into one year was a more prolonged undertaking: first the preparations by Artaxerxes III in Babylonia, involving the Phoenician cities for assembling the crucial fleet; then, the Phoenician rebellion in response to the Persian exactions; followed by Artaxerxes' detailing local commanders to move against the rebels.

9. Tennes' (Phoen. Tabnit (II?)) exact regnal dates are not known, see Betlyon 1980: 16–18 for chronology; pl.3 for his coinage. Barag (1966; CAH IV, 146) has argued that the revolt had wide repercussions in Palestine, but see Grabbe 2004: 347–9, marshalling the counter-arguments.
10. For his subsequent services for the Persian king, see **13, no.44**.
11. Idrieus was a successor of Mausolus of the Hecatomnid dynasty in Caria; for Hecatomnus' role in Evagoras' earlier revolt, see **9, no.51** (cf. **9, no.52**); for Hecatomnid Caria, see Hornblower 1982.
12. Subject of one of Plutarch's *Lives* (402/1 to 318); cf. OCD, s.v. Phocion.
13. Evagoras II succeeded Evagoras I's son, Nicocles (his brother or father?) c.360, when the latter was assassinated, but was deposed at an unknown date by Pnytagoras (precise relationship unclear); see CAH VI, 329.
14. Diodorus' account of Artaxerxes' planned use of informers and guides familiar with the lie of the land in the Egyptian invasion recalls some of Herodotus' account of Cambyses' preparations for his conquest of the country, see **4, no.7(i)**, cf. Briant 1996a: 704 [2002b: 686].
15. The next passage describes a quarrel between Artaxerxes III and Thettalion concerning Tennes' demand for a symbol of trust (Gr. *dexia*, see **9, no.11**, n.4) to take back to his king.
16. Here, as on earlier occasions, Diodorus foregrounds the role of Greek mercenaries as the decisive factor in Persian wars, which tilts the picture away from the realities of Persian tactics (cf. Briant 1996a: 704 [2002b: 685]).
17. Note D.S. XVI, 40.1–2, where Diodorus (referring to the same year) describes the Thebans begging Artaxerxes for money, to which he had responded swiftly with the sum of three hundred silver talents. This should almost certainly be connected with the positive Theban response to the Persian request for soldiers for the Egyptian campaign.
18. This is clearly an overstatement given the fact that Sidon appears as a large and thriving city, only twenty years later. Note also that Tennes was succeeded by Straton II (possibly even, briefly, by Evagoras of Salamis), see CAH VI, 330.
19. Diodorus has here moved into 350/49, and places the surrender of Cyprus after the fall of Sidon. Given Diodorus' free-floating chronological structuring (see above n.1), this need not necessarily have been the actual order of events; note that Kienitz (1953: 103) places the Cyprus victories before the collapse of Sidon's revolt, which might have been a factor in Tennes' decision to betray (surrender?) the city, i.e. it left Sidon isolated and exposed.
20. See above, n.13.
21. For the possibility that Evagoras was briefly put in power in Sidon (344/3–342/1), before the accession of Straton II(I), see CAH VI, 330; differently, Betlyon 1980: 18–20. Pnytagoras survived as ruler of Salamis into the hellenistic period.

76. Sidonian prisoners arrive in Babylon and Susa (345)

Babylonian Chronicle extract: ABC, no.9.¹

Translation: Glassner 1993/2004, no.28.

[Year] 14, Umasu, who is called Artaxerxes:²

In Tashritu,³ the prisoners-of-war, which the king took [from] Sidon to Babylon and Susa [were brought.] That month, day 13,⁴ some o[f them] entered Babylon. Day 16,⁵ the remaining(?) women prisoners from Sidon, which the king sent to Babylon, that day they entered the palace of the king.

Notes

1. This is an extract (not a fragment) from a Babylonian chronicle, written on just one side of a small clay tablet (reverse blank), which has the shape of a business document. One other chronicle text exhibits the same features (ABC, no.6); the purpose (study? teaching?) is unclear.
2. See **9, nos.72**, n.3; **74**, n.3.
3. Month X of Babylonian calendar = 11 October to 9 November 345.

4. 23rd October.

5. 26th October.

77. Egypt reconquered (343/2)

Diodorus Siculus XVI, 46.4–7; 51.

After the Persian king had captured Sidon and the allies from Argos, Thebes and the Greek cities of Asia had reached him,¹ he collected up the whole force and marched against Egypt. When he approached the great marsh there called 'The Pits',² he lost part of the army because of his ignorance of the lie of the land.³

Once he had gone through The Pits with the army, the king reached Pelusium.⁴ The Persians camped four hundred stadia distant from Pelusium, while the Greeks camped close to the town itself. As the Persians had given them plenty of time to prepare the Egyptians had fortified the Nile mouths as well, especially the one near Pelusium as it was the first and best situated. (. . .)⁵

(51) After the surrender of Bubastis,⁶ the remaining cities were terrified and agreed to surrender. Nectanebo, meanwhile, was hanging on in Memphis and observing the treacherous tendencies of the cities. He did not dare to run the risk of standing his ground for control. So he gave up the kingship and taking most of his possessions with him fled to Ethiopia.⁷ After taking over all of Egypt and destroying the walls of the most important cities, Artaxerxes looted the shrines and collected a mass of silver and gold; he also took away the manuscripts from the ancient shrines, which Bagoas⁸ subsequently returned to



Figure 9.8 Artaxerxes III triumphant in Egypt. Tetradrachm of Artaxerxes III from Egypt with Aramaic and demotic legend (NC 14, 1974).¹ (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Note

1. Note also that Freeman and Sear (*Numismatica Ars Classica Triton I*, 2–3.12.1997, p.120, no.621) list another tetradrachm of Artaxerxes III, with a demotic and Aramaic legend; see *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 150, no.51 (Demotic Bibliography). Vleeming (2001) lists all published Artaxerxes III coins with demotic text (nos.1–11), as well as an unpublished one in a Swiss collection (Vleeming 2001: 4, no.11 bis).

the Egyptian priests in return for high payments.⁹ When he had recompensed the Greek auxiliaries each according to his merit with expensive gifts, he dismissed them to their homelands; he installed Pherendates as satrap of Egypt,¹⁰ and left with his army for Babylon carrying off a lot of money and booty and having earned great glory for his achievements.

Notes

1. See **9, no.75** (44.1–2).
2. Gr. *Barathra*, describes the coastal lagoons or quicksands which lay along part of the main route from south of Gaza to the Eastern Delta, see D.S. I, 30.4–9; for the problems caused by these to Antigonos in 306, see D.S. XX, 73.3. For the stations along this route in the earlier New Kingdom, see Aharoni 1979: 47–50.
3. This is hardly likely, given earlier Persian control of the region; note also the remnants of part of a chain of fortified way-stations from the Persian period, Valbelle and Defernez 1995; Valbelle 1999; Defernez 1998; Oren 1998.
4. See **4, no.8**; **9, no.66**.
5. Diodorus' lengthy account of the fighting that follows this passage focusses on the valour of the Greek mercenary soldiers on both sides, in contrast with the cowardice of the barbarians (on both sides and at all levels). All that can safely be concluded is that Pelusium and Bubastis fell, while Nectanebo withdrew to Memphis.
6. Much further inland controlling the route from Memphis to Sinai, Eg. *Bast/Per-Bastet*, 'The domain of Bastet', the goddess whose fierce aspect is often envisaged in the form of a lioness.
7. I.e. Nubia, where he presumably sought refuge with the rulers of Kush. It is thought that an inscription of the Kushite King Nastasen, which refers to fighting a foreign invader who came from the north with a fleet, could be a reference to a struggle between Nastasen and Artaxerxes III to reinstate Nectanebo II; see Burstein 1989b. In the much later *Alexander Romance* (1.1–34), Nectanebo fled to Macedon to become the father of Alexander, and Alexander thus a true Egyptian ruler, see Lloyd 1982b; Briant 2003a: 155–6 (cf. **4, no.4**).
8. Bagoas, a court eunuch as well as chiliarch and army commander, achieved notoriety in later sources for his rumoured treachery against Artaxerxes III and IV (see **10, nos.3 & 4(i)**).
9. Artaxerxes' brutal actions in Egypt, including desecration of temples and, in some later sources, the killing of the Apis bull (**9, no.79(ii)**); cf. the *Suda*, which takes this further by accusing him of also killing the sacred Mnevis bull and the ram of Mendes), seem to echo some of the outrages of which Cambyses was accused (**4, nos.18 & 19**). The result is that many have doubted the reality of such sacrileges, see, for example, Kienitz 1953: 107–8 & nn.2 & 4; Mildenberg 1999: 205. Certainly some members of the Egyptian élite moved easily from régime to régime (see, e.g., **9, no.78**; **10, nos.38–9**). But some evidence for Egyptian resentment against the Persians also exists: Devauchelle 1995a; Johnson 1984; 1999; **9, no.79(i)**. Note also Lloyd 1988b, who argues for only partial Persian control in the first three or so years after Artaxerxes' campaign. In this period, he suggests, one should place Pharaoh Khababash, whose control of a substantial part of Egypt is attested (Kienitz 1953: 232), but whose reign is not recorded in any surviving kinglists. More commonly, Khababash is dated to 338–336, see Burstein 2000.
10. Papyri attest another Pherendates as Egypt's satrap in the later years of Darius I; see **17, no.30**.

78. Two contemporary responses to the Persian reconquest

(i) The eldest son of Nectanebo II

Egyptian basalt statuette with a hieroglyphic inscription: Clère 1951.¹

(a) Titles and epithets of owner

[The prince], count, beloved of the heart of the ruler, servant of the king, obedient to his instruction, faithful to his master, who expresses himself judiciously, giving good counsel,

honoured by the city god, loved by his father, cherished by his mother, beloved of his family [. . .] the palace² for repose(?), a good man to his people, loyal, with a good heart, a lover of truth and abominator of falsehood, a man distinguished by god for his heartfelt devotion, fulfilling daily his god's will, eldest son of the king, his beloved, chief general of his majesty [. . .]³

(b) *Prayer*

[He says: . . .] Sebket of Netjeru,⁴ Great Isis, Divine Mother, Mistress of Hebyt, hear my words! I am your servant. He who adores your person, my Lady, prospers! May you remember me because of the pious deeds which my father, Son of Re, Nectanebo,⁵ performed in your house. May you reward me, queen of the gods, with a long [and joyful] life [. . .]

(c) *Appeal to posterity*

He says: Oh wab-priest [. . . who will pass by(?)] this statue, you will thank (pl.) god for its owner and will endure in life [if you say: an offering which the king gives to Osiris . . .] ruler of eternity, that he may grant every good and sweet thing on which a god lives, consisting of everything which comes from his altar – for the *kā* of the owner of [this statue . . .]

(d) *Autobiographical section*

[He says: . . .] in the work of the queen of the gods (sc. Isis). When I was among the foreigners,⁶ she caused me to gain their ruler's regard. She brought me back to Egypt [. . .]⁷

(ii) Restoration of Udjahorresne(t)'s statue

Dark granite statue torso from Memphis: Anthes 1965: 98–101.⁸

(Parts of the titles on the Vatican statue of Udjahorresne(t) are preserved;⁹ then:) Chief physician, Udjahorresne(t), engendered by the administrator of the castles, chief-of-Pe priest, *nnp*-priest, priest of the Horus Eye, servant of the goddess Neith, who presides over the nome of Sais, Peftuaneith.¹⁰

[. . .] servant of the god of Horus of [. . .] in the temple of Neith and(?) of Sobek, lord of Meref.¹¹ Menuirdisu, son of Wahibre, born by the mistress of the house, Semes, triumphant. He says: All you wab-priests,¹² all you dignitaries, all you scholars, I have made(?) [. . .]

[. . .] I have caused the name of the chief physician Udjahorresne(t) to live, who has completed 177 years after his time, because I found his statue while it was in a state of [decay]¹³

(The remainder is fragmentary and its meaning unclear.)

Notes

1. In 1935 the statuette was in the collection of D.G. Kélékian, Paris; at the time of its publication in that of Arakel Pasha Nubar (Clère 1951: 155). The head and section below the knees are missing; estimated height when complete approx. 70 cm. The preserved hieroglyphic inscription is on the back and left side of supporting pillar (see Clère 1951, pl.I). The inscription indicates that it must originally have stood in the Great Temple of Isis at Iseum/Hebyt (mod. Behbet el-Hagar) in the Delta. Note the partly erased amulet of an Isis figure suspended from the figure's neck (Clère 1951: 136).

2. The readings *ís*, ‘tomb’, and *íst*, ‘palace’, are both possible, the latter being more likely, see Clère 1951: 142, n.J.
3. At this point the name of the statue’s owner would originally have stood, now unfortunately lost.
4. *Sebket* is an epithet applied to goddesses (cf. Clère 1951: 145, n.C), while *Ntrw* is one of the names of Iseum/Hebyt (see above n.1). The Isis temple was, if not actually founded, enormously elaborated and decorated by the rulers of Dynasty XXX (as well as several Ptolemies later), whose home town of Sebennytus is located in the vicinity. It was the chief Isis temple of the Late and Ptolemaic periods, and is remarkable for its size (80 × 50 m) and the fact that it is entirely built of granite. It has never been properly excavated, although the presence of exceptionally fine reliefs of Nectanebo I and Nectanebo II have been noted. The structure was particularly appreciated in the Roman empire.
5. I.e. Nectanebo II, defeated and deposed in 343/2 (**9, no.77**).
6. Or: ‘in the foreign country’ (Eg. *h3swt*), see Clère 1951: 148, n.D.
7. Cf. the more elaborate and well-preserved statement of *Somtutefnakht* (**10, no.38** & n.16), showing that he served under the rulers of Dynasty XXX, then the Persians, and finally returned to Egypt at the time of the Macedonian conquest. The dating of this statue cannot be so precise, but Clère (1951: 151–4) suggests, cautiously, that the most likely scenario is that Nectanebo II’s son, too, took up service with the Persian rulers after his father’s expulsion and came back home after the Persian defeat, dedicating his statue possibly in Alexander’s reign.
8. The small statue is 22 cm high; four lines of inscription on the back pillar are preserved (see Anthes 1965, pls.36a, b & 37a–c; cf. fig.13).
9. See **4, no.11**.
10. These are the titles *Udjahorresne(t)*’s father bears on the naophorous statue set up in Darius I’s reign (**4, no.11(b)**).
11. The divinity manifested particularly in the form of a crocodile and son of Neith.
12. Lit. ‘pure’, a relatively low category of temple servant.
13. Given that *Udjahorresne(t)* is thought to have died somewhere in the 510s, the very precise number of years implies that the statue was repaired c.340, i.e. not long after the Persians reconquered Egypt. Why this was done is uncertain, and suggestions range from reverence for a famed physician and scholar of the past (Burkard 1994: 43–5) to the revival of honours for an earlier and successful supporter of the Persians (Godron 1986; cf. Bresciani 1985).

79. Artaxerxes III’s reconquest in hostile retrospect

(i) The aftermath of the Persian victory

Demotic papyrus, Egypt. Demotic Chronicle; Bibliothèque National, Pap.215, obv.IV, 22–3: Spiegelberg 1914.¹

Translations: Roeder 1927: 238–49; Bresciani 1969: 551–60; Devauchelle 1994a, no.73.

Our ponds and islands are filled with weeping:

I.e. the houses of the Egyptians will be bereft of people to dwell in them; i.e. one will say of this time: the Medes will bring them to ruination; they will take away their houses and dwell therein.

(ii) The Persian king’s sacrilege

Aelian, *Varia Historia* 4.8.²

Ochus: the Egyptians called him ‘Donkey’ in the language of the country; in this way they expressed criticism of his dull-wittedness by comparing it to that animal’s stupidity. His response was to sacrifice brutally the Apis bull³ in honour of the ‘Donkey’.⁴

Notes

1. For bibliography, dating (probably late third century BC), purpose and discussions of the Demotic Chronicle, see **9, no.60** & n.1. For its unmistakable anti-Persian sentiments, see Johnson 1984.
2. A possible source for this story is Deinon, see Henkelman forthcoming.
3. For modern scepticism about this act by Artaxerxes III, see **9, no.77**, n.9; cf. Winnicki 1994. Note the possibility of understanding the Xerxes of the later 'Satrap Stele' as Artaxerxes III, see Lodomez 2003: 437; 439 n.p.
4. See the discussion in Schwartz 1949; Lenfant forthcoming.

80. Artaxerxes III supports Perinthus against Philip II of Macedon (340/339)

Diodorus Siculus XVI, 75.1–2.

The siege was taking a very long time;¹ but with many in the city dead, quite a few wounded and supplies running out, the capture of the city was expected. Fortune, however, did not overlook the safety of those in danger and brought them help from an unexpected quarter. Philip's expansion had been reported in Asia and the (Persian) king viewed his power with suspicion. So he wrote to the satraps by the sea to aid the Perinthians as much as possible. So, after consultation, the satraps sent to Perinthus a troop of mercenaries, ample funds and sufficient food, armour and everything else needed for the war.²

Notes

1. Philip's siege of Perinthus on the Propontis and his subsequent move against Byzantium, followed his successful expansion into Illyria, Paeonia, the Chersonese, Thrace and Thessaly and towards central Greece. For discussion of Diodorus' misdating of the siege to 341/0, see Hornblower 1982: 46 & nn.73 & 74.
2. It has been thought that this breached a previous treaty (Arr., *Anab.* II, 14.2: 351/0?, 343?) between Artaxerxes III and Philip II. However, the historicity of such a Persian–Macedonian pact should probably be rejected, see Bosworth 1980, ad loc.; cf. Briant 1996a: 1,032 [2002b: 1,005–6].

THE FALL OF THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE (338–330)

Introduction

It is inevitable that the last years of the Achaemenid dynasty are overshadowed by the youthful figure of Alexander. His feat of conquering the gigantic Persian empire in the space of just over ten years coupled with his romantically early death has reduced the Persian side of the story, particularly the character of Darius III who functions simply as a foil to Alexander, to an inglorious footnote.¹ All the ingredients needed to turn Darius III into a stereotypical despot and loser (comparable in some respects to the earlier figure of Xerxes) are there: his grandiose beginnings end in the most miserable of failures; his path to the throne is blood-stained; he dithers and is fatally receptive to flattery; he disregards sensible advice, typically proffered by Greeks in his retinue – just as it is his Greek mercenaries who represent his only real source of strength. All this is in stark contrast to Alexander, who commands unswerving loyalty from his soldiers, whose generosity draws the flower of the Persian élite to his side and whose actions are clear-sighted and decisive. The story has been rehearsed and celebrated by innumerable writers, dramatists, musicians, artists, television presenters and film makers from antiquity to the present day. The heroisation of Alexander began in, and soon after, his own lifetime, as people in his train celebrated his progress and wrote up their accounts.² This raises problems in trying to grasp contemporary realities, while, conversely, providing some extremely helpful insights. Certain Achaemenid practices are only known to us through the medium of the Alexander historians as the geopolitical vision of the empire widens with the Macedonian army moving east of Susa, through Fars and Media and on into Central Asia.³ That material is included elsewhere, as this chapter is concerned with trying to trace the political history. Because this book deals with the Achaemenid empire, the present chapter ends with the death of the last Achaemenid ruler, Darius III, in the summer of 330.⁴

Darius III's accession

The ruler's death always created a period of uncertainty in the empire. Violent struggles to secure the succession were frequent, although their impact on the empire beyond the inner court circle appears to have been fairly limited (**7, nos.90–2; 8, no.20; 9, Section A**), although it should not be underestimated.⁵ According to Diodorus, both Artaxerxes III and his son, Arsēs (Artaxerxes IV, **10, no.2**), were murdered by the eunuch Bagoas, who elevated a member of the wider Achaemenid family, Darius, to the throne, before himself being eliminated (**10, no.3**). A later Babylonian text (**10, no.4(i)**) also notes Arsēs' murder by a

‘eunuch’. Making Bagoas the protagonist of these murders almost certainly belongs to the popular *topos* of the ‘treacherous eunuch’ (**12, nos.13–14**), and should be taken with a pinch of salt. It is worth noting that, according to Arrian (*Anab.* III, 14.5), Alexander later accused Darius of assassinating Arses, with Bagoas merely his accomplice. Interestingly, Justin’s story omits Arses’ reign altogether, with Darius proclaimed as Artaxerxes III’s successor because of his outstanding bravery (**10, no.5**). Could this indicate that Arses, who must surely have been implicated in his father’s murder, suffered a *damnatio memoriae*, as one scholar has suggested? One piece of evidence that argues against this is a notice in a Babylonian eclipse text (**10, no.1**), according to which Artaxerxes III died from natural causes, to be succeeded by Arses. Tantalising, but inconclusive, is a hellenistic kinglist from Uruk, which names a certain Nidin-Bel as Darius III’s predecessor (**10, no.4(ii)**). Does this indicate a bid for independence in Babylonia, implying cracks in the imperial fabric? The only thing we can say for certain is that the period from 338 to early 335 was one of considerable confusion. Arses/Artaxerxes IV was certainly recognised as king, but for how long is unclear, and Darius III was definitely not in the direct line of succession.

The Macedonian invasion

The Persian régime was very well aware of Macedon’s burgeoning power. Members of the aristocracy, temporarily out of favour, had, for example, sought asylum at the court of Philip II before being pardoned (**13, no.44**). Countermoves to stem Macedonian expansion had also been mounted (**9, no.80**). With Philip’s effective subjugation of most of Greece (338) to add to his extensive Balkan realm, his plan to invade Persian imperial space (for which the ground had already been prepared, **10, no.6, n.4**), was put into action in 336 (**10, no.6**). The problems besetting the Achaemenid court, as well as difficulties in Egypt, may explain the limited and delayed Persian response (**10, no.7**).⁶

Philip’s generals had secured a bridge-head at Abydos, whence they were not, despite setbacks, dislodged. Once Alexander had secured his position, following the upheavals in the wake of Philip’s murder, he was thus able to move his forces into northern Asia Minor and confront an Achaemenid army on the Granicus (**10, no.8**). A Persian strategy seems to have been in place, with on the spot tactical decisions left to the local governors, who faced Alexander with satrapal levies only. Why the Persian navy, greatly superior to the Macedonian fleet, was not deployed at this point is unknown, and can be seen in retrospect to have been a serious mistake. Alexander’s victory deprived the Persians of many of their leading men in the region, which may well explain the readiness of Sardis, together with its Persian commander Mithrines, who had lost his superior at Granicus, to negotiate a surrender (**10, no.9**). Alexander’s tactics emerge on this occasion. Cities ready to work out an accommodation were permitted to retain their local institutions; Macedonians were placed in control; Persian commanders prepared to go along with a surrender forfeited relatively little in terms of prestige, while the confiscation of Persian-owned estates warned those who continued to resist of the fate awaiting them. But Persian power in western Asia Minor was by no means smashed, as shown by the vacillations of Miletus, and the fierce opposition offered by Halicarnassus. Neither city was finally reduced until late 332 (**10, nos.10–11; 13–14; 20(iii)**). The Persians simultaneously mounted a vigorous counter-offensive in the Aegean, supported by Sparta, which had not accepted Macedonian overlordship in 338. This did not cease with Alexander’s victory at Issus in November 333, when several Persian commanders raised forces in northern Asia Minor to fight the Macedonians. Only very

gradually (winter 333 to early summer 332) were Alexander's generals able to impose control (**10, nos.12–14; 20**). The abortive action of the Macedonian fugitive Amyntas, who fled with some troops from Issus to Egypt, gives us a sense of the confusion reigning at this time (**10, no.16**). Was he planning to defend the country? Was he taking advantage of the death of its satrap in the battle to carve out a power base for himself? Or was he simply taking additional forces to Egypt on Darius' orders?

A factor that enabled the Macedonians to gain success was the surrender of several Phoenician cities, with their fleets, in the winter after Issus (**10, no.18**). As these centres rallied to Alexander's side, others detached themselves from the Persian naval contingents to join him (**10, no.21**). Around the same time, the satrapal centre of Damascus with its treasury and other royal resources (**12, no.43**) was betrayed and taken (**10, no.17**). But Alexander's progress was halted at Tyre, only reduced after a lengthy siege and then brutally punished (**10, no.19**). Throughout Tyre's resistance the Macedonians were still fighting Persians in the Aegean and central Asia Minor (**10, no.20**), while the people in the mountainous hinterland did their best to hinder Alexander (**10, no.22**). Even with the example of Tyre's terrible fate before them, the inhabitants of Gaza refused to surrender and suffered the same fate (**10, no.23**). But with the fall of Gaza, the way to Egypt lay open, and its swift, seemingly bloodless, conquest was a major damaging blow for the Persians (**10, no.24**). Why Egypt fell so rapidly remains puzzling. It is possible that its successful secession for nearly sixty years and its recent reconquest (343/2, **9, no.77**), followed by internal upheavals, may contain the explanation. Alexander's adoption of pharaonic modes of deportment, like Cambyses before him (**4, Section D**), undoubtedly helped to smooth the Macedonian take-over.⁷ This spectacular success was marred by the murder of Alexander's governor in Samaria (**10, no.25**), a revolt in Thrace (D.S. XVII, 62.4–6) and the serious problems posed to Alexander's control by the Spartan king Agis III in the Peloponnese (Arr. *Anab.* III, 6.2), who was able to defeat a Macedonian army. It is not surprising to find Alexander making a series of goodwill gestures to Greek cities at this highly critical moment (**10, no.25**, n.5).

Darius had withdrawn to Babylon after Issus in order to make preparations for a further battle (**10, nos.15; 26**). We are fortunate to possess a Babylonian astronomical diary (see **2, Introduction**), which provides a reliable, near contemporary and dispassionate account of Darius' defeat at Gaugamela on 1 October 331, followed by his withdrawal to Media, negotiations between Babylonians and the Macedonian high command and part of Alexander's entry into the city (**10, no.27**), where the Persian satrap of Syria, Mazaeus, was installed as governor. Darius clearly planned to call up the great manpower resources of the Iranian plateau (**10, no.28**), while ordering his commanders in the Achaemenid heartland to defend it against the Macedonian advance. Just about this time (October 331), Alexander received the welcome news that Agis III had been killed in a battle at Megalopolis, relieving him of one of his gravest worries.⁸ Only two months later, Susa had negotiated a surrender (**10, no.29**), and Alexander was able to add the contents of its treasury to the enormous Persian resources already in his hands. Penetrating Fars was harder. Alexander had to fight his way through the mountains, and only took the precipitous mountain pass leading down to Persepolis with great difficulty. The fall of that city seems to have been engineered by the treachery of its commander (**10, no.30(i–iii)**). After being looted and placed under the control of two Persians, the palace was burned (**10, no.30(iv)**). The destruction seems to fly in the face of Alexander's policy to woo the adherence of the Persian élite, and explanations for his act range from the idea that it was intended to drive home the message

that Macedonian power had now replaced the Achaemenid régime to the suggestion that it would deprive any pretender of access to royal insignia, which might underpin a claim to regality. The fall of the Achaemenid royal residences did not, however, spell the surrender of all the region's inhabitants, and Alexander had to spend several months fighting a highly mobile population in the hostile countryside (**10, no.30(v)**).

The last act of the duel between the two kings begins with Darius' departure from Ecbatana, where Alexander apparently had expected to meet him in battle (**10, no.31**). The reason put forward is Darius' insufficient forces, but it is possible that, after the fall of Fars (a bitter blow), it was thought better to make for Central Asia. But our understanding of Persian tactics remains very uncertain. The one-sided literary sources dwell on the figure of the doomed king moving with ever diminishing hope, just a step ahead of his relentless pursuer, with his soldiers melting away, falling prey to the plot of the faithless Bessus, and his abandoned corpse treated with respect only by his chivalrous opponent (**10, nos.32–5**). This may not be quite how we should read this tragic episode. An attractive suggestion is that Darius' imprisonment was part of an attempt to avert the fate threatening the Persian king. The prime concern of the 'plotters' (in this view) was to keep Darius alive and prevent him falling into Alexander's hands, as the royal person was such a potent rallying force, as noted (**10, no.34 & n.6**). This would make Bessus' action more akin to a 'substitute king ritual' of the kind known from Mesopotamia (Parpola 1983: xxii–xxxii; Smelik 1978–9), albeit one which misfired.⁹ It would also help to explain the long resistance faced by Alexander in Central Asia after Darius' death and his apparent failure to make much capital out of his pose as Darius' avenger.

How was the Achaemenid empire perceived?

Reactions to Alexander were clearly mixed. There is no easy way to draw conclusions about attitudes to Achaemenid rule from them. One thing that seems clear is that, on the whole, the Persian aristocracy remained faithful to Darius. Instances of treachery are rare (**10, nos.17; 30 (iii)**). Despite Alexander's attempts to gain the nobility's allegiance, very few repaid his favourable treatment with loyalty. As far as we can see, the surrender of cities was carefully negotiated following defeats. Alexander's reputation for merciless treatment of those who resisted will have played a role in persuading citizens to welcome the Macedonian ruler. This is probably how we should understand the ceremonial welcome prepared by Babylon (**10, no.40; fig.10.6**, cf. **10, no.27**, rev.). We may also read the fall of Sardis and Susa in this way, as well as perhaps Arvad, Byblos and Sidon. Both Tyre's and Gaza's hostile reactions are attributed to the desire of the leaders to gain and/or maintain favour with Darius, even after the defeat at Issus. The penalties incurred by not adhering to terms agreed with the Macedonian ruler were spelt out quite unmistakably in the case of Aspendus (**10, no.37**): military threat was used to extract an increased war contribution; hostages were taken; the city became subject to a Macedonian governor; an annual tax was imposed, and its right to independent settlement of a boundary disagreement was curtailed.

Egypt's tormented history of relations with the Persian empire may explain its quiet surrender, although the autobiographies of some Egyptians who lived through the upheavals (**10, nos.38–9**) suggest that individuals accommodated and supported whatever ruler was in power, with the current king inevitably presented as a re-establisher of order. The feelings that are expressed in these accounts reflect the authors' devotion to the gods, whose

intervention has saved them. Later Ptolemaic propaganda regularly casts Achaemenid rule in Egypt in a bad light, presenting Persian kings as pillagers of Egypt's divine statues. There is no contemporary evidence for this, nor do the Graeco-Roman writers ever mention such action by the Persians, although they do not hesitate to impute sacrilegious acts to them (**4, nos.17–19; 9, no.79(ii)**).¹⁰ Interestingly, when Diodorus describes Artaxerxes III's reconquest of Egypt (**9, no.77**), he accuses him of looting the temples of treasures (no divine statues are mentioned) and sacred books, which his commander Bagoas subsequently sold back to the Egyptian priests. So the one occasion on which sacrosanct items are said to have been taken is also one on which they were returned (in however allegedly scandalous a manner!).

One aspect of city life that Alexander exploited was the factionalism of Greek cities in Asia Minor. Here he followed Philip in supporting currently exiled groups to gain power and wreak vengeance on their political opponents. The massacre in Ephesus that followed precisely such an occurrence was so violent that Alexander was compelled to step in and put an end to it (**10, no.36**). A not totally different situation may have obtained in Sidon. According to one writer (**10, no.18**, n.10), Straton, its ruler and friend of Darius, was compelled to surrender by the inhabitants to be replaced by a Macedonian nominee. So here, too, Alexander may have manipulated internal dissensions for his own advantage. This favouring of one or other group of political rivals, by Persians and Macedonians respectively, is a recurrent motif in Alexander's campaign, especially in the case of the Greeks in Asia Minor. We can scarcely use it as a guide for gauging the attitudes of the Greek population here towards Persian rule.

One further question concerns the fate of Persians settled in the provinces after the final Macedonian victory. Later evidence (literary and epigraphic) indicates that several local dynasts of the hellenistic period legitimated their power by creating genealogical links (probably spurious) with prominent Achaemenid aristocrats (see, for example, **13, no.36**, n.1). Similarly, several temples in Asia Minor invoked privileges supposedly bestowed by Persian kings in order to underpin later claims to special status, on which Tacitus passed some ironic comments (*Annals* 3.59–61).¹¹ Some place names evoke Persian-period settlement and Iranian cults are well attested in the Roman empire, although whether this indicates a continued Persian presence is debatable.¹² Two pieces of evidence hint at the kind of fates experienced by élite Persians in the time shortly after Alexander. First, Dionysius of Heraclea-Pontus, married to Alexander's sister, gained territory after the Granicus victory in 334, and in 322 married Darius III's niece, Amastris, previously the wife of Alexander's commander Craterus (FGrH 434 F1(4); Burstein 1976: 75; Briant 1985b: 172). The marriage is described as highly advantageous, vastly increasing Dionysius' wealth and power; the sons of the union succeeded their father, and Amastris founded a city that bore her name (Strabo XII, 3.10). Secondly, in 321/0 when the Macedonian Asander was satrap of Caria, the Persian Bagadates and his son were granted citizenship, tax immunity and (for Bagadates) a temple post by the citizens of Amyzon (see **17, no.36(iii)**). It is quite possible that Asander exercised some pressure on the city in order to achieve this, but the important point is that it illustrates how Persians with local affiliations had been, could be, and were, integrated into Greek communities (Briant 1985b; cf. **17, no.36(iii)**).

An extract from a Babylonian prophecy (**10, no.41**) may serve as an illustration to the uncertain response by Persia's former subjects to their new lord. Although there are many difficulties in understanding the text precisely, the recent suggestion, that having noted the Macedonian victory the writer moves on to spell out how best a king may gain support and

how transient earthly power is, seems persuasive. In the light of the devastating legacy left by Alexander's early death it is truly prophetic.

Notes

1. For a detailed analysis of the historiographical problems, see Briant 2003a.
2. Only later accounts drawing on them have survived. Of these, the primary ones are Diodorus Siculus (Book XVII), Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, Arrian's *Anabasis*, Quintus Curtius Rufus, and Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus' history; see Brunt's useful discussion of these writers and their sources (Brunt 1976–83: xviii–xxxiv).
3. See Briant 1996a: 713–15 [2002b: 693–5].
4. For the chronology of Alexander's campaign, see the accompanying table, **fig.10.7**.
5. The one exception was, of course, the accession of Darius I (**Chapter 5**).
6. There are also some chronological uncertainties, which make the exact sequence of events unclear.
7. The Liebig-Museum in Frankfurt has recently acquired a life-size rose-granite statue representing Alexander as pharaoh, see P. Bol in *Ägypten, Griechenland, Rom: Abwehr und Berührung* (Frankfurt, 2005).
8. See the discussion by Bosworth 1988: 198–204.
9. See the important article by Nylander 1993.
10. Note the discussion by Briant 2003c.
11. This is very possibly true of the Gadatas Inscription from the Apollo temple in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (Briant 2003b), and several of the 'documents' in Ezra (see Kuhrt 2001a, for discussion of the problems).
12. Extensively studied by L. Robert, but note the critique of Briant 1985b (with all references).

A. The struggle for the Persian throne and Macedonian aggression, 338–336/5

(a) From Artaxerxes III to Darius III (338–336/5)

1. Artaxerxes III is succeeded by his son

Baylonian solar eclipse tablet (extract): Hunger 2001, Text 11 (BM 71537, pp.40–5) III' rev.9–10.

Translation: C. Walker 1997: 21–2.¹

Month Ululu,² Umakush (went to his) fate;³ Arshu,⁴ his son, sat on the throne.

Notes

1. The Akkadian text concerns both observed and possible solar eclipses.
2. Month VI = 26 August to 25 September 338.
3. According to the conventional Akkadian phrase used here, Artaxerxes III (Akk. Umakush = Gr. Ochus) died from natural causes, in contrast to the description of Xerxes' death by murder (see **7, no.90**). For a dramatically different account, see **10, no.3**.
4. The Arses of classical sources. For his throne-name of Artaxerxes (IV), see **10, no.2** & n.4. Note that the possible reading of Arses' name in a cartouche on the lid of a vase in the Petrie Museum, UCL (Kienitz 1953: 231), has been rejected by Devauchelle (1995b: 40) on the grounds that it is his personal, not royal, name (Devauchelle's n.28 is, however, misleading; for arguments supporting Arses = Artaxerxes IV, see the references under **10, no.2**, n.4).

2. Fragment concerning Arses and Alexander

Fragmentary Babylonian tablet: Sachs 1977: 146–7 (BM 36613); van der Spek 2003b, Text 2.¹
Translation: Glassner 1993/2004, no.31.

[...] in fire [...] ... and the soldiers [...] of his own hands the dust² from [...] were removed. The day [...] year] of Arshu, the son of Umasu,³ who [is called] Artakshats[u, ...]⁴ (they) entered, and the temple of Anunitu⁵ within the cit[y ... Aleksan]darris, the great king, made you Babylon[ians ...]s and the houses to the property of Esangil and the Babylonians returned [...] Esangil they built. The army [...] some [...]

Notes

1. This Akkadian text, of which only one side is preserved, is so fragmentary that its nature is completely uncertain. It is possible that it is part of a chronicle, but see van der Spek 2003b: 301 for the suggestion that it could have been part of a letter by a Seleucid king recalling earlier work on Babylonian temples.
2. The ‘dust of Esagila (Esangil)’ is referred to several times in Babylonian texts of the early Diadochic period, and probably relates to refurbishments of Babylon’s chief temple (see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991: 81, nn.44–9 for references; cf. Del Monte 1997: 13–17). The broken context makes it hard to see how it fits here.
3. The alternative Babylonian version of Artaxerxes III’s personal name, see **9, no.72**, n.3.
4. I.e. Artaxerxes (IV). For an Aramaic text perhaps dated to his reign by this throne-name, see Lemaire 1996: 13, n.11. It would be possible to read this as giving Ochus’ throne-name, but the equating of ‘Artaxerxes’ with ‘Arses’ is more likely (cf. also van der Spek 1993: 96). For the strong likelihood that Artaxerxes was indeed Arses’ regnal name, see Badian 1977; Schmitt 1982; Briant 1998a: 305–6, n.3; Oelsner 2001 (with reference to SpTU V, 307, cf. Boiy 2006).
5. Babylonian goddess, an aspect of Inanna/Ishtar.

3. A tale of assassinations at the Persian court

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 5.3–6.

While Philip was still on the throne,¹ Ochus² ruled the Persians; he oppressed his subjects savagely and brutally. He was hated because of the harshness of his ways and so the chiliarch³ Bagoas,⁴ a eunuch in body but a fierce villain by nature, killed Ochus with poison by means of a certain doctor, and promoted Arses, the king’s youngest son, to the kingship. He also killed the king’s brothers, who had just reached adulthood, in order to isolate the youth and make him easier to control. But the lad was angry at these outrages and made it clear that he would punish the perpetrator of the crimes, so Bagoas anticipated his plan and killed Arses together with his children while he was still in his third year of reign.⁵ The royal house was now bereft and there was no one to succeed to power by right of birth.⁶ So he picked one of the friends⁷ called Darius⁸ and helped to set him up as king.⁹ He was the son of Arsanes, son of Ostanes, who was a brother of Artaxerxes who had been the Persian king.¹⁰ But a peculiar thing happened to Bagoas, and one worth mentioning. In keeping with his accustomed savagery, he tried to destroy Darius with poison. But the plan was betrayed and the king invited Bagoas to show his friendliness and, handing him the cup, forced him to drink the poison.

Notes

1. Diodorus is here reprising events at the Achaemenid court after describing Philip's murder and Alexander's accession in 336.
2. The hellenised form of Artaxerxes III's personal name.
3. For this court position, see **8, no.20**, n.7; **12, no.5**, n.2.
4. For his participation in Artaxerxes III's Egyptian campaign, see **9, no.77**.
5. In Babylonian reckoning, August–September 338 (see **10, no.1**) to 18 April 337 counted as Arses' accession year; for the recognition of his successor near the end of his second regnal year (March 335), see below, n.9.
6. On the royal succession, see **11, nos.61–3**; on the survival of at least one of Artaxerxes III's sons, see **10, no.31**.
7. Gr. *philoi*, which here means the court circle, rather than one of Bagoas' friends, see Briant 1996a: 791–2 [2002b: 771–2] on his high position at court. Note that Alexander is said to have accused Darius of killing Arses with the help of Bagoas (Arr. *Anab.* III, 14.5); see further **10, Introduction**.
8. Darius III's personal name was Artashata, see Sachs 1977: 142–3; Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–332 A obv.2.
9. Gropp 2001: 30–1, WDSP 1, l.1 dates a slave sale to '20. 'Adar, second year, accession year of Darius, the king'. The second year must be that of Arses/Artaxerxes IV. The date is 20 March 335, with the remaining eight days of March counting as Darius III's accession year; his first regnal year then begins 29 March 335. The text provides no hint of difficulties besetting Darius' accession, nor does it indicate precisely when Darius III acceded. Note that D.S. XVII, 7.1 places Darius' accession before the death of Philip II of Macedon, which certainly occurred in 336 (October? cf. CAH VI, 789).
10. Ostanes was a brother of Artaxerxes II, which makes Darius III second cousin to Arses, and belies Diodorus' statement that the royal house had come to an end with Arses' death, see Briant 1996a: 792 & 793 [2002b: 772 & 773].

4. Babylonian echoes of the struggle for the throne

(i) The murder of Arses

Akkadian text, perhaps from Babylon. Babylonian Dynastic Prophecy: BHLT, 34–5, iii, 2–8; van der Spek 2003b, Text 5, v, 2–8.¹

[. . .] kings [. . .] which/of his father. . . [. . .]. For two(?)² years [he will exercise the kingship]. That king a eunuch³ [will murder].⁴ Any prince [. . .] will attack and [seize] the thro[ne].⁵ For five years [he will exercise] kingsh[ip].⁶

(ii) Unrest in Babylonia?

Uruk Kinglist (Akkadian), reverse; IM 65066 (W 20030, 105): van Dijk 1962: 53–60 & pl.28a; RLA VI, 97; Del Monte 1987: 207.⁷

Translation: ANET, 566.

(Break)

[. . . whose] other name is Nidin-B[el?]⁸

[Ye]ars 5 Dariu[s]

Years 7(?) Alexander

Years 6 Philip⁹

Years 6 Antigonos¹⁰

Years 31 Seleucus¹¹

Years	22	Antiochus
Years	15	Antiochus
[Years]	20	Seleucus
(Break)		

Notes

1. For references, translations, discussion and date of text, see **3, no.24** & n.1; van der Spek 2003b: 324–6.
2. Only one upright of the numeral is visible on the tablet; the restoration depends on identification of the next ruler as Darius III, which is likely given the preserved number of years assigned to his reign.
3. Akk. *ša reši*. The allusion is to Bagoas, see **10, no.3**; for discussion of ‘eunuchs’, see **12, Section B**.
4. The restoration depends on the assumption that the Diodorus story of Bagoas’ murder of Arses (**10, no.3**) was widely known. For the assertion that Arses’, not Xerxes’, murder is referred to in the ‘Satrap Stele’ of 311, see Goedicke 1984: 36, 41, 54 (not a view widely shared, see Devauchelle 1995a: 77, n.42; Lodomez 2003: 439, n.p).
5. This suggests a period of uncertainty and the perhaps contested legitimacy of Darius III’s claim to the throne; cf. **10, no.3** & n.9; **10, Introduction**.
6. Darius III’s reign in Babylonia lasted five years, the length stated clearly in the following text (**ii**, below). It ended, for Babylonia, with his defeat at Gaugamela on 1 October 331 (**10, no.27**).
7. The list dates from the hellenistic period and was excavated in Uruk. The obverse lists kings from the late Assyrian period to Darius I.
8. Both the year number and the first name of Nidin-Bel(?) are lost. Nidintu-Bel was the name of the first Babylonian pretender to challenge Darius I’s seizure of the throne (**5, no.1**, paras.16 & 52). Did the compiler of this list transpose his name and associate it with the wrong Darius? Or does the text record a rebellion in Babylonia in the period of uncertainty preceding Darius III’s accession? There is no evidence to support the last and a mistake is perhaps the more likely explanation (CAH VI, 240).
9. Philip III Arrhidaeus, Alexander’s half-brother, proclaimed king on Alexander’s death in 323, murdered in 316.
10. Antigonos the One-eyed (**10, no.20(ii)**, n.3) seized control in Babylonia in 317/16 until displaced by Seleucus. He was not given the title ‘king’ in contemporary texts, but ‘general’; the recognised king in Babylonia for dating purposes until Seleucus’ assumption of the royal title in 306/5 was Alexander’s small son, Alexander IV (most recently, Boiy 2001).
11. Although Seleucus only became king formally in 306/5, this was retrospectively regarded as his sixth regnal year (Boiy 2000: 128–40/2004: 121–37).

5. A story of Darius’ elevation to the throne because of his bravery

Justin X, 3.2–5.¹

Then, as though he (sc. Ochus) had purified the kingdom,² he made war on the Cadusians.³ In the course of it, one of the enemy challenged the army and a certain Codomannus⁴ advanced against him with everyone’s good wish; he killed him and restored to his side along with victory the glory they had almost lost. For this achievement that Codomannus was put in charge of the Armenias.⁵ After a while, following the death of King Ochus, the people made him king remembering his earlier prowess, and honoured him with the name Darius, so that he might lack nothing of royal majesty.⁶

Notes

1. Justin's story is broadly similar to that of Diodorus XVII, 6.1–2, with some interesting divergence.
2. In the previous passage, Justin summarised Ochus' execution of his family and courtiers, because of his fear of plots against him.
3. In the northern mountains of Iran, see **8, no.37**, n.4; **9, no.67**, n.2; **11, no.34**; **13, no.31(ii)**.
4. As becomes clear subsequently, this is the later Darius III. What this name means or where it has come from is unknown; possibly it is a descriptive epithet. See Badian 2000: 245–8 for discussion and earlier literature; cf. Briant 2003a: 563. Babylonian documents show that his personal name was Artashata, see **10, no.3**, n.8.
5. It is possible that there were two Armenian provinces, although Justin could be reflecting the Roman designation of Armenia Major and Armenia Minor. The reality of this appointment is uncertain, as Orontes' son or grandson may well have been in control of the satrapy, see **13, no.32**, n.6 – but the chronology is totally opaque.
6. It could be significant that Arses' reign is not mentioned either here, or in several other instances; see Briant 1996a: 796 [2002b: 776], who suggests that Arses suffered a *damnatio memoriae*. But contrast Badian (2000: 246), who takes it simply as indicating the irrelevance of Arses' brief reign in the context of Justin's précis.

(b) The first Macedonian offensive and the Persian response (336–336/5)

6. Philip II of Macedon sends an advance guard to Abydos (spring 336)

Diodorus Siculus XVI, 91.2.

After the Greeks had installed Philip the king as leader,¹ he initiated the war against the Persians. He sent ahead Attalus and Parmenion² into Asia,³ gave them part of the army and ordered them to liberate the Greek cities.⁴

Notes

1. Philip was chosen to lead the Greeks, with the exception of Sparta, in making war on Persia at the Council of Corinth in 337. This followed his victory at Chaeronea, which effectively subjugated most of Greece to Macedon.
2. Macedonian generals and contemporaries of Philip II: Attalus' niece, Cleopatra, was married to Philip in 337 (Berve, no.182); Parmenion's daughter was Attalus' wife (Berve, no.606). Note that Justin IX, 5.8 includes an Amyntas in this advance party. If this is Amyntas, son of Antiochus, then Justin is probably wrong, as he fled the Macedonian court after Philip's murder and joined the Persians (Arr. *Anab.* I, 17.9; **10, no.16**).
3. In 334 Parmenion organised the ferrying of most of Alexander's army from Sestos to Abydos (Arr. *Anab.* I, 11.6), suggesting that Abydos had been set up as the operational base in 336.
4. Little more is said of this, but from Alexander's campaign in western Asia Minor (334/3), as well as two inscriptions it emerges that in several places (on Chios and Lesbos, at Ephesus) statues of Philip had been set up, altars dedicated to him and new political factions installed. In one instance, the Macedonian action had begun already c.343. On Philip's assassination, some of the installations honouring the Macedonian king were pulled down and exiled parties regained power (Arr. *Anab.* I, 17.11–12; D.S. XVII, 29.2; Tod II, 191 & 192; Bosworth 1980: 178–80; see further **10, no.36**). It is suggested by Burstein (2000) that the limited Persian response to Philip's incursion was due to the fact that the Persians were massing their forces to deal with the revolt of Khababash in Egypt, which could date around this time, see **9, no.77**, n.9.

7. Darius III responds to the Macedonian incursion (336–365)

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 7.1–3, 8–10.

Darius took over the kingship before Philip's death and it was his ambition to turn the coming war back upon Macedon.¹ But when Philip died he was freed from this anxiety, because he disdained Alexander as a mere youngster. But when Alexander's energy and swiftness in action brought him the leadership of all the Greeks and made the young man's ability plain, then Darius was alerted and paid serious attention to his armies. He prepared many triremes and gathered large, excellent forces. He also picked the best commanders, Memnon of Rhodes² among them. Memnon was remarkable for his courage and grasp of strategy. The king gave him five thousand mercenaries and ordered him to march to the city of Cyzicus³ and try to gain possession. So he went with these soldiers across Mount Ida. (. . .)⁴

Memnon crossed the mountain, fell upon the city of the Cyzicenes unexpectedly and came very close to capturing it. When he failed, he ravaged its territory and gained much booty. While he was doing this, Parmenion took the city of Gryneion⁵ by force and sold the inhabitants into slavery. When he was besieging Pitane,⁶ Memnon appeared, frightened the Macedonians and he relinquished the siege. After this, Callas,⁷ with Macedonian and mercenary soldiers, engaged in battle in the Troad against the Persians, who outnumbered him. Being at a numerical disadvantage, he withdrew to Rhoeteium.⁸

Notes

1. For the uncertain date of Darius' accession, see **10, no.3**, n.9. Philip's death is generally dated October 336.
2. Memnon was the brother of Mentor of Rhodes, who had participated in the reconquest of Egypt, and received high honours from Artaxerxes III. His sister was married to Artabazus, son of Pharnabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, and Artaxerxes II's daughter, Apame (see **13, no.44**). It is typical of the Graeco-Roman accounts of Alexander's campaign to focus the reader's attention on the Greeks in Persian service (see further, Briant 2003a: 291–300).
3. Located on the southern coast of the Propontis, with two harbours. Memnon's order implies that it was one of the cities that had been taken by the Macedonian army, cf. **10, no.6**.
4. D.S. XVII, 7.4–7 contains a brief excursus on the mountain.
5. Gryneion in Aeolis was one of the cities bestowed on the Gongylid family by Xerxes as a reward for their loyal support (**7, no.82**).
6. Pitane lay a little further north than Gryneion.
7. More correctly, Calas; later commander of Alexander's Thessalian cavalry and satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, see Berve, no.397.
8. Promontory at the mouth of the Hellespont, north of Ilium.

B. The Macedonian invasion: resistance, defeat, surrender

(a) Alexander in Asia Minor (334–333)

8. Persians and Macedonians meet on the Granicus (May 334)

(i) The Persians discuss tactics at Zeleia

Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 12.8.

The Persian commanders were Arsames,¹ Rheomithres,² Petenes and Niphatas,³ and along with them Spithridates, the satrap of Lydia and Ionia,⁴ and Arsites, the hyparch of Hellespontine Phrygia.⁵ They were encamped near the city of Zeleia⁶ with the barbarian cavalry and the Greek mercenaries. They consulted about the situation when Alexander's crossing was reported. Memnon of Rhodes⁷ advised against running any risk against the Macedonians, whose infantry was superior, while Alexander was with them whereas Darius on their side was absent. They should move on, destroy the fodder by getting the cavalry to trample it and burn the crops in the fields, not sparing the cities. Then Alexander, without any provisions, would not stay in the country. But, they say that Arsites declared in the Persian council that he would not tolerate a single house belonging to his people to be burnt; and that the Persians supported Arsites, as they suspected that Memnon was deliberately obstructing the war for the sake of the honour he had from the king.⁸

(ii) Darius' strategy

Justin XI, 6.8–10.⁹

Darius, the Persian king, had confidence in his men and did not want to resort to trickery. He declared to his men that to hide his plans would be to steal a victory. He did not eject the enemies from the borders of his kingdom, but let them enter right into the realm, because he thought it more glorious to repel them in a fight than to prevent them entering. As a result, the first encounter was in the plains of Adraste.¹⁰

(iii) The noble Persians killed at the Granicus

Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 16.3.

Of the Persian commanders there fell Niphatas, Petenes, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia,¹¹ the hyparch of Cappadocia, Mithrobuzanes,¹² Mithridates, Darius' son-in-law,¹³ Arbupales, son of Artaxerxes' son Darius,¹⁴ Pharnaces, brother of Darius' wife,¹⁵ and the commander of the mercenaries, Omares.¹⁶ Arsites¹⁷ fled from the battle into Phrygia,¹⁸ and there he died by his own hand, so the story goes, because he seemed to the Persians to be responsible for the current mistake.¹⁹

Notes

1. Satrap of Cilicia in 334/3 (Q.C. III, 4.3), see Berve, no.149; Bosworth 1980: 111.

2. Possibly involved in the sporadic unrest in the 360s dubbed the 'Great Satrap's Revolt' (D.S. XV, 92.1; cf. **9, Introduction; 13, Introduction**). He may be identical with the father of Phrasaortes,

- who was appointed satrap of Fars in 330 (Arr. *Anab.* III, 18.11), see Berve, no.685; Bosworth 1980: 111.
3. Not otherwise known.
 4. For his coinage, which confirms his position, see BMC, *Ionia*, 327. He may have been the son, as well as successor, of the previous satrap, Rhoesaces (D.S. XVI, 47.1–2; note that Diodorus names a Rhoesaces as Spithridates' brother, D.S. XVII, 20.6), see Bosworth 1980: 111–12. The precise administrative arrangements and divisions relating to Lydia and Ionia remain uncertain. For Strouses/Struthas, satrap of Lydia, acting in Ionia, see **9, nos.44–5**.
 5. I.e. governor; the titles used by classical writers lack any real administrative precision, see Briant 1996a: 481–4 [2002b: 466–9]. Arsites is said by Pausanias (1.29.7) to have defended Perinthus successfully against Philip's attack in 336 (**10, no.6**), during which an Athenian soldier in Persian service lost his life. For the suggestion that Arsites was a member of the long-established Pharnacid dynasty of Hellespontine Phrygia, see Weiskopf 1982: 483.
 6. On the Aesopus river, east of the Granicus.
 7. See **10, no.7**, n.2.
 8. The sensible advice ignored by Persians/Persian kings (often because of petty jealousy of the Greek offering it) is a recurring theme. It plays a role in Herodotus' account of Xerxes' campaign (see, particularly, Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989/2002) and in accounts of Persian operations in Egypt (**9, nos.66; 77**, n.5). It is especially marked in the stories of Darius III's defeat by Alexander (Briant 2003a: 291–300).
 9. The crucial difference of Justin's brief résumé from Diodorus' and Arrian's accounts is his emphasis on the king as the planner and co-ordinator of the strategy. This must surely be correct (Briant 1996a: 842–3 [2002b: 822–3]).
 10. Area around the lower course of the Granicus river.
 11. See above, nn.3 & 4, for these individuals.
 12. See Berve, no.527; Bosworth 1980: 125, for the observation that he was governor of southern Cappadocia.
 13. Berve, no.525. For the story of Mithridates' face-to-face encounter with Alexander in the course of the battle, see Arr. *Anab.* I, 15.7.
 14. I.e. grandson of Artaxerxes II and son of his eldest son, Darius, who was executed, possibly in the 360s (Plut. *Artax.* 26–9, cf. **13, no.31(v)**); see Berve, no.106.
 15. The only named wife of Darius is Stateira, who was his sister. Presumably then Pharnaces was the brother of another unknown royal wife; see further Berve, no.767; Bosworth 1980: 125.
 16. Possibly the name should be read 'Omanes', attested as the name of a Persian commander in an inscription from third-century Smyrna (OGIS, 229, ll.104–5).
 17. See above, n.5.
 18. Perhaps Greater Phrygia, rather than his satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia.
 19. See above, **10, no.8(i)** for the story of his rejection of Memnon's advice to implement a scorched earth policy. D.S. XVII, 21 adds a Persian called Atizyes to the list of the fallen.

9. Sardis surrenders to Alexander

Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 17.3.

He himself (sc. Alexander) marched towards Sardis.¹ When he was still about seventy stadia² away, Mithrenes, the garrison commander of the Sardis citadel, and the Sardian dignitaries³ approached him: they presented him with the city, while Mithrenes gave him the acropolis and the treasury.⁴ Alexander himself camped on the Hermus river (the Hermus is about twenty stadia⁵ distant from Sardis); he sent Amyntas, son of Andromenes,⁶ to Sardis to take over the citadel.⁷ Mithrenes continued with him holding the honours of his rank,⁸ while the people of Sardis and the other Lydians were given the right to follow traditional Lydian customs and permitted to be free.⁹

Notes

1. With the death of Spithridates at the battle on the Granicus, the Lydian satrapy had lost its governor (**10, no.8(iii)**). Alexander had already arranged for Calas to take over the late Arsites' (**10, no.8(iii)**) province of Hellespontine Phrygia, and sent Parmenion to invest its seat of government at Dascylium (Arr. *Anab.* I, 17.1–2).
2. Roughly 13 km, probably defining the boundaries of Sardian civic territory, see Briant 1993a: 22.
3. Gr. *Sardianon hoi dunatotatoi*, who should probably be regarded as the representatives of Sardis' citizen body. For the existence of civic institutions at Sardis, see the arguments of Briant 1993a: 18–23.
4. Alexander's halt on the edge of Sardis' territory and the approach by the commander and citizens suggest very strongly that this was the point at which negotiations for the peaceful surrender of the city took place (Kuhrt 1990a; Briant 1993a: 14–15; **10, nos.27; 29; 40**).
5. A bit under 4 km.
6. One of Alexander's close companions (Gr. *hetairoi*). He first appears in the battle for Thebes in 335, see Arr. *Anab.* 1.8.2; for his subsequent career, see Berve, no.57; Heckel 1992: 176–8.
7. This being strategically the most crucial part of Sardis (cf. **3, no.15**), it needed to be absolutely secure, before Alexander could risk staging a formal entry into the city.
8. This is the first example of Alexander's policy of wooing Persian dignitaries over to his side, essential for consolidating Macedonian control. It is likely that Mithrenes' retention of a position similar to the one he had held in the Persian milieu was one of the stipulations agreed during the negotiations for handing Sardis over. Alexander's handling of Mithrenes would have worked to persuade other Persians in Asia Minor, who stood to lose their lands and rank, to consider making their peace with him (Briant 1993a: 15–17). Note the take-over of Memnon's estate in the Troad immediately after the Sardis surrender (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.8) – a reminder to those siding with the Persians of the risks they ran.
9. This should not be taken to imply that Lydia and Sardis had been deprived of their local laws and customs by the Persians. The statement fits the image projected by Graeco-Roman historians of 'Alexander the Liberator' and the programme already adumbrated for Philip (see **10, no.6**). What it amounted to was a reconfirmation for the inhabitants that they might continue their lives as before which, with the arrival of a new ruler, was not a foregone conclusion. But, probably as part of the pact leading to their peaceful surrender, these rights were newly guaranteed (see Badian 1966: 44–5; Briant 1993a: 19).

10. Miletus sits on the fence (summer 334)

Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 18.3–4.

Next day¹ he took the rest of the infantry, the archers, the Agrianoi,² the Thracian horse, the royal squadron of the Companions³ and three others more and marched against Miletus. Along the way, he took the so-called outer city, abandoned by its guard. There he camped and decided to invest the inner city.⁴ Hegesistratus, to whom the Miletus garrison had been entrusted by the king, had previously sent a letter to Alexander surrendering Miletus. But then he was filled with fresh courage because the Persian army was not far away; so now he planned to save the city for the Persians.⁵

Notes

1. Alexander had been staying in Ephesus (for which, see **10, no.36**), received the surrender of nearby Magnesia and Tralles and sent off Parmenion to reduce further cities.
2. The Agrianoi were Paeonians, from the upper Strymon in Thrace, who constituted a crack regiment in the Macedonian army.
3. One of the élite cavalry corps, recruited from high-ranking Macedonians, which acted as a royal

guard when Alexander fought on horseback, later re-formed into the *agema*. There were eight such squadrons in all (cf. Bosworth 1988: 261; 268). On this occasion, as Arrian goes on to indicate, Alexander was accompanied by the royal Companion cavalry plus three further squadrons.

4. See Bosworth 1980: 136–7 on the position of Miletus on a promontory and Alexander's plan to cut the city off from the mainland by building a wall across the peninsula's neck.
5. The fight for the city was long drawn out and bloody, with the Milesians at one point trying to negotiate for a position of neutrality (Arr. *Anab.* I, 19.1). After the long struggle at Miletus, where the superiority of the Persian navy was plain, Alexander disbanded his own fleet.

11. Resistance at Halicarnassus (late summer 334)

Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 20.2–3; 23.1–5.

He (sc. Alexander) marched towards Caria, when he received the news that a considerable force of barbarians and mercenaries had massed at Halicarnassus. All the cities lying between Miletus and Halicarnassus he captured along his way and camped against Halicarnassus, at a distance of about five stadia,¹ in expectation of a long siege. The nature of the site made it strong and, where any gap in the security appeared, Memnon, who was there himself and had been designated by Darius to the command of Lower Asia and the entire fleet, had made preparations long before. Many soldiers and foreign mercenaries had been left in the city, together with the Persians themselves, and the triremes were guarding the harbour, so that the sailors too provided a good deal of aid to the operations. (. . .)²

The leaders of the Persians, Orontobates³ and Memnon, now met. As things now stood they would not long be able to hold out against the siege. As they could see, some of the wall had collapsed, some of it badly shaken, and many of the soldiers had died in sorties, while others were *hors de combat* because of their wounds. Bearing all this in mind, around the second watch of the night, they burnt the wooden tower, which they had built themselves to counter the enemy's siege-engines, and the magazines, in which their missiles were stored. They also set alight the houses close to the walls, while others caught fire from the magazines and tower, which were ablaze, while the wind carried it in their direction. They themselves withdrew, some to the citadel on the island, others to the height called Salmacis.⁴ When Alexander got the news from some deserters in this action and saw the fire for himself, he led out the Macedonians even though this was happening around midnight. He killed those who were setting fire to the city, but ordered all the Halicarnassians taken in the houses to be spared.

Dawn was already breaking and he observed the citadels which the Persians and mercenaries had taken. He decided not to besiege them, because he thought there would be much delay round them, given the nature of the site, nor would it be of much advantage as he had captured the whole city.⁵

Notes

1. Nearly 1 km.
2. There follows a long description of Alexander's efforts to take Halicarnassus in the face of determined resistance (Arr. *Anab.* I, 20.4–22), including a failed attempt to take advantage of an offer to betray nearby Myndus.
3. Orontobates was, according to Strabo XIV, 2.17, a Persian, who had been called in by the Carian satrap, Pixodarus (341/0–336/5), to 'share in the government' of the province. Orontobates married (then or earlier?) Ada (II), the daughter of Pixodarus, and a Cappadocian woman called

Aphneis. Arrian (*Anab.* I, 23.8) diverges to the extent of having Orontobates take over control of Caria only on Pixodarus' death. There were struggles for control within the Hecatomnid family, of which Alexander tried to take advantage by appointing Ada (I), Pixodarus' sister and widow of the earlier governor, Idrieus (351/0–344/3, **9, no.75**, n.11). At what point he did this is unclear. According to D.S. XVII, 23.2, it happened before the Halicarnassus siege and led to many cities offering him help, while Arr. *Anab.* I, 23.8 places Alexander's move after his partial success at Halicarnassus (see further Hornblower 1982: 49 & fig.1). Whenever Ada (I) was appointed, the important point to note is that she did not immediately displace Orontobates, who held Halicarnassus certainly until autumn 333 (**10, no.13**).

4. Salmacis lay at the western end of the fortifications, see further Bosworth 1980: 151. According to D.S. XVII, 27.5, the forces and stores were evacuated to Cos.
5. Alexander now moved off on a tough winter campaign to Lycia and Pamphylia. From there he advanced into Greater Phrygia (spring 333), and thence down to Cilicia (May–June 333). The Persians still held Halicarnassus after the Battle of Issus (November 333).

12. The Persian counteroffensive in the Aegean (spring–summer 334)

Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 1.1–2.3.

Following this¹ Memnon, who had been installed as commander of the whole navy and entire coast by King Darius, tried to turn the war back into Macedon and Greece.² He took Chios, which was handed over by treachery; from there he sailed to Lesbos and, though Mytilene did not come over to him, he won over the other cities of Lesbos. Once these were supporting him, he put in at Mytilene, walled off the city from sea to sea with a double palisade, constructed five camps and gained control of the territory without difficulty. With part of the fleet guarding its harbour, others were sent to the promontory of Lesbos at Sigrium, the point where cargo boats from Chios, Geraestus and Malea³ put in, to guard the sea route and so helped to reach the Mytileneans by sea. While he was doing this, Memnon became ill and died; and this, above all, really hurt the king's cause at the time.⁴ But Autophradates⁵ and Pharnabazus, son of Artabazus and Memnon's nephew,⁶ to whom Memnon had turned over his command on his death subject to Darius' decision about it, continued the siege with vigour. As the Mytileneans were excluded from the land and guarded from the sea by the large number of anchored ships, they sent to Pharnabazus and made an agreement to send away the mercenaries, which had come from Alexander as part of their alliance, destroy the stelae which bore the agreement with Alexander,⁷ and be allies of Darius in accordance with the Peace of Antalcidas⁸ with King <Artaxerxes>;⁹ and the exiles were to return with half the property they had when they were exiled. The agreement was reached on these terms between the Mytileneans and the Persians. However, once Pharnabazus and Autophradates had entered the city, they installed a garrison and the Rhodian Lycomedes as its commander, and set up Diogenes, one of the exiles, as tyrant over the city. They also collected money, taking it by force, from the wealthy Mytileneans and imposed a levy on the community.

Once this had been achieved, Pharnabazus and the foreign mercenaries sailed to Lycia, while Autophradates went to the other islands. At this point, Darius despatched Mentor's son, Thymondas,¹⁰ to take over the mercenaries from Pharnabazus himself and conduct them up to the king, and order Pharnabazus to take command of those who had been under Memnon. Pharnabazus handed over the mercenaries to him and sailed off to Autophradates and the fleet. Once they had joined forces, they sent ten ships to the Cycladic islands led by Datames, a Persian,¹¹ while they sailed with a hundred ships to Tenedos.¹² They came into

harbour at the so-called Northern Port,¹³ and sent to the inhabitants ordering them to destroy the stelae recording their agreement with Alexander and the Greeks, and abide by the peace agreement of Antalcidas made with <Artaxerxes>.¹⁴ The people of Tenedos were inclined to prefer Alexander and the Greeks, but in the present circumstances there seemed no way of saving themselves except to join the Persians. Hegelochus, who had been ordered by Alexander to reassemble a navy,¹⁵ had not yet assembled one large enough to make them think they might soon receive help from him. Like this then, through compulsion rather than willingly, Pharnabazus won over Tenedos.¹⁶

Notes

1. I.e. Alexander's rejection of an Athenian embassy's request to release the Athenian prisoners, who had been fighting on the Persian side at Granicus and were sent to Macedon in chains (Arr. *Anab.* I, 29.5–6).
2. According to D.S. XVII, 18.2, this action had already been advocated by Memnon at the council of Zeleia, preceding the Granicus engagement. On the problems of accepting the reality of such a strategy, see Briant 1996a: 846 [2002b: 826].
3. Cape Geraestus was in southern Euboea (cf. **9, no.35**, n.6); Cythera, off Cape Malea in the southern Peloponnese, was the stopping place for trading ships en route from Egypt and Libya. See Bosworth 1980: 180 for the progress of cargo boats from cape to cape.
4. This is part of the recurrent motif that the Persian king depended on Greeks for any effective resistance to Alexander. In fact, Arrian's next sentence shows that the strategy of trying to retake the cities captured by Alexander continued smoothly and was not exclusively dependent on Memnon (see Briant 1996a: 846–7 [2002b: 826–7]).
5. His family and earlier career are not known (cf. Berve, no.188; Bosworth 1980: 181).
6. See **10, no.7**, n.2; **13, no.44**.
7. For the importance of inscribing treaties on stelae as an act of validation, see Thomas 1992: 84–5. The practice was not limited to the Greek world, see, for example: the mid-eighth-century Aramaic treaty, found at Sfire in north Syria, inscribed on stelae (KAI, Nr.222–4), and the agreements of Babylonian civic rights, which also appear to have been inscribed (Kuhrt 1995a: 614); note also Seidl 2000: 90–4.
8. 387/6, see **9, no.47**.
9. The manuscript has Darius, which is thought either to be a gloss or a mistake by Arrian for Artaxerxes (II).
10. Mentor was Memnon's brother, see **9, no.75**; **13, no.44**; for Thymondas, who later commanded a mercenary wing at Issus, see Berve, no.380.
11. Not known otherwise (Berve, no.245), although it has been suggested that he was related to the Datames, whose career in central Asia Minor forms the subject of Nepos' biography (**13, no.36**).
12. Island lying off the north-western coast of Turkey.
13. Not the main city of Tenedos, which was located in the south-east.
14. See above, n.9.
15. See **10, no.10**, n.5, for Alexander's disbandment of his navy. For Hegelochus, son of Hippostratus, who was also one of his cavalry commanders, see Berve, no.341; Heckel 1992: 6–12.
16. An inconclusive Macedonian attack on Datames at Siphnos rounds off Arrian's account (II, 2.4–5).

13. A setback for the Persians in Caria (spring 333)

Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 5.7.

There (sc. Soli in Cilicia)¹ he learnt that Ptolemaeus² and Asander³ had defeated Orontobates the Persian,⁴ who had been defending the Halicarnassus citadel and controlled Myndus,

Caunus, Thera and Callipolis;⁵ and he had taken Cos and Triopium.⁶ They wrote that they had defeated him in a great battle; of those with him, about seven hundred infantry and fifty cavalry had fallen, and no fewer than a thousand prisoners had been taken.⁷

Notes

1. Arrian has been describing Alexander's entry into, and reduction of, Cilicia.
2. See Berve, no.674. He had been left in charge of pursuing the war in Caria, particularly against Halicarnassus (Arr. *Anab.* I, 23.6, cf. **10, no.11**).
3. Asander (Berve, no.165) had been declared governor of Lydia after the battle on the Granicus (Arr. *Anab.* I, 17.7).
4. See **10, no.11**, n.3.
5. Myndus lay on the west coast of the Halicarnassus promontory, Caunus on the south coast of Caria. The locations of Thera (not the island) and Callipolis are uncertain (see Bosworth 1980: 196).
6. The island of Cos, opposite the Halicarnassus peninsula, remained in Persian hands for some time, as did Halicarnassus itself (cf. **10, no.14**). Triopium lay close to Cnidus on the promontory south of Halicarnassus.
7. But note that Halicarnassus was either still holding out or quickly recaptured, see **10, no.14**.

14. Sparta supports the Persian commanders (summer–November 333)

Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 13.4–6.

Pharnabazus and Autophradates had been waiting at Chios.¹ They installed a garrison on Chios, then sent some of the ships to Cos and Halicarnassus, while they themselves set sail with a hundred of the best ships and reached Siphnos. Agis, the Spartan king,² met them with one trireme, to ask for money for the war, and the despatch of as many ships and soldiers as possible to the Peloponnese. In the middle of this, the news of the Battle of Issus³ reached them. They were thunderstruck by the news and Pharnabazus set off with twelve triremes and fifteen hundred of his mercenaries to Chios; he feared that the Chians might rebel when they heard the news of the defeat. Agis received thirty silver talents⁴ and ten triremes from Autophradates, with which he sent Hippas to his brother Agesilaus⁵ at Taenarum.⁶ He ordered him to tell Agesilaus to give the sailors their fee in full and sail as rapidly as possible to Crete to settle matters there.⁷ Agis himself at this point stayed there (sc. Siphnos) among the islands; later he joined Autophradates at Halicarnassus.

Notes

1. See **10, no.12** for its recapture by the Persians in the spring of 334.
2. For Agis III of Sparta (Berve, no.15) and the threat his anti-Macedonian moves posed for Alexander until his death in a set battle at Megalopolis fighting the Macedonian commander, Antipater, in October 331, see Badian 1967; Briant 2002a: 48–50. The Spartans had refused to endorse Philip II as commander of the Corinthian League and his war on Persia in 337, see **10, no.6**, n.1.
3. The battle was fought in November 333, in southern Cilicia, resulting in Darius III falling back on Babylon and the capture of his family.
4. Approximately 900 kg.
5. Nothing else is known of either person.
6. Rocky promontory at the southern end of the Taygetus range, the highest mountains in the Peloponnese, separating Messenia from Laconia.

7. This action paved the way for Agis' military action on Crete, trying to ensure solid support there for the Persians; see D.S. XVII, 48.2; Badian 1967; Bosworth 1980: 224.

(b) The aftermath of the defeat at Issus (winter 333/2–spring 331)

15. The Persian retreat after Issus (November 333)

Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 13.1.

Darius fled by night with a few in his retinue, but during the day he kept picking up the Persians who had survived the battle as well as the foreign mercenaries. With a total of about four thousand, he marched with all speed towards the city of Thapsacus¹ and the Euphrates river, to put it between himself and Alexander as fast as possible.

Note

1. The most important crossing point on the Euphrates (see further **15, no.8(ii)**). Its precise location remains the subject of much disagreement; see Gawlikowski 1996, who lays out the evidence, and argues for an identification with Seleucid Zeugma.

16. Amyntas in Egypt (winter 333–332)

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 48.2–4.¹

The Amyntas² who had fled from Macedon and gone up to Darius had fought on the side of the Persians in Cilicia. He escaped from the battle at Issus with four thousand mercenaries and reached Phoenician Tripolis³ before Alexander's arrival. He picked a number of ships from the whole fleet sufficient for transporting his soldiers and burnt the remainder. He sailed across to Cyprus, where he added more soldiers and ships and sailed on to Pelusium.⁴ He seized the town and declared that he had been sent by King Darius as general, because the satrap in charge of Egypt had fallen fighting at Issus in Cilicia.⁵ He sailed up to Memphis and, at first, defeated the locals drawn up to face him before the city. But after that, when the soldiers took to looting, they charged out of the city, attacked the men scattered about looting estates in the countryside and annihilated Amyntas and all those with him.

Notes

1. A shorter version of this episode is given in Arr. *Anab.* II, 13.2–3; see also Q.C. IV, 1.27–33; cf. Briant 1996a: 848–9 [2002b: 828–9].
2. See **10, no.6**, n.2.
3. See **9, no.75**, n.4.
4. Town in the Eastern Delta, on the 'Pelusiatic branch' of the Nile, terminal point of the overland route from Palestine to Egypt; see **4, no.8** & n.1; **fig.15.4**.
5. Q.C. III, 11.10 lists Sabaces, satrap of Egypt, among the fallen of Issus (**fig.10.2**). Arr. *Anab.* III, 1.2 names Mazaces as Persian satrap of Egypt, which indicates that Darius had acted swiftly to fill the important post left vacant by Sabaces' death.



Figure 10.1 Roman mosaic from the 'House of the Faun', Pompeii, Naples Archaeological Museum, showing Darius III and Alexander of Macedon in battle, thought to be based on a hellenistic-period painting. It is unknown whether it represents the battles of Issus or Gaugamela. Or does it simply show, emblematically, the heroic confrontation of the bare-headed young hero felling Persian soldiers, at the feet of their despairing king? For detailed discussion of the complex image and its history, see Cohen 1997; Briant 2003a: 226–47. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

17. Damascus betrayed (winter 333/2)

Quintus Curtius Rufus III, 12.27–13.4; 13.17.

(Alexander) made for Syria, sending Parmenion¹ ahead to Damascus where the king's treasure was.² Parmenion had discovered that one of Darius' satraps had gone ahead, and was afraid that his small numbers would be viewed with contempt by the enemy, so he decided to send for reinforcements. But it turned out that the scout sent ahead by him came upon a Mardian.³ When he was brought to Parmenion, he handed him a letter sent to Alexander by the governor of Damascus. The Mardian added that the governor now had no reservations about handing over all the king's property along with his money. Parmenion ordered the man to be held and opened the letter. In it Alexander was told to send one of his generals quickly with a small force, so that the governor could surrender to him everything the king had left in his keeping. Parmenion, therefore, gave the Mardian an escort and sent him back to the traitor, but the man escaped his guards and entered Damascus before dawn. (. . .)⁴

But the man (sc. the governor of Damascus) who betrayed his huge fortune was quickly visited by the avenging gods with a well-deserved punishment. One of his confidants – I



Figure 10.2 Obverse and reverse of coin of Sabaces, satrap of Egypt, killed at Issus (**10, no.16**, n.5). (Cabinet de Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

presume out of respect for the king's position, even in these sad circumstances – murdered the traitor and took his head to Darius, providing him with a timely consolation for his betrayal: for now he both had taken revenge on an enemy and was also aware that the memory of his former majesty had not vanished from the minds of his subjects.

Notes

1. See **10, no.6**, n.2.
2. Cf. Q.C. III, 8.12 for the deposition of money at Damascus before Issus. As emerges later, large numbers of Persians – families of Persian commanders and members of the royal retinue – and essential resources were also stored here (see **12, no.43**). Damascus was, almost certainly, the main satrapal centre of the province Beyond-the-River.
3. The Mardians, according to Herodotus, were a pastoralist Persian tribe, see **3, no.5**.
4. Q.C. III, 13.4–16 contains the account of the taking of Damascus and its massive treasures, human, animal and material.

18. Macedonian successes in Phoenicia (winter 333/2)

Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 13.7–8; 15.6.

Alexander appointed as satrap of Coele Syria¹ Menon of Cerdimmas² and gave him the allied cavalry to defend the country, while he himself moved on to Phoenicia. Along his route Straton, the son of Gerostratus,³ king of the Aradians⁴ and nearby inhabitants, met him. Gerostratus himself was at sea with Autophradates, along with the other Phoenician and Cypriot rulers.⁵ When Straton met Alexander, he crowned him with a gold crown and surrendered to him the island of Aradus and Marathus,⁶ a large and wealthy city located opposite Aradus on the mainland, as well as Sigon and the city of Mariamme,⁷ and all the other places under his control.⁸ (. . .)⁹

He (sc. Alexander) set out from Marathus and received the surrender of Byblos and Sidon. The Sidonians called him in themselves because they detested the Persians and Darius.¹⁰ From there he advanced to Tyre. En route, Tyrian envoys sent by the community met him to say that they had decided to obey Alexander's orders.¹¹ Alexander praised the city and the envoys (for they were Tyrian notables as well as the son of the Tyrian king; the king himself, Azemilcus,¹² was at sea with Autophradates), and commanded them to return and tell the Tyrians that he wished to come to the city and sacrifice to Heracles.¹³

Notes

1. Lit. 'Hollow Syria'. Bosworth 1974 (cf. 1980: 224–5) puts forward a persuasive case arguing that Arrian pictures the divisions of the Levant in terms current in the second century AD, when Coele Syria denoted north Syria, and Palestine the region south and east of Phoenicia. Quintus Curtius, however, uses the terminology of the earlier hellenistic period, when Coele Syria defined the whole coast from Egypt to Phoenicia (= Arrian's Palestine), as also does Diodorus, who based himself on the early third-century writer Hieronymus of Cardia. In this passage, then, Coele Syria means north (or upper) Syria.
2. Menon (Berve, no.514) does not reappear in the Alexander histories, although he may be identical with the Memnon of Quintus Curtius (IV, 8.9–11), who replaced Andromachus in the southern Levant in 331 on the latter's death (see **10, no.25**).
3. It is unknown what precisely Straton's (Phoen. 'BD'STRT') powers were in the absence of his father, GR'STRT. The latter's coinage, struck between 339/8 and 332, is well attested (Betlyon 1980: 91–2; nn.106–7; pl.7).

4. Phoenician Arwad was located on an island to the north of Byblos, but dominated part of the neighbouring mainland, see *Dictionnaire*, s.v.; Elayi 1982: 86–91; Markoe 2000: 205–6.
5. For the Persian naval operations in the Aegean and along the coast of Asia Minor, see **10, nos.12; 14**.
6. The Phoenician city of Amrit (Marathus) actually lies some way to the south, not immediately opposite Arwad. It flourished particularly in the Persian period, see *Dictionnaire*, s.v.; Markoe 2000: 206; Nunn 2000: 507; 511.
7. Sigon is not otherwise known, while Mariamme lay inland (see Elayi 1982: 88–9).
8. For the process of formal surrender of cities, cf. **10, nos.9; 27; 29; 40**.
9. Arr. *Anab.* II, 14–15.5 describes an almost certainly spurious correspondence between Darius III and Alexander, the taking of Damascus (very compressed indeed) and Alexander's treatment of Greek envoys to Darius captured at Issus.
10. The realities of this are hard to judge, but the sentiment attributed to Sidon could well be related to its revolt in the reign of Artaxerxes III (**9, nos.75–6**). According to Q.C. IV, 1.16–26 and D.S. XVII, 47.1 (confusing Tyre with Sidon), the Sidonian king Straton II (or III?) was deposed and a new one, Abdalonymus (Phoen. 'BD' LNM), selected by Alexander's friend, Hephaestion, installed (see further, Bosworth 2003: 181–6). The story of the new king's elevation shares motifs with other tales of an unexpected rise to power (see Henkelman 2000/2006). On the complex problem of the Straton II(I) coinage, see Betlyon 1980: 20–2; note that his coins show the Persian king on the reverse, suggesting Sidon's loyalty to the Achaemenid régime, at least at the official level, which fits Quintus Curtius' statement that Straton was Darius' friend, and his surrender to Alexander forced upon him by the citizens. For discussion of Sidon's political institutions, see Bondi 1974; for its history in the Achaemenid period, Elayi 1989; for the archaeology, Markoe 2000: 199–201; for building remains of the Persian period, Nunn 2000.
11. For rejection of the idea that this shows Tyre had civic institutions, see Bondi 1974: 158–60; see Markoe 2000: 195–8 for the archaeology of the site.
12. Phoen. 'ZMLK; the Tyrian coins indicate that he reigned c.347–332 (Betlyon 1980: 58–9). See **10, nos.12; 14**, for the Persian naval operations.
13. Melqart of Tyre was one of the most important Phoenician deities, cf. *Dictionnaire*, s.v. (cf. fig.223, for an eighth-century representation of the god); Bonnet 1988. He was identified with the Greek god Heracles (see already Hdt. II, 44), from whom the Macedonian royal house claimed descent. For this episode which, in the view of the Alexander historians, sparked the resistance of Tyre followed by its long and disastrous siege, see Bosworth 1980: 235–8 (for a divergent version of Tyre's motives, see **10, no.19**).

19. The reduction of Tyre (spring–summer 332)

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 40.2–3; 46.3–4.

But when the king (sc. Alexander) wanted to sacrifice to the Tyrian Heracles,¹ the Tyrians very rashly prevented him entering the city. Alexander became extremely angry and threatened the city with a terrible war. But the Tyrians stood their ground cheerfully in the face of the siege, because they wanted to please Darius and maintain their friendly relations with him. They also thought that they would receive great gifts from the king² in return for such a good deed. They would involve Alexander in a lengthy and dangerous siege, thus giving Darius time for his preparations. At the same time they had confidence in the great strength of the island³ and the forces deployed in it, as well as their colonists, the Carthaginians.⁴ (. . .)⁵

The Tyrians kept up their resistance⁶ and cried out to each other encouragingly; they blocked the narrow alleys and all except a few were cut down fighting – more than seven thousand. The king (sc. Alexander) sold the children and women into slavery, and all the young men (no fewer than two thousand) he crucified.⁷



Figure 10.3 Neo-Assyrian depiction of the island city of Tyre, embossed on the bronze bands decorating the doors of the temple at Balawat, near Nimrud. British Museum, reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Notes

1. See **10, no.18**, n.13.
2. For the system of royal gift-giving, see particularly **13, nos.18–25**.
3. Tyre was located off the Levantine shore (see **fig.10.3**) and so difficult to take, as shown by the complex tactics (including the building of the famous mole) needed to bring it down.
4. According to Q.C. IV, 3.19, the Carthaginians failed to send help.
5. D.S. XVII, 40.4–46.3 describes the siege of Tyre and the eventual Macedonian penetration of the city in epic detail; cf. Arr. *Anab.* II, 18–24; Q.C. IV, 2–4.
6. The siege is said to have lasted six months.
7. But note that Tyre's ruler, 'Azzimilk, is attested as reigning from 347/6 to 309/8 and there is no indication of any major destruction or economic disruption, see Lemaire 2006.

20. Persian counterattacks and setbacks in Asia Minor and the Aegean (end 333 to early summer 332)

(i) Persian commanders regroup

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 48.5–6.

Like him (sc. Amyntas),¹ some of the other commanders and generals escaped from the battle at Issus with their troops and maintained Persian hopes. Some reached important cities and held them for Darius, others levied the local people, thus equipping themselves with a force and did what needed doing as appropriate.²

(ii) The Persians fight back in northern Asia Minor

Quintus Curtius Rufus IV, 1.34–5.

The generals of Darius, who had survived the battle of Issus, were now trying to recapture Lydia, together with all the troops who had followed them as well as some young Cappadocians and Paphlagonians levied for the purpose. Alexander's general, Antigonos, was in command of Lydia.³ Although he had sent off to the king most of the garrison soldiers, he still showed his contempt for the barbarians by taking the field with his men. In that arena, too, the fortune of the two sides remained unchanged – the Persians were defeated in three battles in various places.

(iii) Alexander's commanders begin to wrest back control of the situation

Quintus Curtius Rufus IV, 5.13–14.

Meanwhile⁴ Alexander's outstanding commanders who served as his generals had also made inroads in several districts. Calas⁵ marched into Paphlagonia and Antigonus into Lycaonia;⁶ Balacrus⁷ defeated Darius' general Idarnes⁸ and recaptured Miletus⁹ while Amphoterus¹⁰ and Hegelochus¹¹ with a one hundred and sixty-strong fleet brought the islands between Achaea and Asia under Alexander's control.¹²

Notes

1. See **10, no.16**.
2. This conscription of satrapal forces is, almost certainly, to be linked to the issuing of coins in the names of Mithropastes (possibly the son of Arsites, see **10, no.8** & n.5), Orontobates (the defeated Carian satrap(?), see **10, nos.11** & n.3; **13**) and Hydarnes (perhaps the son of Mazaeus, see **10, nos.26** & n.9; **40**) at Sinope (Pontic coast, Paphlagonia) with Aramaic legends, see C. Harrison 1982; Briant 1996a: 851; 1,069–70 [2002b: 831; 1,043–4], the latter also pointing out that Ariarathes of Cappadocia's coinage from Sinope could fit into this context. Note the next passage (**10, no.20(ii)**), where specific reference is made to Cappadocian and Paphlagonian recruits. The mobilisation can only have been possible if these commanders were acting on Darius' instructions.
3. Antigonus the One-eyed (Monophthalmos) had been put in command of Greater Phrygia (not Lydia) early in 333, ap. Arr. *Anab.* I, 29.3. He played an enormously important role in the period after Alexander's death until killed on the battlefield of Ipsus in 301; see Berve, no.87; Heckel 1992: 50–6.
4. This is connected by the writer to Alexander's move down to Gaza, and dated close to the Isthmian Games of June–July 332.
5. Macedonian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **10, no.7** & n.7.
6. Cf. the previous passage and above, n.3. Lycaonia lay to the south of Greater Phrygia.
7. Probably to be identified with the newly appointed Macedonian governor of Cilicia (Arr. *Anab.* II, 12.2; Heckel 1992: 260–1).
8. I.e. Hydarnes, see above, n.2.
9. For the only partially resolved situation of Miletus, see **10, no.10**.
10. Brother of Craterus (see **10, no.22**, n.5).
11. See **10, no.12** & n.15, for his orders to rebuild the Macedonian navy in the Aegean.
12. Quintus Curtius continues describing the capture of Tenedos (cf. **10, no.12**) and the Macedonians exploiting factionalism in Chios to bring the island under their control. Note that the Macedonian success was less than total at this point: Cappadocian contingents formed part of Darius' army at Gaugamela (Arr. *Anab.* III, 8.), suggesting that the Persian king could still conscript soldiers there (note also the presence of Armenians); Agis of Sparta continued to fight Macedon in European Greece, and only died over one year later (**10, no.14** & n.2); the final reduction of Persian-controlled points in the Aegean and along the coast was only achieved at the very end of 332 (Arr. *Anab.* III, 2.3–7).

2.1. Persian naval contingents join Alexander (spring 332)

Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 20.1–3.

At this time,¹ Gerostratus, king of Aradus,² and Enylus of Byblos³ heard that their cities were in Alexander's hands. So they left Autophradates and his fleet⁴ and joined Alexander with their own ships, as well as the Sidonian triremes;⁵ like that, about eighty Phoenician ships came over to him. In this same period, there also came the so-called patrolship⁶ along with another nine triremes from Rhodes, as well as three from Soli and Mallus and ten from Lycia,⁷ and a penteconter from Macedon, sailing under the command of Proteas son of

Andronicus.⁸ A little while later, the kings of Cyprus with about one hundred and twenty ships also put in at Sidon; they had heard of Darius' defeat at Issus and were afraid with all Phoenicia already in Alexander's hands.⁹

Notes

1. During the siege of Tyre, while the mole was being built.
2. See **10, no.18** & nn.3–4.
3. For the surrender of Byblos, see **10, no.18**; for the coinage of Enylus (Phoen. 'YYN'L), his possible dates and the continued use of a Persian motif on the reverse of his coins, see Betlyon 1980: 120–2; Bellinger 1963: 54–5; for Persian period Byblos, see Elayi 1982: 92–3.
4. I.e. in the Aegean, see **10, nos.12; 14; 20**.
5. Arr. *Anab.* II, 19.6 reports Alexander going to collect triremes at Sidon, as his lack of a navy was hindering his attempt to take Tyre.
6. Gr. *peripolos*, thought to be a kind of stateship, cf. Bosworth 1980: 243.
7. This indicates the abandonment of the Persian cause by several of the important naval bases along the southern Asia Minor coast.
8. Proteas (Berve, no.664) was a commander in the Macedonian attempts to fight off the Persian counteroffensive in the Aegean, see **10, no.12** & n.16.
9. Although Tyre with its king was, of course, putting up a vigorous resistance (**10, no.19**). Note, too, the obstruction to the timber supply by the inhabitants of the Lebanon mountains (**10, no.22**).

22. Local people obstruct Alexander's attack on Tyre (late April 332?)¹

Quintus Curtius Rufus IV, 2.24–3.1.

The Tyrians, for their part, landed their boats on the coast well out of sight of the enemy, put ashore soldiers and cut down the Macedonians who were carrying the rocks.² On Mount Lebanon, too, Arab peasants attacked the Macedonians, killing about thirty and taking a smaller number prisoner.³ This incident made it necessary for Alexander to split his forces. So that it would not look as though he were wasting his time in the siege of a single city, he handed the matter over to Perdikkas⁴ and Craterus,⁵ while he himself headed towards Arabia⁶ with a detachment of light-armed soldiers.⁷

Notes

1. The date is uncertain, cf. Bosworth 1980: 244; Arrian (*Anab.* II, 20.4–5) simply notes the incident, offering nothing as to the reasons or problems.
2. This was to counter Alexander's attempt to continue constructing the mole linking Tyre to the coast.
3. The Macedonians were there to fell trees for the timber needed for the mole.
4. Perdikkas son of Orontes (Berve, no.627; Heckel 1992: 134–63) was a member of Alexander's high command, who briefly took over control on the latter's death, before being murdered in Egypt in 321.
5. Craterus son of Alexander (Berve, no.446; Heckel 1992: 107–33), another prominent member of Alexander's high command, was killed in 320 during the protracted power struggles after Alexander's death.
6. 'Arabia' and 'Arabs' is used loosely in ancient texts, cf. Eph'al 1982: 5–12; 192–214; note also the acute observations of Millar (1993: 511–15) on the problems posed by this nomenclature. Here it describes the non-urban, rural interior of the Beqaa valley and its inhabitants.
7. Nothing more is said about this campaign, except that on Alexander's return the mole at Tyre had collapsed (Q.C. IV, 3.7). For a romantic anecdote associated with this episode, concerning Alexander's tutor, Lysimachus, see Plut. *Alex.* 24.10–14.

23. Gaza refuses to surrender and is taken by force (late summer 332)

Arrian, *Anabasis* II, 25.4–26.1; 27.7.

Alexander decided to make his expedition to Egypt. The rest of what is called Palestinian Syria¹ had already come over to him, but a certain eunuch, called Batis,² the governor of Gaza,³ did not surrender to Alexander. He enlisted Arab mercenaries⁴ and had been stocking up grain for a long time in order to withstand a lengthy siege.⁵ He was confident that the place could not be taken by force and so decided not to receive Alexander into the city.

Gaza is about twenty stadia distant from the sea,⁶ and the way up to it is deep sand,⁷ with the sea near the city full of shallows. Gaza was a large city, built on a high mound and the wall surrounding it strong. It was the last settlement on the route to Egypt from Phoenicia, lying on the edge of the desert.⁸ (. . .)⁹

Once some of the Macedonians had got inside the walls, they tore down gate after gate, as they encountered each one, and so admitted the entire army. Even when their city was already in the enemy's hands, the people of Gaza held together and continued to fight – and all perished, each at his post fighting. Alexander sold their women and children into slavery, settled the city with people living in the vicinity and used it as a stronghold for the war.¹⁰

Notes

1. For the divisions and terminology used by Arrian, see **10, no.18**, n.1.
2. Only Arrian dubs Batis a eunuch (Berve, no.209); ap. Q.C. IV, 6.7, he was city governor, while Josephus (giving him a different name) calls him 'garrison commander'; see further Bosworth 1980: 257–8.
3. For the importance of Gaza as a crucial centre in the lucrative incense trade with south Arabia, from the ninth century to the hellenistic period, and the symbiosis of nomad ('Arab') and settled populations in the region, see Briant 1982a: 156–9; 164–5; 174–6. For its position as the 'gateway' to Egypt (well attested since the Late Bronze Age), see Graf 1994: 184; 1998.
4. For Gaza's links with 'Arabs', see above n.3. For Arabs in the Persian armies, see **11, no.25** (69).
5. This, together with Quintus Curtius' description of Batis as 'a man outstandingly loyal to his king' (IV, 6.7), implies that Batis was obeying Darius' orders.
6. I.e. just under 4 km. For the location of ancient Gaza under the modern city and the problematical excavations by Petrie, see OEANE, s.v. 'Ajjul, Tell el-.
7. The sand dunes are still a feature of the region.
8. See above, n.3.
9. Arr. *Anab.* II, 26.2–6 contains the account of Gaza's capture, including the fact that Alexander sustained a wound, cf. Q.C. IV, 8–24, for further dramatic detail. The siege, ap. D.S. XVII, 48.7, lasted two months.
10. Q.C. IV, 6.26–9 adds the story of Alexander, so enraged at Batis' refusal to bow to him even after defeat, that he had him dragged, still alive and tied by his feet to a chariot, round the city, thus emulating Achilles' treatment of Hector. For the many Homeric overtones and motifs in the Alexander writers, see Briant 2003a.

24. The fall of Egypt (late 332 to spring 331)

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 1.1–2.

Alexander set off for Egypt, his initial goal; on the seventh day after leaving Gaza he reached Pelusium in Egypt.¹ His fleet sailed alongside him from Phoenicia to Egypt, and the ships anchored at Pelusium. When the Persian Mazaces, who was the satrap of Egypt appointed by Darius,² discovered how the Battle at Issus had gone, that Darius had taken to despicable

flight and that Phoenicia, Syria and most of Arabia were in Alexander's hands, he offered Alexander a friendly welcome into the cities and the country.³

Notes

1. For the logistics of crossing the Sinai desert, see Eph'al 1982: 138–42; note that Napoleon's army in 1799 took eight days (Eph'al 1982: 140, n.491). Unfortunately, none of the Alexander writers describes the crossing in any detail; for the crucial reliance on Arab expertise by Cambyses, see **4, no.7(ii)**; for Pelusium, see **10, no.16**, n.4.
2. After the death of Sabaces at Issus (**10, no.16**, n.5).
3. The easy conquest of Egypt is puzzling. Explanations for it are sought in: (a) its reconquest by the Persians only ten to eleven years earlier (**9, no.77**, although Artaxerxes III's reportedly brutal treatment of the country on that occasion cannot be accepted uncritically, see **9, Introduction**); (b) the unrest (at some time around the reconquest or soon after?) indicated by the reign of Khababash (**9, no.77**, n.9; Burstein 2000); (c) Mazaces' now-isolated position with perhaps only limited manpower at his disposal, as indicated by this passage; cf. Briant (1996a: 864–5 [2002b: 844–5]), who suggests that Mazaces' coinage could hint at a need to levy mercenaries. Nothing more is heard of his subsequent fate. For Alexander's arrangements for governing Egypt, see Bosworth 1980: 275–8; Burstein 2000: 153–4. Note the relatively humble role assigned to two Egyptians, one of whom in any case declined his appointment, Arr. *Anab.* III, 5.2.

25. Revolt in Samaria (spring 331)

Quintus Curtius Rufus IV, 8.9–11.

This grief¹ was further deepened by news of the death of Andromachus, whom he (sc. Alexander) had put in charge of Syria² – the people of Samaria had burned him alive. Alexander marched with all possible speed to avenge his murder, and on his arrival the perpetrators of the dreadful crime were surrendered to him. He appointed Memnon³ to replace Andromachus, executed the murderers of the former governor, and handed over to their own subjects a number of local rulers, including Aristonicus and Ersilaus of Methymna,⁴ whom they tortured and put to death for their crimes.⁵

Notes

1. Q.C. IV, 8.7–9 recounts the death by drowning of Parmenion's son, Hector.
2. Berve, no.76, cf. Bosworth 1980: 225; **10, no.18**, n.2.
3. Possibly identical with the commander of northern Syria, see **10, no.18**, n.2.
4. Aristonicus was the tyrant of Methymna, handed over earlier by his political opponents to the Macedonians (Q.C. IV, 5.19–21); Ersilaus (Eurysilaus) was the ruler of Eresus on Lesbos, who was probably captured at the same time, during the continuous fighting between Persians and Macedonians in the Aegean (see **10, nos.12; 14; 20(iii)**).
5. Alexander seems to have made use of this crisis to make some public gestures intended to gratify various Greek factions whose support he badly needed. This was especially necessary in view of Agis of Sparta's continued threats to Macedonian control of the Greek cities and Crete, while simultaneously there were serious upheavals in Thrace (D.S. XVII, 62–3; Q.C. IV, 8.12–13, 15). The situation was not resolved until Agis' death at Megalopolis in autumn 331. Note that Alexander also used this occasion to ensure the continued loyalty of the Cypriot rulers and their help in the struggle for Greece. They had come over to the Macedonian side only one year previously (Q.C. IV, 8.14; Arr. *Anab.* III, 6.3; **10, no.21**).

(c) Gaugamela and its consequences**26. Darius' military preparations (late 332–May 330)**

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 53; 55.1–2.

By the time Darius heard of his (sc. Alexander's) arrival, he had gathered an army from all over and everything needed for battle was prepared. He had made swords and lances much longer than the earlier ones, because it was thought that this had given Alexander his advantage in the battle in Cilicia.¹ He had also prepared two hundred chariots equipped with scythes² well suited to astound and terrify the foe. From each of these projected, beyond the leading horses and attached to the yoke, scythes three spans long³ with the sharp edge turned towards the front. There were two more, jutting out, on the axle fastenings, with the cutting edge turned forward like the others, but they were longer and broader. Curved blades were fixed to their ends.⁴ The whole army was arrayed in shining armour and equipped with the best of commanders, as he proceeded from Babylon with eight hundred thousand infantry and no fewer than two hundred thousand cavalry. With the Tigris to the right of his route and the Euphrates on his left, he advanced through rich land, able to supply abundant fodder for the animals and sufficient food for so many soldiers. He planned to draw up the army near Nineveh,⁵ as the plains there were well suited and provided plenty of space for drawing up his huge army. He pitched camp at a village called Arbela.⁶ There he drilled his troops daily and made them well trained by continuous exercise and practice. He was anxious in case there should be confusion because of the multitude of people who had been drawn together and spoke different languages.⁷ (. . .)⁸

Darius continued the daily drilling of the troops and made them ready to act in a disciplined way in a battle situation. He also sent off Mazaeus,⁹ one his friends, with a picked corps to defend the river crossing and occupy the ford.¹⁰ He sent other troops to scorch the earth along the route the enemy would need to take. He also thought of using the river bed as an obstacle to the Macedonian advance. However, Mazaeus regarded the river as uncrossable because of its depth and swift current, and so he neglected its defence. He joined the people burning the countryside, destroyed a huge swathe and decided that it would now be useless to the enemy because of the lack of sustenance.

Notes

1. The superior technical equipment of the Macedonian army is often adduced as an important reason for its success over Persian numerical superiority (cf. Briant 1996a: 886–7 [2002b: 867]). See, for example, Arr. *Anab.* I, 15.5 (on the battle at the Granicus river): 'Alexander's men were getting the better of it (. . .) because they were fighting with cornelwood lances against short javelins (Gr. *palta*).'
2. The date of the introduction of the scythed chariot is a moot point (Sekunda and Chew 1992: 25–6): they figure in Xenophon in 395/4 (Hell. IV, 1.17–19) and in Plutarch's account of the Cunaxa battle in 401 (**9, no.21 (iii)**), but not in Herodotus' accounts of Persian army equipment. The remains of what may be a scythed chariot have been reported at Biga, Hellespontine Phrygia (cf. Briant 2001a: 17). For discussion of the limited use of elephants (Arr. *Anab.* III, 8.6) by Darius at Gaugamela, see Briant 1997 (cf. **17, no.40**).
3. Something over half a metre.
4. This does not make it very easy to visualise exactly how the scythed chariots were meant to work; for another (clearer?) description, see Q.C. IV, 9.5.
5. On the Tigris, next to modern Mosul. Gaugamela, the site of the battle itself, lies between Arbela (mod. Erbil) and Nineveh, see Bosworth 1980: 293–4, with the map on p.295.

6. In fact, it was a substantial city lying on a crucial point of the 'Royal Road', cf. Arr. *Anab.* VI, 11.6; Kuhrt 1995b: 246–7.
7. The multiplicity of languages of the Persian empire is one of its most remarked-upon features (Briant 1996a: 522–6 [2002b: 507–11]; **17, Section B**), although the continued vitality and use of local languages in earlier and later empires is being recognised more and more (e.g. Ur III, Hittite (cf. Kuhrt 1995a: 69; 232–3); Assyrian (cf. SAA 1, xv–xvi, although this aspect needs more study); hellenistic (Sherwin-White 1987: 3–8); Roman (cf. Beard 2003)).
8. D.S. XVII, 54 is taken up with the report of a letter supposedly written by Darius III ceding the territory west of the Euphrates to Alexander as part of a dowry for his marriage to one of Darius' daughters. This, like other examples of correspondence between Darius III and Alexander featured in classical writers, is spurious, although some diplomatic overtures (especially as Alexander was holding Darius' mother, wife and several children hostage) need not be rejected as completely ahistorical. For full discussion, see Briant 1996a: 852–9 [2002b: 832–40].
9. Berve, no.484; satrap of Syria and possibly also Cilicia, see Bosworth 1980: 286; Briant 2003a: 73–6; later appointed satrap of Babylonia.
10. Note Arr. *Anab.* III, 7.1–2, describing the Macedonian failure (until the very last moment) to complete the bridge over the Euphrates at Thapsacus because of the Persian defence led by Mazaeus.

27. The Battle of Gaugamela and the surrender of Babylon (18 September to 21 October 331)

Babylonian Astronomical Diary; Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–330 obv.' ll.2'–4', ll.14'–18'; rev.' ll.3'–15'; Wiseman 1985: 119–21 (part of text); Del Monte 1997: 1–6; van der Spek 2003b, Text 1.

Translation: van der Spek 2003a: 414–15.

(obv.2'–4')

The 13th (20 September 331), moonset to sunrise: 8° . . . [. . . lunar] eclipse in its totality covered:¹ 10° of the night [totality . . .] <broken>² Jupiter set;³ Saturn [. . .]⁴ Throughout the total eclipse the west wind was blowing,⁵ as it cleared the east wind [. . .] the fourth(?) . . . During the eclipse [. . .] death and plague [. . .]

(obv.14'–18')

That month (Ululu), on the 11th (18 September 331): panic broke out in the camp of the king.⁶ [. . .]⁷ lay/encamped(?) opposite the king. On the 24th (1 October 331), in the morning: the king of the world [. . .] the standard(?).⁸ They fought with each other, and a severe(?) defeat of the troops of [. . .]⁹ The troops of the king deserted him and to their cities [. . .]¹⁰

They fled [to the l]and of Gutium [. . .]¹¹

(rev.3'–15')

That month (Tashritu), from the 1st (8 October 331) until [. . .] came to Babylon saying:¹² 'Esangil¹³ [. . .] and the Babylonians for the treasury of Esangil [. . .]¹⁴ On the 11th (18 October 331) in Sippar an order from Al[exander . . .] as follows: '[. . .] one shall not enter your houses.' On the 13th (20 October 331), [. . . Sikil]la-gate, the outer gate of Esangil, and [. . .]¹⁵ On the 14th (21 October 331): these Ionians¹⁶ [. . .] short [. . .], fatty tissue¹⁷ [. . .] Alexander, king of the world,¹⁸ entered Babylon [. . .] horses and equipment of [. . .] and the Babylonians and the people [. . .] a letter on parchment to [. . .] thus:¹⁹ [. . .]

Notes

1. A total lunar eclipse was an omen presaging the death of the king within the next three months; to avoid this eventuality the 'Substitute King Ritual' had to be enacted, see Parpola 1983: xxii–xxxii; for specific discussion of this passage, see van der Spek 2003b: 292–5. The lunar eclipse is also mentioned by Arrian (*Anab.* III, 7.6), who reports one of Alexander's seers interpreting it as favourable for the Macedonians. For the astronomical diaries, see **2, Introduction**.
2. Akk. *hepi*, 'broken', is a notation by the scribe that the tablet from which he was copying (or compiling his information) was damaged at this point.
3. The obscuring of Jupiter (= Bab. Marduk, king of the gods) was caused by the eclipse, and sharpened the impact of the damaging omen.
4. Bab. Nergal, an underworld deity, also unfavourable in this conjunction.
5. Possibly indicating an enemy approaching from the west.
6. The king at this point is, of course, still Darius III. The panic is dated two days prior to the lunar eclipse, but as experts in observing the heavens and interpreting the phenomena (along with other omen specialists) naturally formed part of the Persian army (as of all armies), they would have been able to calculate the eclipse's occurrence. This, then, could explain the panic, although the connection may only have been made in retrospect.
7. Van der Spek (2003a: 414) proposes restoring 'the Hanaeans', i.e. Macedonians (see **10, no.41**, n.2), here.
8. This must refer to Alexander, the start of the decisive battle and his imminent victory, acknowledged by the use of the Mesopotamian epic and triumphal title *šar kiššati* = 'king of the (entire inhabited) world', 'king of the totality' (cf. Seux 1967: 308–10; Hallo 1957), which he is explicitly given later in the text. This title must not be confused with the regular title applied to Persian kings in Babylonia, i.e. *šar matati* = 'king of lands', as Fredericksmeier (2000: 147, n.34) does. Note also Plutarch's description (*Alex.* 34.1) of Alexander's acclamation as 'King of Asia' a few days after Gaugamela (detailed discussion in Fredericksmeier 2000).
9. The obvious restoration here is 'the troops [of the king (sc. Darius)]'.
10. This suggests the soldiers scattering after the defeat.
11. I.e. Media, see **3, nos.1**, n.8; **21**, n.9. See **10, no.4** & n.6 for Darius' five-year rule acknowledged in Babylonia. For Babylonian evidence for the end of Darius' reign and documents dated to Darius III, see CAH VI, 240–1.
12. The reference here is presumably to Macedonian envoys charged with negotiating the terms of surrender with the Babylonians and the Persian authorities in the city (see Kuhrt 1990a; **10 nos.9; 29; 40**); cf. the subsequent message from Alexander.
13. Temple of Marduk in Babylon.
14. Van der Spek (2003a: 414) suggests restoring this as: 'Esangil [shall be rebuilt] and the Babylonians [shall pay a tithe] to the treasury of Esangil.' For the significance of 'rebuilding' and the payment of tithes for this purpose in the period of Alexander, the Successors and early Seleucid rule, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991; Del Monte 1997: 13–17.
15. From what follows (see below, n.17), this must be a reference to the formal respects paid by Alexander's representatives to the chief Babylonian god; he himself entered only several days later (see below; unfortunately, the precise date is broken off).
16. The usual Babylonian term for Greeks at this time, see Kuhrt 2002b.
17. The reference is to offerings of parts of a sacrificial animal.
18. See above, n.8.
19. For a later account of Alexander's formal welcome into the city, see **10, no.40**; cf. **3, no.1**, iii, 18–20, which refers to Cyrus' proclamation to the city.

28. Darius' retreat to Iran (winter 331/0)

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 64.1–2.

After Darius was beaten in the battle near Arbela, he sought refuge in the Upper Satrapies,¹ in the expectation that, by setting a distance between himself and Alexander, he might obtain a breathing space and sufficient time to get his forces ready. First, after getting to

Ecbatana in Media, he stopped there and picked up survivors who had fled, rearming those who were without weapons. He then sent round for soldiers from the peoples living nearby, as well as sending off to the satraps and generals in Bactria and the Upper Satrapies, asking them to remain loyal to him.²

Notes

1. An imprecise term (Briant 1990b: 49–51), here indicating the Iranian plateau.
2. This appeal to resist must, almost certainly, have included the Persian governors in Babylonia, Elam and Fars, all of which provinces fell to Alexander in the next few months, see **10, nos.27; 29–30**.

29. Susa surrenders (December 331)

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 16.6–7.

He himself (sc. Alexander) set out for Susa.¹ The son of the satrap of Susa² met him on the road, as well as a letter-carrier from Philoxenus,³ for Alexander had sent Philoxenus immediately after the battle to Susa.⁴ In Philoxenus' letter it was written that the Susians would hand over the city, and that all the treasure was secure for Alexander. Alexander reached Susa in twenty days from Babylon. Entering the city, he took over the treasure which amounted to fifty thousand talents of silver,⁵ and all the rest of the royal property.

Notes

1. Arrian has Alexander move directly from Babylon to Susa, whereas D.S. XVII, 65.1–5 describes Alexander receiving Macedonian reinforcements after leaving the city, resting his troops and doing some military reorganising in Sittacene, the later hellenistic name for the region east of the Tigris. See Kessler 2002b, arguing that the name derives from Persian military colonists from Sattagydia (Afghanistan), who had been settled there by the Achaemenid régime.
2. The satrap is subsequently named (Arr. *Anab.* III, 16.9) as Abulites (Berve, no.5), and his son may have been Oxathres, who had commanded a contingent from Susa at Gaugamela (Arr. *Anab.* III, 8.5; Berve, no.585). Abulites was reappointed as satrap at Susa (as Mazaeus had been at Babylon, see **10, no.26**, n.9), while Oxathres was later appointed governor of Paraetacene (Arr. *Anab.* III, 19.2).
3. See Bosworth 1980: 282.
4. This suggests that Alexander entered into negotiations with people in both Susa and Babylon as soon as Gaugamela had been decided. The Arrian passage has echoes of Babylon's surrender (**10, no.27**).
5. Roughly 1,500,000 kg – although neither this nor any other numbers in the literary sources can be taken at face value, especially given the substantial disagreements among the various writers (cf. Brunt 1976–83, App.X.3).

30. Resistance, treason and destruction in Fars (January to May 330)

(i) At the Persian Gates

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 18.2.¹

When he (sc. Alexander) arrived at the Persian Gates,² he found that Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Persis,³ with about forty thousand infantry and seven hundred horse, had built a wall across the Gates and was camped there in order to obstruct Alexander's passage.

(ii) The loyal satrap of Fars is killed

Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 4.33–4.

Ariobarzanes, with about forty cavalry and five thousand infantry, broke through the middle of the Macedonian line,⁴ causing much Macedonian and Persian blood to flow, as he hurried to occupy the capital of the region.⁵ But he was shut out from it by the city garrison⁶ and closely pursued by the enemy. He renewed the battle and fell, together with those who had fled with him.

(iii) A Persian traitor

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 69.1–2.

After this, he (sc. Alexander) set out for Persepolis. While he was on the road, he received a letter from the governor of the city, Tiridates.⁷ In it was written that if he got there before those who planned to defend Persepolis, he would gain control of it as he (sc. Tiridates) would betray it to him. So Alexander led on his forces at speed, bridged the Araxes river⁸ and brought the soldiers across.⁹

(iv) Alexander in Persepolis and Pasargadae

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 18.10–11.

From there (sc. the river crossing) Alexander marched towards Persepolis¹⁰ and arrived there before the garrison had plundered the treasury. He had also captured the treasure in Pasargadae, which was in the treasury of Cyrus the First.¹¹ He installed Phrasaortes, the son of Rheomithres, as satrap.¹² He set fire to the Persian palace, although Parmenion advised him strongly to leave it intact (. . .)¹³

(v) Alexander secures territory in Fars

Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 6.12–13, 17, 19.¹⁴

He himself (sc. Alexander) made for the interior of Persis with a thousand cavalry and a detachment of light-armed infantry. This was at the time of the Pleiades,¹⁵ but he pressed on towards his goal, although hindered by rains and almost unbearable weather. They reached a road covered with permanent snow, which was frozen solid by the intense cold. The desolation of the terrain and the trackless waste terrified the exhausted soldiers, who thought they were looking at the ends of the world. (. . .)¹⁶ The inhabitants, who lived in scattered huts, had thought that the roads were impassable and that this gave them protection. When they saw the enemy column, they killed those unable to go with them and made for some remote, snow-covered mountains. Later they talked to captives of the Macedonians and this gradually calmed them. They surrendered to Alexander and were not severely punished.

After ravaging Persian territory and capturing several villages, Alexander reached the Mardians, a warlike people with a culture very different from the other Persians. (. . .)¹⁷ But this tribe was also brought low by the momentum of Alexander's good fortune.

Notes

1. On leaving Susa, Alexander had to fight his way through the hills and plains of the Uxians (Bosworth 1980: 321–4; **17, no.2**), after which he sent Parmenion and an army contingent by the main road (Gr. *hamaxitos*, ‘a road suitable for wagons/carriages’) into Fars, while he took the difficult mountain route. For the route, see MacDermot and Schippmann 1999.
2. Probably the Tang-i Khas, a narrow defile which leads down into the Marv Dasht basin, where Pasargadae and Persepolis are located, and more direct than the high road. The ‘Gates’ should probably be identified with the ‘Lock (or “Key”) of Anshan’ (i.e. the earlier name of the Fars region, see **3, Introduction**), which occurs in the ninth year-name of King Ibši-Sin of Ur (2026–2004?, RLA V, 6–7; Hansman 1972), cf. the map in Bosworth 1980: 327.
3. See Bosworth 1980: 325 for possible family affiliations.
4. The fight at the Persian Gates was very fierce; according to D.S. XVII, 68.5–7, the Macedonians were only successful because one of the war captives was able to lead them round the rear of the Persians guarding the pass.
5. I.e. Persepolis.
6. See the next passage, for the reason why Ariobarzanes could not gain entry.
7. Berve, no.754. Q.C. V, 5.2 calls him the treasurer of Persepolis.
8. Mod. Pulvar.
9. According to Q.C. V, 6.11, after Persepolis’ fall, Tiridates ‘retained the rank he had held under Darius’.
10. Gr. *Persai*, which renders the Old Persian name of Persepolis, *Parsa* (cf. **12, no.4**, para.3).
11. Pasargadae is some 43 km to the north-east of Persepolis; for Cyrus’ city, see **fig.3.5**. The surrender of the city by its governor, Gobares, is briefly mentioned at Q.C. V, 6.10. For Alexander at Pasargadae, see Stronach 2000: 692.
12. This is the only mention of Phraortes. When Alexander returned to Fars in 325/4, a Persian called Orxines was in control (**13, no.6**).
13. The reasons for Alexander’s burning of Persepolis have been endlessly, and rather inconclusively, speculated upon, see the discussion (with references) in Briant 1996a: 1,073–4 [2002: 1,045–8] (cf. **10, Introduction**).
14. Cf. the very brief mention of this phase of the campaign by Diodorus (XVII, 73.1), which is completely omitted by Arrian.
15. April 330.
16. Q.C. V, 6.14–16 describes Alexander calming the soldiers’ fears.
17. See **10, no.17**, n.3. Mardian habits are briefly described by Quintus Curtius at this point (V, 6.17–18). For the tribal aspect of Persian society, see **13, Introduction**.

(d) The death of Darius III (spring–summer 330)**31. Darius leaves Ecbatana**

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 19.4–5.

He (sc. Alexander) reached Media on the twelfth day.¹ There he discovered that Darius’ army was not ready for battle, that the Cadusian and Scythian² support force had not arrived, and that Darius had decided to withdraw. He, therefore, marched on even more quickly. When he was about three days’ march from Ecbatana, Bisthanes, son of Ochus (who had been king before Darius)³ met him. He told him that Darius had left four days previously, taking Media’s treasure of about seven thousand talents⁴ with him, and a force of roughly three thousand horse and six thousand infantry.

Notes

1. After fighting his way northwards from Fars through the region of Paraetacene (Arr. *Anab.* III, 18.2).
2. Alexander had been told earlier that these forces were being awaited by Darius to swell his numbers for another battle (Arr. *Anab.* III, 19.3). For the Cadusians, see **8, Introduction; no.37**, n.4; **9, no.67; 11, no.34; 13, no.31(ii)**; for Scythians in the Persian army, see **6, no.56**(113); **11, nos.22**(3.18); **25**(64). Arrian says in the immediately preceding passage that the Cadusians and Scythians had joined Darius, so the assumption must be that they abandoned the king when he moved east.
3. I.e. the son of Artaxerxes III. For the supposed elimination of all Artaxerxes' male offspring in 338, save Arses, see **10, no.3**.
4. Around 210,000 kg.

32. Persian soldiers desert

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 20.2.

Alexander continued and arrived at Rhagae¹ on the eleventh day. This place is one day distant from the Caspian Gates² for someone marching at Alexander's speed.³ But Darius was too fast and had already got beyond the Caspian Gates. Many with Darius abandoned him on the flight and went off to their own homes, with quite a few surrendering to Alexander.

Notes

1. Mod. Rey, some 12.5 km south-east of Tehran.
2. In fact about 80 km on from Rhagae along the route skirting the highest part of the Elburz range to Hyrcania, see map in Bosworth 1980: 341.
3. This is scarcely imaginable given the distance, see Bosworth 1980: 339.

33. Dissension in the Persian camp

Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 9.1, 13–17.

Artabazus was the oldest of Darius' friends and had been a guest at Philip's court.¹ (. . .)² Reluctantly Darius gave in to him and, in view of the general agitation among the men, he remained at the same place, although earlier he had planned to move camp. But as he was shaken by depression and despair, he shut himself away in his tent. As a result there was no one in command of the camp, feelings were divided, and they no longer met as before to consult the common interest. Patron, the commander of the Greek troops,³ told his men to take up arms and be ready to carry out orders; the Persians had withdrawn from the camp; Bessus⁴ was with the Bactrians and was attempting to win over the Persians by telling them of Bactria and its wealth, the region being still untouched, as well as the dangers threatening them if they stayed. But among the Persians there was almost unanimous agreement that to desert a king was an act of impiety.⁵ In the meantime Artabazus fulfilled all the functions of a commander, constantly visiting the Persians' tents, encouraging and exhorting them both individually and as a body, until it was quite clear that they would do his bidding. He also succeeded, with difficulty, in getting Darius to take food and apply his attention to the situation.⁶

Notes

1. Brother-in-law and father-in-law of Memnon of Rhodes, previously in exile at the Macedonian court (**10, no.7**, n.2; **13, no.44**).
2. Q.C. V, 9.1–12 describes the beginnings of divided opinion in the Persian camp and makes the first

- reference to the hatching of the plot against Darius, in the person of Nabarzanes, previously described as the king's chiliarch (Q.C. III, 7.12–13).
3. A Phocian who, together with the Aetolian Glaucis, commanded the Greek mercenaries in Darius' army (Arr. *Anab.* III, 16.2).
 4. Satrap of Bactria, wielding absolute command of the crucial Bactrian cavalry (see **10, no.34**) and at the centre of the apparent conspiracy against Darius, which must have been planned for some time. He was later proclaimed king ('Artaxerxes V': Arr. *Anab.* III, 25.3; D.S. XVII, 74.2; Q.C. VI, 6.3), before being surrendered to Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* III, 28–30). For the possibility that his proclamation as king and murder of Darius appears in a Babylonian chronicle, see van der Spek 2003b, Text 3, obv.3'–7'.
 5. For loyalty to the king as one of the major factors holding the empire together, see **Chapter 13**, *passim*.
 6. Quintus Curtius' story of Darius' pursuit by Alexander is told entirely from the Persian vantage point, creating a picture of gathering doom as Darius loses heart and resigns himself to a Macedonian victory, which becomes preferable to co-operating with the treacherous Persian commanders (Q.C. V, 13.16). Small details, such as this where Darius can barely touch food and drink, help to flesh out the touching and tragic image.

34. The plot against Darius

Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 10.1–9.

Inflamed with greed for the kingship, Bessus¹ and Nabarzanes² now decided to carry out the plan they had long been hatching. With Darius still alive, however, there could be no hope of gaining such power, for among those peoples the king commands extraordinary respect: his name itself is enough to make them assemble, and the veneration he enjoys in prosperity remains with him in adversity.³ What inflated the wicked ambitions of the two was the area under their control⁴ which, in terms of arms, fighting men and extent, ranked second to none belonging to those people: it comprised a third of Asia and possessed a population of young men equal in number to the armies Darius had lost. They had little respect not merely for Darius but for Alexander, too; for from this area they expected to recover the full strength of the empire,⁵ provided Darius fell into their hands. After long consideration of all the options they decided to use the Bactrian soldiers (whose obedience to them was total) to seize the king and a messenger would also be sent to Alexander to inform him that Darius was alive and in their custody. If, as they feared, Alexander rejected their treacherous overtures, they would murder Darius and head for Bactria with the troops of their own people. However, open arrest of Darius was impossible because the Persians, many thousands strong, would come to the aid of their king, and the loyalty of the Greeks also caused apprehension. So they resorted to cunning to accomplish what they could not achieve by force. They decided to pretend remorse over their withdrawal, making the excuse to Darius that they had panicked. Meanwhile men were sent to subvert the Persians. They played on the soldiers' hopes and fears to win them over, telling them they were exposing their lives to complete catastrophe and were being dragged to destruction while Bactria was accessible to them, all set to welcome them with its possessions and an opulence they could not possibly imagine.⁶

Notes

1. See **10, no.33** & n.4.
2. See **10, no.33**, n.2.
3. Cf. **10, no.33** & n.5.

4. I.e. Bactria.
5. Contrast Arrian's view (**10, no.35**), which seems more persuasive.
6. There are some curious aspects to the story of the 'plot' by the Persian nobles to rid themselves of Darius. First, at Q.C. V, 9.8 they are said to have tried to persuade Darius to step down as king temporarily, and let Bessus take charge. Secondly, when Quintus Curtius describes Darius' apparent abandonment (V, 12.16–20), he says that not only were all his royal paraphernalia removed, but he was bound in gold fetters and 'to prevent his being recognised by his royal dress they had covered the wagon with dirty skins. Men unacquainted with Darius were put to drive the animals, so that he could not be pointed out to the more curious soldiers.' This looks as though Bessus and his associates were trying to enact a ritual akin to that of the 'substitute king', in order to avert the evil fate about to overtake him (Nylander 1993: 151–2). The different responses, reported by Quintus Curtius, would then reflect divided opinion in the Persian camp as to whether such action was appropriate or not.

35. Darius is arrested and killed

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 21.1, 4–5, 10; 22.1.

At this point, Bagistanes, a Babylonian and a noble, together with Antibelus, one of Mazaeus' sons, came to him (sc. Alexander) from Darius' camp.¹ They reported that Nabarzanes, chiliarch of the cavalry accompanying Darius' retreat,² Bessus, the Bactrian satrap,³ and Barsaentes, satrap of the Arachosians and Drangians,⁴ had taken Darius prisoner. When Alexander heard this he moved forward with even more speed. (. . .)⁵

But he did not catch up with the enemy, although he learned that Darius was being transported in a closed carriage, that Bessus held the power instead of Darius and had been named leader by the Bactrian cavalry and the other barbarians, who had retreated with Darius, except by Artabazus and his sons⁶ and the Greek mercenaries.⁷ These were loyal to Darius and as they were unable to prevent what had happened, they had turned off the main road and made for the mountains on their own; they did not take part in what Bessus and his supporters were doing. Those who had taken Darius captive had decided that, if they heard that Alexander was on their heels, they would hand over Darius to Alexander and negotiate an advantage for themselves. But if they learned that he had turned back, then they would collect as big an army as possible, and retain their power together. For the present, Bessus was in command because of his relationship to Darius⁸ and because the deed had been done in his satrapy.⁹ Bessus and his companions carried Darius along with them for a while in the closed carriage; but when Alexander was almost upon them, Satibarzanes¹⁰ and Barsaentes inflicted a wound on Darius and abandoned him, while they fled with six hundred horsemen. Darius died of a wound soon after, before Alexander had seen him.

Alexander sent Darius' body to Persepolis, and ordered him to be buried in the royal tombs, like the other kings before Darius.¹¹

Notes

1. Bagistanes' name is Persian, while Antibelus seems Babylonian, suggesting that Mazaeus (satrap of Babylon at this point) may have had close links with Babylonia (perhaps a Babylonian wife?); see **10, no.26**, n.9 for Mazaeus. For the differences between Arrian's and Quintus Curtius' accounts, see Bosworth 1980: 339–41.
2. See **10, nos.33**, n.2; **34**. For Arrian's confusion of his position, see Bosworth 1980: 341–2.
3. Cf. **10, nos.33–4**.
4. With Darius at Gaugamela, see Arr. *Anab.* III, 8.3. Arachosia is centred on Kandahar (Afghanistan), Drangiana the region of modern Seistan.

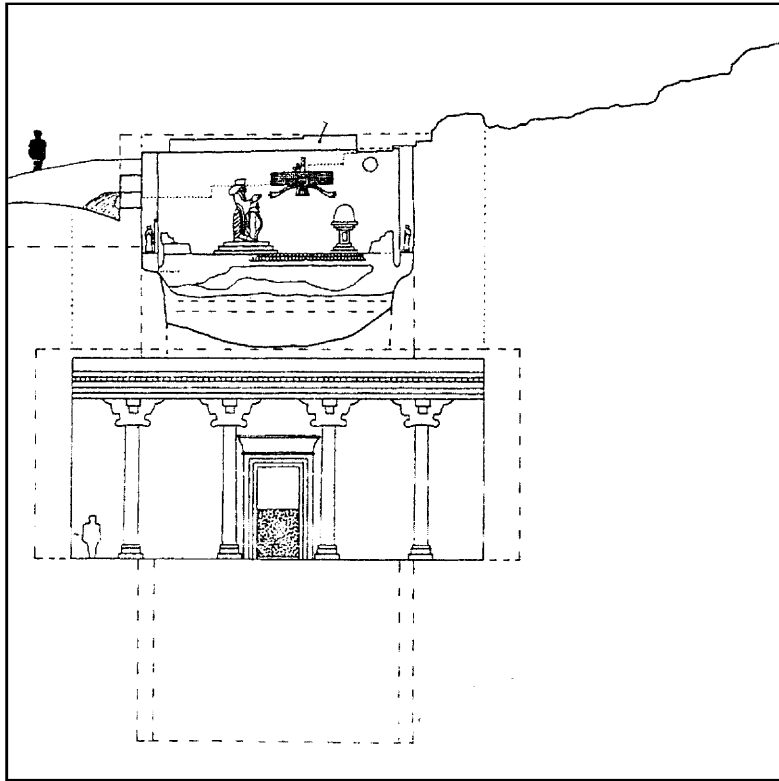


Figure 10.4 Hypothetical reconstruction of the unfinished tomb at Persepolis; for location, see **fig.11.8** (caption). (After W. Kleiss and P. Calmeyer, *AMI* 8 (1975).)

5. See Q.C. V, 10.10–12 for the detailed story of Darius' arrest.
6. See **10, no.33** & n.1.
7. See **10, nos.33** & n.3; **34**.
8. The precise degree of kinship is unknown.
9. This is not absolutely correct as the Persian troops had not yet reached Bactria.
10. Satibarzanes was satrap of Areia and, indeed, reappointed by Alexander (*Arr. Anab.* III, 25.1–2), although he rebelled twice after that, engaging Alexander in some particularly arduous campaigning (*Arr. Anab.* III, 25; 28). Only Arrian mentions his involvement in Darius' murder, and Alexander's favourable treatment of him has caused many to deny it, cf. Bosworth 1980: 344–5.
11. The story of Alexander's honourable treatment of his enemy's corpse and his pursuit and brutal punishment of his assassins has become the stuff of folk-tales. Many Persian paintings through the ages portray a scene of Darius breathing his last in Alexander's arms, see Briant 2003a, figs.50–3; cf. Wood 1997: 120, showing a contemporary Iranian story-teller recounting the tale (see **fig.10.5**). The same motif surfaces in popular pictures of the Persian epic of Sohrab and Rostam (Briant 2003a, figs.54–5). An unfinished tomb at Persepolis has been thought to be that of Darius III (see **fig.10.4**), although some think it to be a trial piece for Tomb V, see **fig.11.8** (caption). If it does date to Darius' reign, its incomplete state suggests it was never used, and there is no reference to Alexander performing any funerary obsequies for Darius (Briant 2003a: 39–52). Note *Plut. Alex.* 43.7, which has Alexander send Darius' corpse to his mother, perhaps for private burial. A major monument and long public funeral ceremonies for Darius III would surely have been politically risky.



Figure 10.5 A modern Iranian story-teller retelling the tale of the death of Dara (Darius III) in the arms of Iskander (Alexander). (Photograph, M. Wood, *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great*, BBC, London, 1997: 120. Copyright reserved.)

C. Local élites and factions between Persians and Macedonians: some test cases

36. Oligarchs massacred at Ephesus (summer 334)

Arrian, *Anabasis I*, 17.11–12.

When the outcome of the cavalry battle was announced,¹ the mercenary troops garrisoning Ephesus² fled, taking two Ephesian triremes. (. . .)³ On the fourth day (Alexander) arrived in Ephesus⁴ and restored the exiles, who had been thrown out of the city on his account; he dissolved the oligarchy and established a democracy. As for the tribute they had paid to the barbarians, he ordered them to contribute the same sum to Artemis.⁵ With the people of Ephesus relieved of fear of the oligarchs, they rushed to kill those who were trying to bring in Memnon, those who had plundered the temple of Artemis, and those who had thrown down the statue of Philip⁶ and dug up the tomb of Heropythos, the city's liberator. They dragged Syrphax, his son Pelagon and Syrphax' brothers' sons out of the temple and stoned them to death.⁷ But Alexander put a stop to further hounding and revenge. He knew that if

permission was given, the people would kill the innocent along with the guilty, either from personal hatred or in order to lay hands on their property.

Notes

1. I.e. the Macedonian victory at the Granicus, May 334.
2. I.e. troops in Persian service.
3. Arrian here recounts the flight of the Macedonian exile Amyntas (10, nos.6, n.2; 16).
4. From Sardis.
5. I.e. to the famous Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Note that, according to Strabo XIV, 1.22, Alexander's offer to rebuild the temple on condition that his name was inscribed on it was turned down by the Ephesians.
6. This will have been set up at the time of Philip's moves into Asia Minor, together with the installation of the democratic party, see 10, no.6 & n.4. Such public expressions of adherence to Macedon were reversed on Philip's death.
7. The family heading the Ephesian oligarchs.

37. *Aspendus pays the penalty for not complying with Alexander's terms (winter 334)*

Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 26.2–3, 5; 27.3–4.

As he (sc. Alexander) advanced from Perge,¹ ambassadors equipped with full powers from Aspendus² met him on the road. They surrendered the city, but requested that no garrison be imposed. They succeeded in their request with respect to the garrison. But Alexander ordered them to give fifty talents towards army pay and the horses they raised as tribute for the king (sc. of Persia).³ (. . .)⁴

Along the way he received a report that the Aspendians were refusing to carry out any of the conditions imposed, would not hand over the horses to the people sent to collect them nor pay the money. They had packed up their belongings and taken them into the city, shut the gates on Alexander's representatives and were repairing the walls where they had collapsed. At this, he marched off to Aspendus. (. . .)⁵

When the Aspendians saw Alexander, quite unexpectedly, surrounded by all his army, they sent envoys to beg for an agreement along the earlier lines. Alexander saw that the place was strong and he was not prepared for a long siege, but despite that he would not agree to the terms. He ordered them to hand over as hostages their most eminent men as well as the horses, promised previously, and a hundred talents⁶ instead of fifty. They would be subject to the satrap imposed by Alexander and pay tribute annually to Macedon; further, there would be an arbitration about the land they were accused of having seized by force from their neighbours.

Notes

1. In Pamphylia where two roads, one running along the Asia Minor coast and one from the north, meet.
2. To the east of Perge, on the road running parallel to the coast.
3. Cf. 14, no.29 & n.3 for the duty to supply animals over and above the regular tribute.
4. Arrian here recounts Alexander's move beyond Aspendus eastwards to Side, then turning back to Syllium to the north-west of Aspendus.
5. Arr. *Anab.* I, 27.1–2 contains a brief description of Aspendus' topography, and Alexander's encampment in the lower, outer town.
6. Roughly 3,000 kg.

38. The autobiography of Somtutefnakht

Stone block (Egypt) with hieroglyphic inscription; Naples Museum, Stele 1,035: Tresson 1931; Perdu 1985.¹

Translations: Lichtheim 1980: 41–4; Limme 1983 (ll.5–14 only); von Kaenel 1984: 120–5.

Superscription: Honoured by Harsaphes, King of the Two Lands, ruler of the riverbank, lord of Heracleopolis.²

Main text: The prince, count, royal treasurer, sole companion; prophet of Horus, lord of Hebnu; prophet of the gods of the Oryx nome;³ prophet of Somtu of Yat-hehu;⁴ divine mouth, supervisor of the riverbank; chief priest of Sakhmet in the whole land, Somtutefnakht; son of him possessed of grain,⁵ the priest of Amun-Re, lord of Pishat,⁶ Djedsomtutefankh,⁷ born of the lady Ankhet; he says:

O lord of gods, Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the shores, whose rising illuminates the earth, whose right eye is the sun-disc, whose left eye is the moon, whose ba⁸ is the sunlight, from whose nostrils comes the northwind, to make live all things! I am your servant, my heart is on your water (i.e. I am devoted to you). I have filled my heart with you. I sustained no town except your town, I did not fail to place its fame before all; my heart sought justice in your house night and day; you rewarded me for it a million times.

You gave me access to the palace; the heart of the perfect god⁹ was pleased by my speech. You distinguished me from the crowd when you turned away from Egypt.¹⁰ You put love of me in the heart of Asia's ruler;¹¹ his courtiers were grateful to me. He gave me the office of chief of the priests of Sakhmet,¹² in place of my mother's brother,¹³ the chief of the priests of Sakhmet of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nekhteneb.

You protected me in the combat of the Greeks,¹⁴ when you repulsed those of Asia.¹⁵ They slew countless numbers at my side, and no one raised his arm against me. Thereafter, I saw you in my sleep, your majesty saying to me: 'Hurry to Heracleopolis;¹⁶ I protect you!' I crossed the countries all alone, I sailed the sea unafraid, knowing I had not neglected your command, I reached Heracleopolis, not a hair of my head lost. From the beginning you gave me your protection; may you ensure that it continues to go well with me(?).¹⁷ May you give me a long life in gladness.

(Praise for Harsaphes, and blessings for those who bless Somtutefnakht.)

Notes

1. The hard stone block (1.05 m × 44 cm × 4 cm), inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs, was found in 1765 in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii; it is now in the Naples Museum. It is usually called a stela, but the form is unusual and Perdu (1985: 90–2) has argued that it is more likely to have been the back support of a statue. It was originally set up at Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt, controlling the entrance to the Fayum (Eg. Ḥwt-mn-nst, Coptic Hnes, modern Ihnasya el-Medina), the chief city of the twentieth Upper Egyptian nome. The contents and superscription indicate that it was dedicated to Heracleopolis' main god, Harsaphes (Eg. Herishef). Language and script suggest that the monument dates to the late fourth century; for discussions of the dating and historical context, see Kienitz 1953: 111, n.1. For the significance of the emphasis placed on the individual's reverence for the local god, whose exclusive role in determining his worshipper's fortune and fate is stressed here, as in some similar texts of the period, in contrast to earlier ones (e.g. 4, no.11), see Menu 1995a.
2. The superscript is in the form of a rebus, comprising a row of royal and divine figures adoring the

- ram-headed deity, Harsaphes, see Limme 1983: 324–5; Perdu 1985: 90. Harsaphes is the hellenised form of the Egyptian god, Herishef, later identified with Heracles, whence derives the classical name of the city, Heracleopolis (Magna).
3. Both are cultic posts associated with the sixteenth Upper Egyptian nome.
 4. Alt. Smatowy Deification of the ubiquitous Egyptian concept ‘Uniter of the Two Lands’ (frequently identified with Horus), which forms the theophoric element of Somtutefnakht’s name. Yat-hehu is not known, but was probably in the Heracleopolitan nome (cf. Limme 1983: 325).
 5. See for this expression signifying prosperity in the Late Period, Perdu (1985: 98–9, n.k), who rejects the more common translation of the phrase as a title.
 6. Location unknown.
 7. The father’s name, comprising the same divine element as that of his son, indicates that he, too, was associated with Heracleopolis.
 8. A powerful aspect of a deity’s (and human being’s) character; cf. **4, no.12**, n.1. Perdu (1985: 99) translates it as ‘emanation’.
 9. Eg. *nṯr nṯr* is used to describe kings who match up to the ideals of Egyptian kingship. Given the probable date of the monument (see n.1, above) and the subsequent narrative, this is generally thought to refer to Nectanebo II, although it could also be Khababash (cf. Burstein 2000: 152; **9, no.77**, n.9), but not the Persian king(s), who is simply called *ḥq3*, ‘ruler’ (see below, n.10).
 10. If the identification of Nectanebo II as the king is right (above, n.9), then this should refer to Artaxerxes III’s conquest in 343/2 (**9, no.77**), although the suppression of Khababash is also a possibility (see note 9, above).
 11. Eg. *ḥq3 n Stt*; cf. Lloyd 1982a: 178 for its pejorative overtones. This could be Artaxerxes III, or possibly one or other of his successors, especially if the reference is to the quashing of Khababash (some time between 343 and 335 (Lloyd 1988b; CAH VI, 345), with the time between 338 and 335 generally thought more likely, Kienitz 1953: 189); see **9, no.77**, n.9; **10, Introduction**. Note that Somtutefnakht does not accord the Persian ruler Egyptian royal titles (cf. above, n.9).
 12. Sakhmet, ‘The Powerful One’, a raging fury, often depicted as a lioness, who is the alter ego of the maternal, loving cow-goddess, Hathor (Quirke 1992: 31). Those associated with her cult possessed particular magical-medical knowledge. See Burkard (1994: 39–40), who argues that it was Somtutefnakht’s medical services to the Persian king (Darius III) which led to his preferment.
 13. Or: ‘my brother by my mother’, Perdu 1985: 103 & 106, n.k.
 14. Eg. *H3w-nbw*, almost certainly means Greeks in this period and context, see LÄ, s.v. Haunebu.
 15. This should be a reference to Alexander’s invasion, and from what follows it is clear that Somtutefnakht was involved in fighting on the Persian side. Which battle is meant is unclear, see Kienitz (1953: 111, n.1), who plumps for Issus (333), as opposed to Tresson (1931: 387–91), who argues for Gaugamela (331). On balance, Issus is more likely (cf. Briant 1996a: 879–80 [2002b: 860]), as Sabaces, satrap of Egypt, at the head of an Egyptian force is known to have taken part and been killed in action (Arr. *Anab.* II, 11.8). But if Somtutefnakht was a personal attendant of Darius, then he might have been in his immediate entourage, and so moved with him to Babylon and then Gaugamela.
 16. The circumstances of Somtutefnakht’s return are unknown. He could have been taken prisoner at Issus and come back in Alexander’s train, or recruited by the renegade Amyntas for his abortive attempt on Egypt after Issus (**10, no.16**), or fled to Egypt after Darius’ defeat at Gaugamela.
 17. The reading and interpretation of this sentence is uncertain. Lichtheim translates it in the light of her understanding of the text as a funerary stela: ‘As my beginning was good through you, so have you made my end complete, you gave me a long lifetime in gladness.’ But as it is almost certainly not a tomb monument, I have adopted a different rendering (cf. Limme 1983: 327, n.j; Perdu 1985: 110–11).

39. The autobiography of Petosiris

Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription in the temple tomb of the Petosiris family. Tuna el-Gebel, Necropolis of el-Ashmunein (Eg. Khmun; Gr. Hermopolis Magna): Lefebvre 1924.¹

Translations: Otto 1954: 174–84 (nos.56, 58b/c, 61a, 65, 81, 116, 127); Lichtheim 1980: 44–54 (nos.81, 116, 127); cf. Menu 1994; 1995b; 1996; 1998.

I was on the water of the lord of Hermopolis from my birth (i.e., devoted to Thoth). All his plans were in my heart. He chose me to manage his temple, knowing that awe of him was in my heart. I spent seven years as administrator² of this god, administering his goods, and no fault could be found.³ When the Ruler of Foreign Lands⁴ was protector of Egypt,⁵ nothing was in its former place. Since fighting had started in Egypt, turmoil prevailed in the south, the north was in uproar,⁶ the people ran about confused, no temple had its staff – the *wab*-priests⁷ had fled, not knowing what was happening.

But when I had become administrator of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, I caused the temple of Thoth to return to its earlier condition. (. . .)⁸

I acted so that Thoth, my lord, exalted me above all my peers, as a reward for what I had done. He enriched me with all kinds of good things, with silver and gold, with harvests and products in the granaries, fields, herds, vineyards, orchards of all kinds of fruit, ships on the water, everything good in my storehouses. I was favoured by the prince of Egypt,⁹ I was loved by his courtiers.

Notes

1. Hermopolis in Middle Egypt was the most important centre for the cult of Thoth, god of writing and scribal knowledge. The Hermopolis necropolis dates (as far as is known) from the period of Persian rule through to Roman times. The tomb of Petosiris (Eg. p3-di-wsir), discovered in 1911, is a family mausoleum, remarkable for its lengthy inscriptions, which provide striking insights into modes of thought, belief and morality in this period, and for its rich relief decoration, Egyptian in content, but marked technically and stylistically by Greek art forms. The tomb is built in the form of a small temple, with colonnaded façade backed by a square chapel. The burials are underground. The most prominent reliefs and inscriptions are those of Petosiris, who died in the early period of Macedonian rule (cf. *LÄ*, s.v. Petosiris, for the dating), and link his forebears to his own descendants. His two daughters, two sons (one of whom died in childhood) and grandson figure primarily as his eulogists. His father, Shisu, who inherited the office of high-priest of Thoth from Petosiris' grandfather, Djedthothefankh (I), probably functioned during the reign of Nectanebo II. He was also a royal counsellor. Shisu's eldest son, Djedthothefankh (II), seems to have held his father's position during the turbulent period stretching from the last years of Nectanebo II through to the Macedonian conquest; during this time, he was assisted by his younger brother, Petosiris. Around the time of the Macedonian take-over, Djedthothefankh (II) disappeared, to be replaced by Petosiris himself, who presents himself restoring order after chaos – a standard convention in this type of text (for a different interpretation, see Menu 1994, but note the criticisms of Herbin 2004: 179; 188–90). Inevitably, given the time at which the tomb was built, the image of events that emerges is one of good order under the Egyptian kings of Dynasty XXX, disaster and destruction in the period of renewed Persian rule, with peace and wellbeing restored under the new Macedonian rulers. This pattern is mirrored in other autobiographical texts of the period and is, indeed, an age-old Egyptian visualisation of the past, so it cannot be taken as reflecting historical realities, see Menu 1994: 327; 1998; Briant 1996a: 880–1 [2002: 860–1]. What emerges most strikingly in these texts is the way in which Petosiris' family preserved its status throughout all the political changes. (I have only given two extracts of the main text of Petosiris here, i.e. no.81, 24–35; 83–7.)
2. Eg. *mr-šn*, normally translated by the derived Greek word *lsonis*, was a high temple functionary,

- whose prime responsibilities were administration and management of temple properties and amenities (cf. **17, no.30**).
3. Lichtheim links this with the following phrase; both Otto and Menu separate it. Menu (1994: 323–4) argued that the intention was to create a distance between Petosiris and his brother's period of office, compromised, retrospectively, during the period of renewed Persian control. However, the formulae used are standard in texts of this kind, and have no historically specific meaning (Herbin 2004).
 4. Eg. *ḥq3 n ḥ3swt*, generally assumed to describe Persian rule, although Otto (1954: 181, n.4) thinks it refers to Philip Arrhidaeus. For criticism of the idea that Petosiris dates to the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus, see LÄ, s.v. Petosiris. But see Menu 1998: 252, for the clear evidence of building at Hermopolis under Alexander and Philip Arrhidaeus in the time of Petosiris.
 5. Eg. *ndty n Kmt*.
 6. Lloyd (1982a: 177) discusses the terminology used here: Eg. *nšn* has the meaning of 'rage', 'madness', 'storm', i.e. a manifestation of demonic power and threatening chaos, while *swḥ* has a basic meaning of 'roaring (with unbridled passion)'.
 7. Lit. 'pure'; a category of relatively low-ranking priests, who did not enter the innermost sanctuary, but performed auxiliary sacred duties, cf. **4, no.14**; **9, no.78**, n.12; **17, no.30**.
 8. 81,35–82 describes Petosiris' benevolent and pious actions, including the founding of a shrine, which was traditionally a task performed by Egypt's pharaohs.
 9. Eg. *ḥq3 n Kmt* indicates a Macedonian ruler (Alexander, ap. Menu 1998: 250), who is presented as exercising lawful power inside Egypt, unlike the Persian 'rulers of foreign lands', above (but cf. n.4, above). While the god has elevated Petosiris, his high position, his beneficent acts in temple and town and his present state of prosperity are only possible because this has been recognised by the current sovereign.

40. Alexander's entry into Babylon¹

(i) Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 1.17–23.

Moving to Babylon Alexander was met by Mazaeus,² who had taken refuge in the city after the battle.³ He came as a suppliant with his adult children to surrender himself and the city. Alexander was pleased at his coming, for besieging so well-fortified a city would have been an arduous task and, besides, since he was an eminent man and a good soldier who had also won distinction in the recent battle, Mazaeus' example was likely to induce the others to surrender. Accordingly Alexander gave him and his children a courteous welcome. Nevertheless, he put himself at the head of his column, which he formed into a square, and ordered his men to advance into the city as if they were going into battle.

A large number of Babylonians had taken up a position on the walls eager to have a view of their new king, but most went out to meet him, including the man in charge of the citadel and royal treasury, Bagophanes.⁴ Not to be outdone by Mazaeus in paying his respects to Alexander, Bagophanes had carpeted the whole road with flowers and garlands and set up at intervals on both sides silver altars heaped not just with frankincense but with all manner of perfumes. Following him were his gifts – herds of cattle and horses, and lions too, and leopards, carried along in cages. Next came the magi⁵ chanting a song in the native fashion, and behind them were the Chaldaeans,⁶ then the Babylonians, represented not only by their priests but also by musicians equipped with their national instrument. (. . .)⁷ At the rear came the Babylonian cavalry, their equipment and that of the horses suggesting extravagance rather than majesty.

Surrounded by an armed guard, the king instructed the people of the town to follow at the rear of his infantry; then he entered the city on a chariot and went into the palace.



Figure 10.6 Mazaeus and his children, preceded by the winged figure of Peace, welcome Alexander into Babylon. Part of B. Thorvaldsen's relief in the Quirinal Palace, Rome, 1813. (After P. Calmeyer, *AchHist V* (1990): 99.)

(ii) Arrian, *Anabasis III*, 16.3.

(Alexander) was already near Babylon, leading his force in battle order, when the Babylonians came to meet him in mass, with their priests and rulers, each section of the inhabitants bringing gifts and offering surrender of the city, the citadel and the treasure.⁸

Notes

1. This passage should be compared to the fragmentary account of Babylon's surrender to Alexander preserved in an astronomical diary (10, no.27, rev.). It provides the fullest and most elaborate story of Alexander's ceremonial reception by a city. The sources indicate that the same procedures – negotiation, followed by formal welcome and entry – were followed in the surrender of Sardis (10, no.9) and Susa (10, no.29).
2. See 10, no.26 & n.9; for his appointment to the satrapy of Babylonia (the first Iranian to be granted such a high position by Alexander), see Q.C. V, 1.44; Arr. *Anab.* III, 16.4; D.S. XVII, 64.5–6.
3. I.e. Gaugamela, see 10, no.27, obv.
4. Berve, no.197; he, like others who surrendered, retained his rank, Q.C. V, 1.44 (cf. 10, no.9).
5. Persian learned men, see further 11, Section H(d); placing them in Babylon may be an error by Quintus Curtius.
6. For the somewhat confused way in which this term is applied to a section of the Babylonian population by classical writers, see Kuhrt 2002a: 479.
7. Quintus Curtius here adds a short explanatory note on the functions of magi and Chaldaeans.
8. Note also Arrian's observation (*Anab.* III, 16.5) that Alexander proceeded to worship Bel-Marduk as instructed by the Babylonians, indicating that the Babylonian temples had continued to function under the Persians (Kuhrt 1990a).

41. Alexander's victory in a Babylonian prophecy

Akkadian text, perhaps from Babylon. Babylonian Dynastic Prophecy: BHLT, 34–5, iii, 9–23; Van der Spek 2003b, Text 5, v, 9–23.¹

The army of the land of Hani² [. . .] will set out (pl.) [. . .] his army [. . .]. His booty they will plunder [. . .] they will carry off. Later, the ar[my . . .] will assemble, his weapons he will ra[ise]. Enlil, Shamash and [. . .]³ by the side of his army will go [. . .]. The overthrow of the Hanaean army he will [bring about].⁴ His heavy booty he will car[ry off . . .] into his palace he [will bring?]. The people who had [experienced?] misfortune wellbeing [. . .]. The heart of the land [. . .] tax exemption [. . .].

Notes

1. See **3, no.24** & n.1; **10, no.3**, n.1, for further references to discussions.
2. I.e. Macedon, see Kuhrt 2002b (esp. 24–8) for discussions of this archaic Mesopotamian term.
3. Enlil was one of the major gods of the Babylonian pantheon, with an important cult-centre at Nippur; Shamash was the sun god, particularly associated with Sippar and Larsa. It is likely that the god named in the lacuna was Marduk, chief god of Babylon.
4. The defeat of the Hanaean, i.e. Macedonian, army is obviously ahistorical. It has been suggested (e.g. Sherwin-White 1987: 10–14) that this represents a wishful rewriting of history and so expresses Babylonian hostility to Alexander. More recently van der Spek (2003b: 326–32 (cf. 2003a: 423, n.n)) has put forward two possible interpretations: (a) ‘Hanaean’ is a scribal error for ‘Gutian’ (see **10, no.27**, obv.), in which case the defeat of the Persian army is being ‘prophesied’ and the tone of the text is pro-Alexander; (b) at this point, the writer moves into ‘real’ prophecy, and is offering a warning to Alexander of the transience of power. The second suggestion is very attractive and would make sense of the comparatively flowery language employed by the writer from here on. However, all suggestions are speculative and understanding of the text remains moot.

Figure 10.7 Chronology of Alexander’s campaigns

Granicus to Tyre: May 334 to summer 332	
334:	Macedonian army lands at Abydos in spring.
May 334:	Battle of Granicus (10, no.8) followed by ‘liberation’ of Greek cities on coast; Sardis surrenders (10, no.9).
Summer 334:	Alexander sends his fleet back.
To Autumn 334:	Halicarnassus resists and is besieged by Alexander (10, no.11).
Winter 334/3:	Hard campaign to gain control of Lycian and Pamphylian coast (cf. 10, no.37).
Early 333:	Alexander moves north through Pisidia (17, no.5) and Greater Phrygia; resistance of garrisons at Celaenae.
Spring 333:	Alexander spends several months at Gordium. While he is there, the Persian general, Memnon, mounts an extremely dangerous series of attacks on Turkish coast (10, no.12). He is killed at Mytilene in later spring 333. Alexander receives reinforcements from Greece and Macedon.
May–June 333:	Alexander moves down through western Cappadocia to Cilicia, through Cilician Gates. Seizes Tarsus (capital of Cilicia); Alexander falls seriously ill (possibly malaria). Agis III of Sparta makes overtures to Persian admirals in Aegean (10, no.14). Darius III assembles large army, but his plan to divide Macedonian army fails.
November 333:	Battle of Issus. Alexander’s victory brings him Darius’ wife, daughter and mother and Darius’ campaign treasure as booty; it also allows him to move directly on to Phoenician coast and gain control of Persian navy; Sidon, Aradus, Byblos, Tripolis surrender (granted the retention of their own institutions, 10, no.18).
Tyre and back: summer 332 to summer 331	
End 333:	Alexander arrives at Tyre, which refuses to surrender (10, no.19).
January 332:	Siege of Tyre (situated on an island) begins. At same time a Persian army attacks Alexander’s general, Antigonos, in Greater Phrygia, but is eventually defeated (10, no.20). A few months later, Tyre falls (population massacred/sold into slavery): Alexander gains control of navy and a Macedonian fleet arrives.
August 332:	Alexander moves down coast; Gaza resists and is besieged (10, no.23).

Figure 10.7 Continued

November 332:	Gaza falls; razed to ground, men massacred, women and children sold into slavery. At same time, Macedonian fleet recaptures islands and cities taken by Persian army in 333.
Late 332 to spring 331:	Alexander, supported by fleet, crosses Sinai and enters Egypt without opposition (10, no.24); journey to Siwa oasis and foundation of Alexandria.
Spring 331:	Alexander returns to Tyre.
Summer 331:	Alexander and army march through Damascus and Aleppo to Euphrates in preparation for second confrontation with Darius. Situation in Greece (Agis III) becomes more dangerous.
Death of Darius and defeat of Agis III: summer 331 to summer 330	
1 October 331:	Alexander is victorious at Gaugamela (east of Tigris), but Darius manages to escape to Media (10, nos.27; 28).
October 331:	At same time, Agis has been mounting his offensive in Greece; he is defeated and killed.
Late 331:	Ceremonial welcome of Alexander in Babylon (10, nos.27; 40); Alexander moves on to Susa (10, no.29). In both places, Persian treasures seized.
Winter 331/0:	Alexander has to fight the Uxians (mountain-people) who block pass leading to Persian Gates (17, no.2); Persian Gates themselves guarded by Persian satrap who has to be defeated (10, no.30(i)).
January 330:	Alexander arrives in Persepolis (10, no.30(ii)); because of persistent hostility of Persians (?), he burns Persepolis after emptying its treasures.
Spring 330:	Alexander takes up the pursuit of Darius, who has moved east from Ecbatana (10, no.31). At Ecbatana, Alexander sends Greek forces back home (end of 'Hellenic War' fiction). In Hyrcania, disagreement among Darius' counsellors who abandon him; only the Greek mercenaries and tiny group of Persian nobles remain loyal (10, nos.32; 33).
Summer 330:	Bessus (satrap of Bactria) and Nabarzanes take Darius prisoner, then kill him (10, nos.34; 35). Alexander arrives just too late: henceforth he casts himself in role of Darius' avenger.
Guerilla war in the eastern satrapies and Macedonian opposition: summer 330 to spring 327	
330–329:	Alexander tries to pursue Bessus directly to Bactria, but held up by revolt of Satibarzanes, supported by Bessus, in Areia. Alexander approaches Bactria (after pacifying Areia) from south, conquering Drangiana, Arachosia, Paropamisadae. Bessus attempts to withdraw to Sogdiana, but is betrayed and handed over (cf. 17, no.11).
329–327:	Spitamenes, a Sogdian leader, together with local rulers, continues resistance against Alexander. Throughout this time, Alexander encounters opposition from some of the Macedonian nobles for his adoption of Persian royal forms; ringleaders are executed or killed on the spot. Macedonian soldiers begin to express their desire to go home, as the terrible guerrilla war takes its toll.
327:	Alexander marries Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian noble.
India and the Gulf: 327–325	
Summer 327:	Alexander leaves Bactria and moves to important strategic foundation of Alexandria-Caucasus in Hindu-Kush (vicinity of Kabul), which controls three crucial routes including the Khyber pass. Hephaestion and Perdicas are sent ahead to conquer right bank of Kabul river (Cophen) and prepare for arrival of rest of army on Indus.

327– spring 326:	Alexander sets off to pacify left bank of river: extensive hard fighting needed to force surrender by siege of small, precipitous natural fortresses (most difficult: Aornos). Alexander is only able to join rest of army on Indus after nearly eight months of fighting.
Spring–summer 326:	Surrender of several Indian princes (e.g. Taxila).
July 326:	Battle on Hydaspes against Porus, who is left effectively in control of his territory; the soldiers refuse to continue campaign east to Ganges.
Winter 326/5:	Alexander descends Indus by boat, massacring populations living along route.
January–July 325:	Alexander constructs naval base in Indus Delta (Pattala).
August 325:	Alexander leaves for Gedrosia.
September 325:	Nearchus plots Persian coast (17, nos.43–6).
December 325:	Alexander and Nearchus meet in Carmania; Nearchus continues voyage to Euphrates mouth. Alexander continues on to Fars.
Last years: 324–323	
January 324:	Alexander restores Cyrus' tomb at Pasargadae.
February 324:	Mass marriages at Susa.
Spring 324:	Insubordination at Opis.
Summer 324:	Alexander in Ecbatana; death of Hephaestion. Campaign against Cos-saeans (Zagros mountains) to force their submission (17, no.3).
Spring 323:	Alexander in Babylon; exploration, construction of fleet, clearing of canals for campaign into Gulf.
13 June 323:	Alexander dies in Babylon.

Part III

KINGS AND KINGSHIP

IMAGES OF EMPIRE, VISIONS OF MAJESTY AND THE DIVINE FRAMEWORK

Introduction

What ideologies held the Achaemenid empire together? How did the Persian king perceive the world he ruled over and how, in turn, was he himself perceived? These questions can only be partially answered from what has survived. In the absence of Persian treatises on kingship and power, we have to examine a range of extremely diverse sources. Both visual and written materials offer significant insights. It is particularly important to realise that many, indeed a majority, of the verbal imperial statements are embedded in royal monuments and sculptures. This means that image and text have to be read in conjunction (cf. Kozuh 2003), and it explains why this chapter contains almost as many figures as texts. Many motifs recur, reinforcing certain messages that the authority in the imperial centre wished to project. One aspect of the material presented here, that we must keep in mind, is that, with the exception of Darius I's account of his successful seizure of the throne (**5, no.1**), nothing allows us to gain an impression of the character of individual rulers (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989/2002). The images and messages of Achaemenid kingship, as we first see them being formulated in Darius I's reign, set a norm for later rulers. And that vision of monarchic power was driven home by reiteration, verbal and visual. While there are hints of change over time (see **11, nos.4**, n.1; **37** & n.4; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1998), these are so subtle that it is impossible to pin down their significance. To try to gain some sense of facets of Achaemenid ideology, I have divided this Introduction (as well as the chapter) into a series of sections, each of which forefronts certain aspects. The categories are not neatly separable from each other. Themes overlap and reappear to produce a dense ideological web that embraced the peoples of the empire and strongly affected both those on its margins and its successors.

Centre and periphery

A first aspect to consider is how the Persian kings visualised their empire and its place in the universe. A clear sense of the territorial space embraced by Persian rule appears in the precious metal tablets, deposited in the foundations of the great apadana at Persepolis and perhaps Ecbatana (**11, no.1**), where the king looks out from the centre towards the edges of the empire. In words, he draws lines, running north-east to south-west, south-east to north-west, which intersect at the imperial core. A different sense of the king's realm appears in the repeated statement that everything is the creation of Auramazda. He, the 'wise lord', has brought everything into being: the sky above, the earth below, happiness

(OP šīyati-) for mankind and the Persian king to oversee this bountiful creation in all its colourful diversity. This is evoked verbally by enumerating the subject peoples (e.g. **11, nos.2–4; 7; 12; 16**), and visually by depicting them in their distinctive dress, holding up the royal figure, whose throne platform rests lightly upon the tips of their fingers (**figs.11.4–5; 14; 16**; cf. Root 1979). The image evoked is all-embracing – the monarch is ‘king on this earth’. The impression of Persia’s world-wide dominion is echoed in the description of the empire placed in the mouth of Cyrus the Younger by Xenophon (**11, no.5**). Rarely, if ever, is there a sense that there is a world beyond the Persian king’s reach. All lands have been brought under his sway (e.g. **11, nos.2; 6–7; 12; 16**). This state of things is a realisation of the divine harmony created by Auramazda. But it can only be maintained if Persia’s land and people are kept safe, as the king commands and prays (**11, nos.7–8**). The privileged position occupied by Persia in the empire emerges at various points. Thus the lists of subjects place Persia (when included) first (e.g. **11, nos.2–4**); the king himself is sometimes defined as Persian (and Aryan, e.g. **11, nos.12; 16**); Persia is not among the countries named, or depicted, as bringing ‘tribute’ (e.g. **11, nos.12; 16**). Herodotus’ statement that the Persians thought themselves to be the best of all people (**11, no.9**) seems to fit rather neatly with this (but see *ibid.*, n.1).

One of the most concrete expressions of imperial power was the construction of imposing palaces and the elaboration of royal centres. The creation and growth of the empire brought the expansion, or founding, of cities in its wake to house the essential bureaucracy, workforce and guards, as well as dwellings for the nobility and courtiers, who had to attend on the king (cf. **12, no.5; 13, no.33**). There are problems in defining all this. One is that the urban terrain of the Achaemenid royal centres has, as yet, been little explored, although there are clues and work now in progress is beginning to rectify the situation (see **11, no.11** & n.2; **fig.11.8**; Boucharlat and Benech 2002). Another problem is the site of Ecbatana. The city and its opulent palace were clearly famed in antiquity (**2, no.13**(98); **11, no.15**). But the site’s strategic location means that it has been continuously inhabited, so that early settlement levels are overlaid by the large modern city of Hamadan. As a result, little excavation has been possible, and the stray Achaemenid finds that have been reported lack any context, while the provenance of some is doubted (**11, no.14; fig.11.13**, cf. Boucharlat 1998).

The first urban foundation was that of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae (see **fig.3.5**), with its palaces and pavilions set around a formal garden, its ceremonial structures (**figs.11.19; 11.50**) and (unfinished) citadel. A cursory reading of Darius I’s account of the building of the Persepolis terrace, roughly 500 km east of Susa (**11, no.10**), together with the way in which it now rises above the plain in lonely splendour (**fig.11.7**), can give the impression that it was a new foundation, with no significant urban settlement. But building remains in the vicinity show that Cyrus and/or Cambyses had already built here, while Babylonian texts indicate that part of the site was occupied (almost certainly) by the early Persian city of Matezzish.¹ This clearly continued to flourish with the additional spur of Darius’ building work, which was carried on down to the end of the empire.² A Greek description of Persepolis, when Alexander captured it, gives us a precious vignette of a thriving city (**11, no.11**). We should perhaps visualise Naqsh-e Rostam, some 6 km from the Persepolis terrace and site of the royal burials down to the end of the fifth century (**fig.11.15**), as closely linked to the city.

While Darius I’s citadel at Persepolis added a novel feature to this existing early Persian centre, at Susa he undertook a complete remodelling of the old city (**11, nos.12–13**; cf.

Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible, s.v. Suse). The main explored area is the great platform of his palace, linked to the adjacent ‘Ville Royale’ by a brick causeway bridging a 15 m deep ravine, with other fortified areas to the south (**figs.11.9–11.10**). His building accounts (**11, no.13**) paint a vivid picture of materials and peoples coming from all corners of the empire for the gigantic work of construction. They reinforce the message of the royal inscriptions, listing the variety of peoples subject to the king (see above, p.470). Here it is their active contribution of resources and skills, at royal command on a royal project, that is brought to the fore. While there are considerable similarities between the Persepolis and Susa palaces, architecturally and decoratively (columned halls, staircases with figural ornamentation, monumental gates (**fig.11.3**), gigantic columns with bull capitals (**fig.11.12**)), much more use was made of glazed bricks (and brick reliefs) at Susa. This helps to give us a sense of the sheer brilliance of the palaces in both centres (see **figs.11.11; 11.20**). As at Persepolis, while Darius I initiated the building, its completion, elaboration, even new structures, were the work of his successors. Inscriptions show that, with the exception of Artaxerxes III and Darius III, all built at Susa (see **7, no.84; 8, no.23; 9, nos.22; 71; fig.9.5**).

Kingly qualities and powers

Three royal inscriptions furnish us with a kind of index of the qualities considered essential for a good king. One comes from Darius I’s tomb (**11, no.16**), which depicts the king before a fire altar accompanied by divine symbols. King and altar, resting on a throne-like platform, are supported by representatives of Persia’s subjects (**fig.11.14**, cf. **11, no.4; figs.11.5; 11.16**). The verbal message recalls that the king has been placed in power by Auramazda, to create order out of chaos. This encapsulates the concepts of truth/order (OP *arta*),³ embodied by the king, versus falsehood/chaos (OP *drauga*), in the form of enemies of the divinely created harmony, which is the Persian empire. The king goes on to exhort the viewer to look at the subjects below him. Then he will realise how this present perfection has been achieved. Wars have been fought at the furthest corners of the world, which have delivered the depicted peoples into the Persian king’s hand. The king making Auramazda’s cosmic order an earthly reality through justified war emerges here (see also **11, no.16**, para.4). Two inscriptions, written in the names of both Darius I and Xerxes, are identical (**11, no.17**) and propound the image of the king as a just ruler. Auramazda has equipped him with the ability to distinguish right from wrong, which enables him to act fairly and thus maintain the social order. He only acts after due consideration, never hastily. As a result, he metes out punishment and reward as appropriate. He also judges services rendered according to the potential of the individual, ever ready to reward loyalty. Although moral qualities are the central motif here, the king’s all round physical prowess is stressed, too. Implicitly, he surpasses others in these qualities. Interestingly, a Greek eulogy of Cyrus the Younger, who aspired to the kingship (**9, Section A**), ascribes all these virtues to him (**11, no.18**). Several brief references in classical writers echo these aspects and show that such quintessential kingly features were broadcast (**7, no.5; 9, no.3; 10, no.5; 11, no.19**). Their repeated appearance also underscores their stereotypical nature: to be a Persian king meant to be handsome, physically outstanding, an exceptional soldier and a scrupulously fair judge of others – regardless of any banal realities.

The reverse of the image of the king ranging across vast spaces to create order and impose control is that of bringing the empire’s diversity into the royal centres. The Susa foundation charters (**11, no.13**) are a good example of this, as is the recurring image of imperial

subjects upholding the royal figure (see above, p.470; 471). Another, only presented anecdotally by Graeco-Roman writers, is the motif of the royal table supplied by the products of empire (**11, no.20**). As the king's power embraces all, so he is able to command their most exotic products for his consumption. The royal *paradeisoi* show a related concern. The only royal garden to have been excavated, so far, is the formal one at Pasargadae, which was laid out in Cyrus' reign, but clearly maintained subsequently (**fig.3.5(b)**). A park also surrounded Cyrus' tomb (**3, no.29**), while a *paradeisos* formed part of Artaxerxes II's palace at Susa (**9, no.71; fig.9.5**). What was in them? Plants gathered from all over the empire were planted in carefully planned gardens (**11, no.21(i)**). Sections of the parks were laid out as lush woodlands (**11, no.21(iii–vi)**), well supplied with water, forming orderly and fertile oases in the midst of barren landscapes (**11, no.21(vi)**). These forested sections also served as game reserves, stocked with wild animals (lions, tigers, bears), where king and courtiers hunted (**11, no.21(iv) & (v); 12, no.46(ii); 13, nos.30; 31(i)**), allowing the former to exhibit his physical prowess (see **11, nos.18(9.6); 21(v)**). But the gardens were not only for royal display, leisure and sport. A text from the Persepolis archives lists fruit-trees to be planted in various royal gardens in Fars (**11, no.21(ii)**). So they were also cultivated to produce food, tended by specialists in royal service (see **16, nos.43–7**). One other aspect to note is that the *paradeisoi* served to mark the presence of Persian (and not only royal) power throughout the empire. They are attested in places from western Turkey to Central Asia (**11, no.21(v); 12, no.46**; note also **9, no.75(41)**). Thus the imperial landscape itself bore the physical imprint of Persian rule.

Royal representations

To bring home the realities of Achaemenid power the king moved with his retinues and armies through the empire (Briant 1988b). We do not know all the occasions on which this happened, given the unevenness of our sources. The specific occasions we hear about are royally led campaigns, although others probably happened more regularly. These provided an opportunity to put the empire on display, and there are several descriptions in classical writers, some of them mirroring each other almost exactly. They give a wonderful sense of the pageantry and brilliant colour surrounding the king, as he processed through his territories (**11, nos.22–4**), as well as creating an opportunity for subjects to demonstrate their fidelity and to approach the king (**11, no.22(3.19)**). These occasions also provided the setting for reviewing the empire's fighting forces in all their colourful variety, so graphically described by Herodotus (**11, no.25**, cf. Hdt. IV, 85–8), echoing the royal listing and depicting of subjects (see above, p.470). The ceremonial counterpart to this was festivals held in the royal centres, when representatives of subjects reaffirmed their loyalty to the king (**figs.11.22–11.23**). The progress of the royal train through the empire was, of course, carefully stage-managed. Messengers were sent ahead setting out the king's requirements and ensuring that all was in place for an appropriate welcome (**3, no.1(iii, 14–19)**; Hdt. VII, 32; Aelian, HA 15.26; **10, nos.9; 27 (rev.); 29; 40**). Along the royal route, people were clearly expected to place gifts, as shown by anecdotes of the king's pleasure with exceptionally humble presents offered by the poorest of the poor (**11, no.26**). The extraordinary spectacle of the veritable mountain of gifts and huge crowds drawn by the king's approach emerge vividly in a passage from Theopompus (**11, no.27**).

In several of these descriptions, the king's appearance is marked out – by his position, his dress, his physique (**11, no.22(3.13–14)**), his chariot (**11, no.24; fig.11.21**), the brilliant

accoutrements of his immediate guards (**11, no.24; fig.11.20**). The distinctiveness of the king emerges again and again, not least in the manner of his descent from the chariot (**11, no.31; fig.11.32**). The reliefs at Persepolis still bear remnants of the fine and unique decoration of the royal robe (**fig.11.25**). Although they do not match Quintus Curtius' portrayal (**11, no.28**) in every detail, they do allow us get an impression of the royal appearance and equipment (**figs.11.26–11.29**). One way in which subjects encountered this kingly splendour was through audiences at court. The etiquette of appropriate homage is illustrated both by Greek accounts (**11, no.29**) and by Persian iconography (**fig.11.29**). The Persian royal image certainly circulated widely through the empire (**figs.11.30–11.31**). Two items of royal paraphernalia that intrigued classical writers for centuries were a golden plane-tree and a jewelled vine (**11, no.30**), although their precise significance and use remain unknown (see Briant 1996a: 246–9 [2002b: 234–7] for discussion; note also the story of Xerxes' honouring of a plane-tree, **7, no.18**). It is interesting to remember that, according to several earlier and later stories (e.g. the *Gilgamesh Epic* IX, 172–90, cf. the later texts cited in Henkelman 2004: 15), at the very ends of the earth grew jewel-bearing trees. Could the Persian king's precious stone-studded golden trees have symbolised his power as reaching right up to the frontiers of the realms of legend?

The decorative schemes of the Achaemenid palaces that have survived lack the detailed scenes of battles and royal victory so well known from Assyria. Scenes of court ceremonies and the king seated or moving majestically predominate. Yet the fact that battles fought and won lie at the root of Persia's empire is acknowledged (see particularly **11, no.16**, para.4), while Darius I's Bisitun inscription commemorates them in graphic detail (**5, no.1**). One factor could be that only the exterior decoration of the palaces has survived: hangings and frescoes, irrevocably destroyed, could have depicted battles – but hard and fast evidence is lacking. The king as a pre-eminent fighter, overcoming enemies – human, animal, super-human – is further illustrated by emblematic royal figures mastering wild beasts and monsters carved in the doorways of Persepolis (**fig.11.36**) and on seals (**fig.11.37**). The king's military prowess and personal courage is underscored by stories of the monarch personally confronting his enemies, killing them and leading his soldiers safely through dangerous country (**11, nos.32–4**). The importance of this aspect of kingly ideology also emerges very clearly from the fully armed image on royal coins (**fig.11.35**), seals (**fig.11.33**), and (unique so far) a battle scene painted on beams recovered from a tomb in Asia Minor (**fig.11.34**).

The Persian king and Persian religion⁴

The royal declarations are suffused with the sense of the king's dependence on the gods. He himself is part of the divine creation and it is his duty to strive to maintain it. Gods are invoked to protect Persia's land and people, the empire and royal constructions. While the king stands in a privileged relationship to the divine sphere, he is certainly not himself a god. But his role in defending the god-given order means that his subjects must remain obedient to it, as symbolised by his god(s) and incarnated by him – a message clearly stated by Darius I and Xerxes (**5, no.1**, paras.72–3; 75–6; **7, no.88**, para.4b). It is this intertwining of god(s), king and empire that perhaps explains why, as Herodotus says, Persians must always pray for the king and his sons during private acts of worship (**11, no.35**).

This picture of Persian beliefs in the Achaemenid period is obviously limited and very general. But to try to get beyond that is difficult. Two Greek writers, one contemporary and

one later, provide us with sketches which leave many aspects of belief and cult obscure (**11, nos.35–6**). In particular the notion that the Persians had no cultic installations, such as shrines, altars and divine statues, is almost certainly wrong (**11, no.35** & n.1; **figs.11.38–11.40**). We can proceed a little further by looking at contemporary texts, passing references in later writers, archaeological remains and images. Much will still remain uncertain, but it may allow us to define some features.

The royal inscriptions show us that the prime creator deity is Auramazda, whose intimate association with the king is stressed again and again (see particularly, **11, no.38**). He is the god of the king *par excellence*, but he is not the sole god. The ‘other gods’ or ‘all the gods’ are often invoked alongside him, while he is defined as ‘the greatest of all the gods’ (e.g. **11, nos.1**, para.2; **3; 8; 13(i) & (ii)**). But it is only in the reign of Artaxerxes II that we find two of the ‘other gods’, Anahita and Mithra, named (**11, no.37**). That is unique⁵ and we do not understand the reason, although we may speculate that it is connected with shifts in cult practice reported at that time (**11, no.59**). The fact that many other gods (probably including these two) were always worshipped is shown by the Persepolis documents. Here we can see the royal administration supplying materials for the cults of various Iranian, ‘Elamite’ and ‘Babylonian’ gods,⁶ as well as ceremonies performed at particular sites (**11, nos.39–44**). Although Auramazda figures among the many deities royally supplied, he neither receives the largest quantities nor is he particularly prominent.

The magi also appear in the Persepolis archive performing rituals (**11, no.45**). We usually think of them as ‘priests’, but the documents show that, while they certainly acted in cults, they were by no means the only ones involved in divine worship. Other material (see **13, no.8(ii)** & n.9) indicates that at least as important as their cultic role was their deep knowledge of Persia’s sacred lore and heroic past. Their learning made them valued royal advisers (**3, nos.30**(107–8); **31**(120)), occupying a position comparable to that of the scholars surrounding the Assyrian king (Parpola 1983; SAA 10; Fales 2001: 39–46; cf. Briant 1996a: 278–9 [2002b: 266–8]). Several passages in classical writers show them in this role (see above, and **11, nos.46–50**). They interpret celestial phenomena and dreams, carry out omen enquiries, instruct the king on what hymns should be sung when, select the booty to be dedicated to the gods. They are the experts who know which local gods within the king’s wide realm may need assuaging. They are entrusted with guarding and performing the rituals for, Cyrus’ tomb (**3, no.29**) and perhaps another royal funerary monument (**11, no.45**, n.3), and play a role in the coronation (**9, no.5**). And it is they who chant the divine songs of praise appropriate to private acts of sacrifice, and pour the libations (**11, nos.35–6**). In this context they are described, standing before altars with mouths covered and holding wands, images which also appear on reliefs, seals and plaques (**figs.11.41–11.43**).

The mouth was covered, according to Strabo (**11, no.36**), in order not to pollute the fire, the crucial element in Iranian acts of sacrifice. Several pieces of evidence illustrate the importance of fire in Achaemenid period cult. Fire altars appear on seals (**figs.11.41; 11.46–11.47**); remnants of fire altars have been found at Pasargadae and Dahan-i Gulaman (**figs.11.19; 11.38; 11.40**); it is likely that there was an enclosure with a fire altar below Darius I’s great inscription at Bisitun (Luschey and Kleiss 1996). There is also the standard representation of the king before a fire altar on the royal tombs (**fig.11.14**), accompanied by the winged disc, which many think is a representation of Auramazda himself (**figs.11.44–11.45; 11.47**). Classical writers also refer to a sacred fire carried in processions (**11, nos.22**(3.11); **52**), and record that lit fires, symbolising the king in some sense, were

tended during his lifetime and extinguished when he died (**11, no.65**). It is possible, though by no means certain, that tenders of these royal fires figure in the Persepolis archive (**11, no.51**). If that interpretation is correct, then their places of work may indicate where fires sacred to the king were located. It has been suggested in the past that two enigmatic structures – one at Pasargadae, the other at Naqsh-e Rostam (**figs.11.48; 11.50**) – housed the royal fires. Attractive as this is, it is hard to sustain as neither building has adequate ventilation arrangements.

Artaxerxes II's inscriptions imply that the Iranian deities Anahita and Mithra were, next to Auramazda, the most important for the king. Neither figures, indisputably, among the named deities in the published Persepolis documents (see above, p.474). Classical references, however, suggest that both were prominent in royal ceremonies. The number of attestations grows if we accept that Mithra, as the guardian of oaths and hence just dealing, had already been identified with the sun (**11, nos.35 & n.2; 36**). If that is correct, then references to the king praying to the sun or having an image of the sun carried in procession, would implicitly refer to Mithra (**11, nos.22; 53–6**).⁷ Another link between the sun and Mithra is that both are associated with horses (**11, no.57**). More certainly attested is the celebration by the king of an annual festival in honour of Mithra (**11, no.58**). Anahita, in the hellenised guise of Athena, Artemis or Aphrodite, appears overseeing the ritual of royal initiation (**11, no.63**). A later writer reports a royal edict commanding the setting up of cult-statues of Anahita in Iran and the imperial centres. We should perhaps understand this as a way of uniting the Persians of the imperial diaspora (**11, no.59**). It looks, moreover, as though Anahita had, at this time, absorbed many aspects of the popular Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar-Nannaia (**fig.11.49; 11, nos.60; 63**). But how are we to understand this precisely? Is the divine female figure surrounded by a nimbus and mounted on a lion (sacred to Ishtar) with a Persian royal figure facing her Anahita? The uncertainties in delineating the belief system of the Achaemenid rulers continue to loom large.

The king between man and gods

The Persian king was not a god, but he was a person set apart; he was not like others. How was he transformed from ordinary mortal into the holder of immense power, executor of the divine will? How was the death of this unique being managed and commemorated? We have some, limited, information to help us answer these questions. It provides hints about the occasion when the crown-prince was appointed, his association with his father and the initiation ritual he underwent before being crowned (**11, nos.61–3**). We also have snippets indicating that the king's birthday was celebrated annually and a fire kept burning during his lifetime (**11, nos.64–5**). We know that, at death, the royal corpse was ceremonially conveyed back to Fars for burial (**8, no.20(48)**). Unfortunately, only the description of Alexander's hearse provides us with a hint of how magnificent a spectacle this must have been, drawing great crowds together to view the cortège and mourn the dead ruler. I have, therefore, included it to give a flavour of the occasion (**11, nos.66–7**). We know that Cyrus' tomb was the focus of a royally funded cult (**3, no.29**), and passing remarks in the résumé of Ctesias suggest that the tombs of subsequent rulers, too, were the subject of cults. Newly published Persepolis documents now confirm this, showing that not only the tombs of kings, but also those of royal family members, were in the care of high-level courtiers and in receipt of regular offerings (**11, no.68**).

Notes

1. That is its Elamite name, which equals OP Huvadaiciya; Bab. Hum/badešu, see **5, no.1**, n.93. An indicator of the importance and populousness of Macezish before Darius I is the fact that he chose the city as the site for the public execution of Vahyazdata, who claimed to be Cyrus' son, Bardiya (see **5, no.1**, para.43). But note that Hansman places Macezish at Tell-i Zohak, see Enclr, s.v. Fasa, ii. Tall-e Zahak, which seems rather unconvincing. For a recent detailed presentation of the site, see RLA X, 393–416, s.v. Persepolis.
2. Note that inscriptions and monuments of all the Achaemenid kings, except Darius II and III, have been found at Persepolis (**7, nos.1; 85; 87(ii); 88; fig.7.6; 8, no.5; figs.8.2–8.3; 9, no.73; figs.9.6–9.7; 11, no.4**).
3. The term does not appear in the Old Persian royal inscriptions, except possibly once (**7, no.88** & n.9), where it is subject to differing interpretations, see Enclr, s.v. arta. However, the recurrent use of its opposite (*drauga*) implies the existence of the concept at this time; see further, Kellens 1995.
4. Given the enormous complexity of Persian religion in the Achaemenid period, the very divergent views held by specialists, and the way that what can be observed is frequently associated with the king, I have decided to place this section here. This means that some aspects, not immediately related to royal ideology, are included. For a succinct introduction to early Iranian belief and ritual, and the issue of Zoroastrianism, see Malandra 1983. For a full discussion of Persian religion in the Achaemenid period, see Henkelman 2006.
5. Artaxerxes III names Mithra besides Auramazda in his Persepolis inscription (**9, no.73**), but not Anahita. For the possible occurrence of Mithra in the Persepolis texts, see **11, no.40**. Note also Razmjou 2001, for the appearance of the Avestan deity Spenta Armaiti in the Persepolis archive.
6. In fact only one 'Babylonian' god – Adad – receives offerings from the central administration. Henkelman (2006, 4.1.1) demonstrates that, in this context, he is not, in any meaningful sense, a non-local god, as he had been absorbed into the Elamite pantheon by the early second millennium. To call the other non-Iranian deities 'Elamite' is, as Henkelman argues persuasively, also inappropriate: they were part of the Persian pantheon, the result of the centuries of acculturation of Iranians and Elamites in the Fars region (see **ch.3, Introduction**). So the government-sponsored cults in Fars are, in fact, exclusively Persian; the cults of the many non-Persians settled there receive no supplies – and the same officiants attend cults of both Elamite and Iranian origin.
7. However, the descriptions of the king waiting for sunrise before setting forth or placing his tent to face sunrise (**11, nos.23; 53** & n.4) are more likely to be associated with El. (DN) Marirash (= OP *(H)uvarira), 'Sunrise', who figures in the Fortification archive.

A. Territorial imagery

1. A vision of imperial space

DPH; DH. Four copies of a trilingual text, two inscribed on gold tablets, two on silver tablets, from the apadana at Persepolis (DPH; **fig.11.1**). The trilingual text of DH, said to have been found between two finely dressed stones at Hamadan (anc. Ecbatana), and inscribed on one gold and one silver tablet, is identical: Kent, DPH; DH; Schmitt 2000, DPH.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 218–19; Stolper 1998b, DPH; Brosius 2000, no.134.

- §1 Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries,² son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.
- §2 King Darius proclaims: This (is) the kingdom which I hold, from the Saca who are beyond Sogdiana,³ from there as far as Kush,⁴ from the Indus as far as Sardis, which Auramazda, the greatest of the gods, bestowed upon me.
- §3 May Auramazda⁵ protect me and my house.⁶



Figure 11.1 Gold and silver tablets (each $33 \times 33 \times 1.6$ cm), inscribed with the text of **11, no.1**, enclosed in a stone box ($45 \times 45 \times 15$ cm). (National Museum of Iran, Tehran.) (Photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago.)

Notes

1. The copies of DPh were deposited in stone boxes, together with Lydian and Greek coins, and placed in the north-eastern and south-western corners of the foundations of the apadana, see Schmidt 1953, figs.42A & B; Schmitt 2000, pls.32–3, **fig.11.1**; cf. Shahbazi 1976: 27 for the suggestion that, originally, there were deposits at all four corners of the hall. As DH was inscribed on similar precious metal tablets and found (reportedly) in association with architectural remains, it is possible that Darius I built a similar columned hall at Ecbatana (cf. *EncIr* s.v. Apadana).
2. OP *dahyu-*, meaning both ‘people’ and ‘country/land’. Note that the Babylonian version has *matati* = ‘lands’.
3. I.e. the Scythians of Central Asia.
4. I.e. Nubia.
5. The Babylonian version runs, ‘Auramazda, together with the gods’.
6. OP *vith-* = ‘clan’, ‘family’, ‘palace’/‘house’.

2. Persia holds Egypt

DSab. Trilingual text inscribed on the left garment folds (from the viewer’s perspective) of a statue of Darius I, Susa: Vallat 1974a; Egyptian hieroglyphic text on the right garment folds, belt and base: Yoyotte 1974 **figs.11.2–11.4**.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 246–7 (cuneiform text only); TUAT I/6, 609–13; Brosius 2000, nos.49–50.

Cuneiform text:

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness² for man, who made Darius king.
 §2 This is the statue of stone, which Darius the king ordered to be made in Egypt,³ so that whoever sees it in time to come will know that the Persian man holds Egypt.
 §3 I am Darius, great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this great earth, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.
 §4 Darius the king proclaims: May Auramazda protect me and all that has been done by me.

Hieroglyphic text (on (a) belt-tassels, (b) right fold of robe, (c) surface of base, and (d) face and sides of base):

- (a) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord who accomplishes the rites, Darius – life, prosperity, health! The perfect god, lord of the two lands, Darius – life, prosperity, health!
 (b) The perfect god, acting with his own hands, the lord, regent of the two crowns of north and south, who inspires fear in the heart of humanity, who commands prestige in the eyes of all who see him, he whose power has conquered each of the two lands and who acts in accordance with divine orders, son of [Re], engendered by Atum, living image of Re,⁴ who has placed him on his throne in order to complete what he has begun here below.

The perfect god, who rejoices in truth, whom Atum lord of Heliopolis⁵ has chosen to be master of all that the sun's disc describes, because he knows that he is his son, his caretaker. He has ordered him to conquer each of the two lands and the goddess Neith⁶ has given him the bow she holds, to throw back all his enemies, acting as she did on behalf of her son Re, on the first occasion (i.e. creation), so that he may be effective in repelling those who rebel against him, to reduce those who rebel against him in the two lands.

The strong king, great in prestige, lord of power like him who resides in Letopolis,⁷ lord of his own hand, who crushes the nine bows,⁸ whose council is effective and whose plans succeed; master of his arm, when he rushes into battle, shooting precisely, his arrow never missing its goal, he whose strength is like that of Montu.⁹

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Darius – life, prosperity, health – the great (king), king of kings, supreme lord of the earth (in its totality, son of) the god's father, Hystaspes, an Achaemenid,¹⁰ who has appeared as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the seat where Horus¹¹ reigns over the living, like Re at the head of the gods, eternally.

- (c) The perfect god, master of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius – life, prosperity, health! Image made as an exact resemblance of the perfect god, master of the two lands, which his majesty has made so that a monument of himself might be permanently established and that his person will be remembered with his father Atum, the Heliopolitan father of the two lands, Re-Harakhte,¹² for the length of eternity. May he in return grant him all life and strength, health, joy, as Re (rejoices in them).
 (d) (Behind smatowy, alt. somtu, symbols)¹³ Speech: I give you all life and strength, stability, health and joy. I give you all countries of the plain and all countries of the mountains,

united under your sandals.¹⁴ I give you Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, who adore your beautiful face, like that of Re, eternally.

(Labels below figures typifying subject lands, arranged in two groups)

- (i) Persia, Media, Elam, Areia, Parthia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Drangiana, Sattagydia, Chorasmia, Saca of Marsh and Saca of Plain.¹⁵
- (ii) Babylon, Armenia, Sardis, Cappadocia, Skudra (Thrace), Eshur (Syria), Hagar (north-west Arabia), Kemi (Egypt), the country of Tjemhou (Lybia), the country of Nehsy (Nubia), Maka,¹⁶ India.¹⁷

Notes

1. The statue is over life-size (estimated original height, approx. 3 m), and was found near a monumental gate at Susa (see CDAFI 4; **figs. 11.2–11.3**; cf. **7, no. 84(ii)**). It was one of a pair (or more?) set up there (Caubet 1994: 219–20). The sides of the base are decorated with figures of subjects in Egyptian style, but with Persian influence (Roaf 1974; see **fig. 11.4**).
2. See **7, no. 87**, n. 3.
3. Analysis of the stone indicates that it was of Egyptian origin, see Trichet and Vallat 1990 (but note Lecoq 1997: 113), and the Egyptian text on the base (below (c)) suggests that it was set up there. Was it, then, moved to Susa later? Or was this a copy of one (or more) set up in Egypt? See Briant 1996a: 989 [2002b: 963–4].
4. Atum, the creator god, and Re, the sun god, were major gods of Egypt, closely associated with Egyptian kingship and the central deities of Heliopolis, near Memphis.
5. Eg. Iunu.
6. Chief deity of Sais, associated with threatening waters, hunting and war.
7. Egyptian Khem, about 13 km north-west of Cairo, seat of the blind falcon god, Khenty-Khem.
8. The ‘Nine Bows’ is the standard term designating Egypt’s traditional enemies.
9. Falcon-headed deity of the Theban region.
10. This is comparable to the Persian royal protocol (see para. 3 of the cuneiform text above) and strikes an alien note in the otherwise typically Egyptian formulation of the text. Note the designation of Hystaspes as ‘god’s father’, an Egyptian way of describing the non-royal father of a king.
11. The Egyptian king was an embodiment (more aptly, an epiphany) of the falcon god Horus.
12. I.e. ‘the sun – the celestial power that is on the horizon’, an aspect of Re.
13. I.e. ‘uniting the two lands’, the age-old symbol associated with the Egyptian king as the ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt.
14. This verbal image is concretely expressed (see **fig. 11.4**) by placing the figures of the imperial subjects with upraised hands on the base upon which Darius’ feet rest (cf. **11, no. 16**, para. 4 & n. 11).
15. Note that the same groups appear on the Tell el-Maskhuta canal stela, Posener 1936: 54, no. 12; 184–5 (cf. **11, no. 6**, n. 1). It may indicate all the Scythians of the northern periphery, rather than two distinct groups, Roaf 1974: 118–19.
16. This is generally placed on the Gulf coast, but it is unclear whether the Iranian or Arabian side is meant, or both taken together. Some scholars argue persuasively for the Makran coast (Iran), e.g. Schmitt 2000; see the discussion by Salles 1990: 114–15; Blois 1989 (cf. **17, no. 42(i)**).
17. For problems and inconsistencies in the lists of subject lands, see Calmeyer 1982; 1983; Briant 1996a: 185–6 [2002b: 172–3].

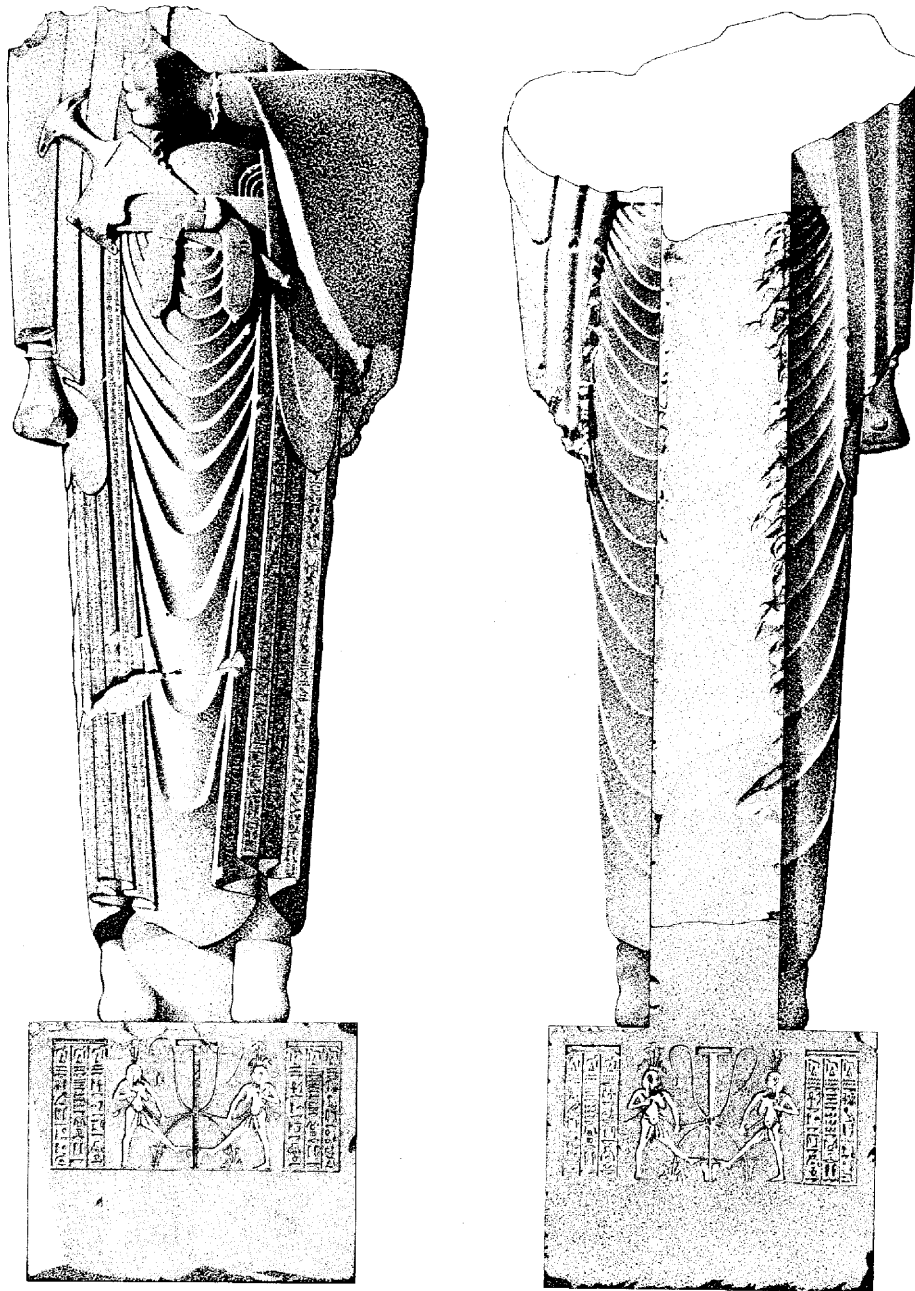


Figure 11.2 Front and back view of the statue of Darius I from Susa, inscribed with the cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts of **11, no.2**. For the Persian royal dress, see **fig.11.25**; for the 'Elamite' dagger, see Calmeyer 1988: 32–3; Henkelman 2003b: 190–1. (National Museum of Iran, Tehran. After H. Gonnet, CDAFI 4 (1974).)

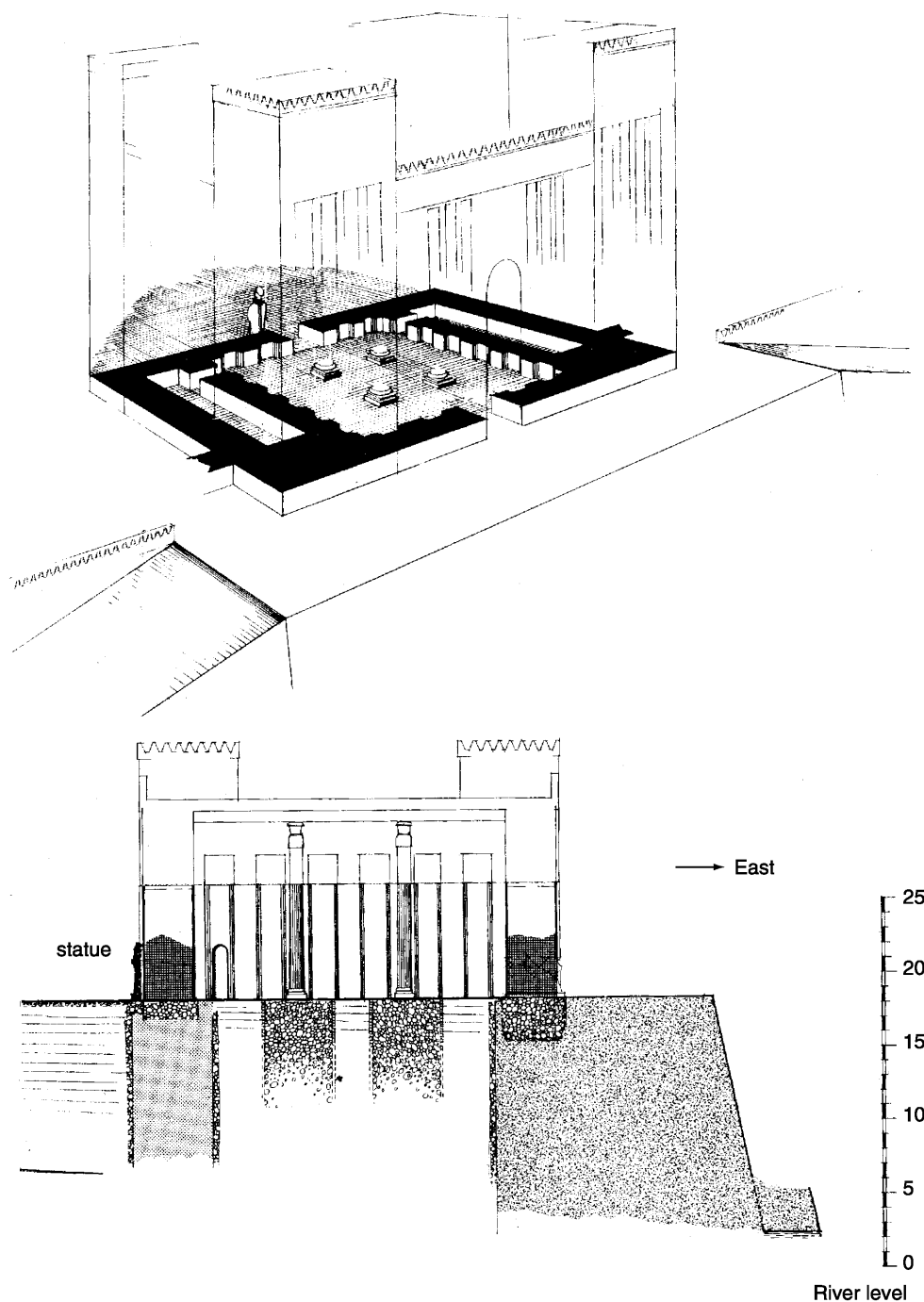


Figure 11.3 (a) Reconstruction view of the great gate building at Susa leading from Darius I's palace, completed by Xerxes (7, no.84), showing the original position of the Darius I statue. The gate was 12 to 13 m high, supported by four 1 m thick columns and approached via an unbaked brick causeway across a ravine, 15 m deep. It is now suggested that it served as the main exit from the palace, with the main access (decorated with human-figured glazed bricks) leading up from the west, see Kaboli 2000.
 (b) Section of the Susa gate. Note the height above the river level. (After J. Perrot and D. Ladiray, CDAFI 4 (1974).)

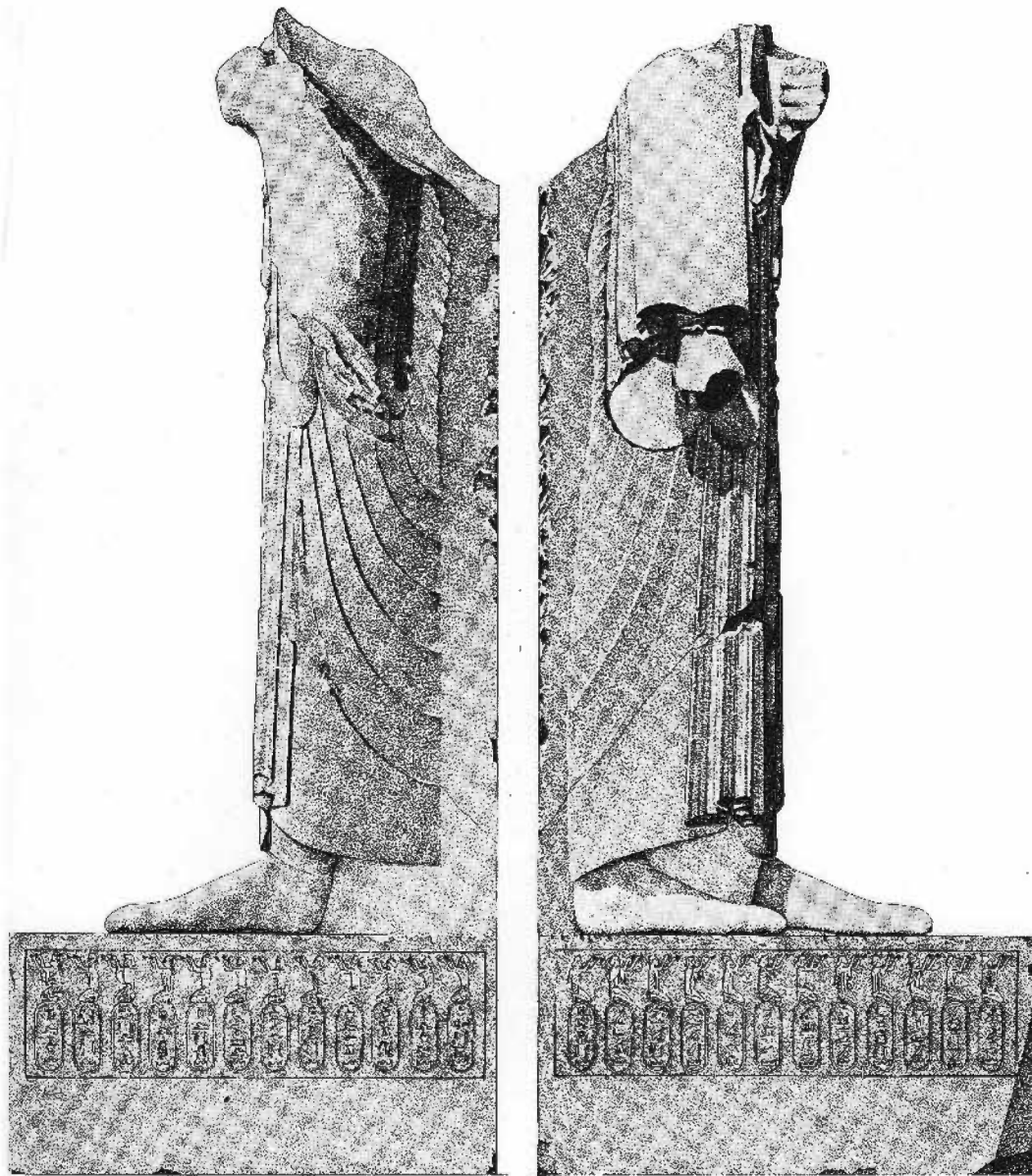


Figure 11.4 Side views of the statue of Darius I from Susa, showing the figures representing the subject peoples of the empire, hands raised in gesture of support (cf. fig.11.5), together with identifying captions (see the end of 11, no.2). (After H. Gonnet, CDAFI 4 (1974).)

3. The diversity of Persia's imperial realm

DPg. Babylonian inscription on the south wall of the Persepolis terrace wall: Weissbach 1911: 85 & 87.

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 229–30; Stolper 1998b, DPg.

- §1 A great (god is) Auramazda, who is the greatest among all the gods, who created heaven and earth, created mankind, who gave all well-being to mankind who dwell therein, who made Darius king, and bestowed on Darius the king kingship over this wide earth, in which there are many lands: Persia, Media and the other lands of other tongues, of mountains and plains, from this side of the sea to that side of the sea, from this side of the desert to that side of the desert.
- §2 Darius the king speaks: With the protection of Auramazda, these (are) the lands, who did this, who gathered here: Persia, Media, the lands of other tongues, of mountains and plains, from this side of the sea to that side of the sea, from this side of the desert to that side of the desert, as I commanded them.¹ All that I did, I did with the protection of Auramazda. May Auramazda, together with all the gods, protect me, me and all I love.²

Notes

1. The reference is to the participation of the imperial subjects in the building of Persepolis, cf. the Susa foundation charters (**11, no.13**).
2. This is partly restored, and so not completely certain.

4. The king depicts and enumerates the subjects of his realm

A?P. Trilingual labels attached to depictions of subject figures on the façade of the northern royal tomb at Persepolis (see **figs.11.5; 11.8**): Kent, A?P; Schmitt 2000, A³Pb.¹

Translation: Lecoq 1997: 271–2 (A²Pa).

Top row (from left to right):

This is the Persian; this is the Mede; this the Elamite; this is the Parthian; this is the Areian; this is the Bactrian; this is the Sogdian; this is the Chorasmian; [. . .]; this is the Drangianian; this is the Arachosian; this is the Sattagyadian; this is the Gandaran; this is the Indian; this is the *hauma*-drinking Saca.

Bottom row (from left to right):

This is the Pointed Hat Saca;² this is the Babylonian; this is the Assyrian; this is the Arab; this is the Egyptian; this is the Armenian; this is the Cappadocian; this is the Sardian; this is the Ionian; this is the Scythian across the sea; this is the Thracian; this is the *petasos*-wearing Ionian;³ this is the Libyan; this is the Nubian.

To the left of the foot of the structure:

This is the man from Maka.⁴

To the right of the foot of the structure:

This is the Carian.

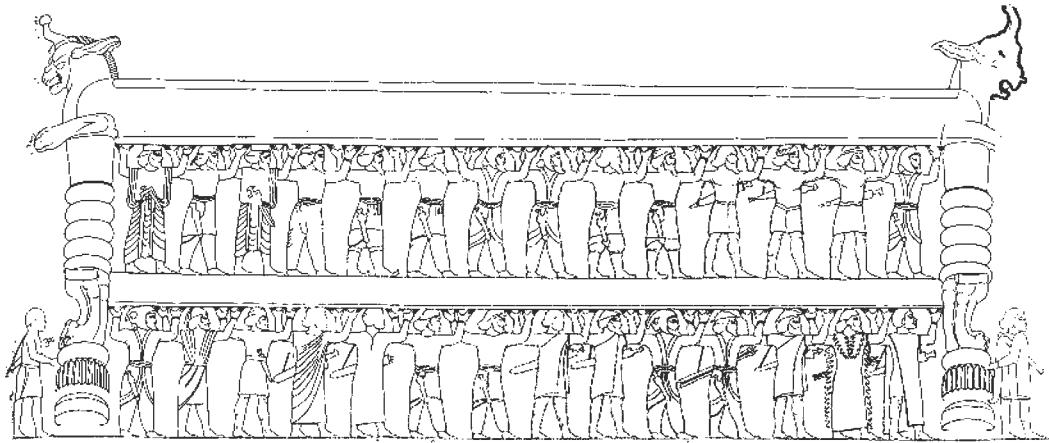


Figure 11.5 Drawing from the tomb façade of Artaxerxes II or III (see 11, no.4, n.1), at Persepolis, showing representatives of the empire supporting the throne-platform on which the king stands (cf. figs.11.4; 11.14). For the captions, see 11, no.4. (After Walser 1966.)

Notes

1. Schmitt has argued on philological grounds that this is Artaxerxes III's tomb. The fact that Egypt is included is not necessarily a significant chronological indicator, as such royal proclamations are not bound by current political realities. The tomb is located east of the palace terrace at Persepolis (tomb V). The move of the royal tombs away from Naqsh-e Rostam is thought to have been initiated by Artaxerxes II (tomb VI?; see fig.11.8). Why this change was undertaken is unknown. Stylistic analysis more usually assigns the tomb to Artaxerxes II (Schmidt 1970: 99; cf. the cautious remarks of Calmeyer 1990a), as some philologists have also done (Lecoq 1997: 271–2). Note that Kent was undecided whether to attribute the tomb to Artaxerxes II or III, while Lecoq assigns it firmly to Artaxerxes II. Apart from Darius I, this is the only tomb where the figures of the throne-bearers, i.e. representatives of imperial subjects, are identified by name. It is noteworthy that Artaxerxes II/III's list is virtually identical to the earlier one.
2. OP *hauma* was an intoxicating drink ritually drunk in Iranian cult, see Malandra 1983: 15; 21–2; 150–1. The pointed hat of the Saca/Scythians is particularly clearly depicted on Darius I's relief at Bisitun, see fig.5.3. Both groups are located in Central Asia.
3. The *petasos* is a type of hat worn by several Greek groups.
4. For Maka, see 11, no.2, n.16; for discussion of the lists of subject peoples, see *ibid*.

5. The vast span of the empire

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 7.6.

When Cyrus heard this,¹ he said: 'Gentlemen, my father's kingdom stretches to the south where men cannot live because of the heat, and to the north where they cannot do so because of the cold. And all that lies in between my brother's friends hold as satraps.'

Note

1. One of Cyrus the Younger's Greek confidants had expressed the view that Cyrus might not be able to fulfil his promises of rich rewards for his supporters, should he triumph over his brother (see 9, Section A for the war between Artaxerxes II and Cyrus).

6. Linking centre and periphery

DZc. Trilingual text engraved on one side of a granite stela ('Chalouf Stela'), set up at Kabret, Egypt: Kent, DZc (fig.11.6).¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 247–8; Brosius 2000, no.52.

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, who created yonder heaven, who created this earth, who created man, who created happiness² for man, who made Darius king, who bestowed on Darius this land, large, with good horses, with good men.³



Figure 11.6 Obverse of pink granite stela from Kabret, showing the side inscribed with the cuneiform text (see 11, no.6 & n.1). It is 3.15 m high, 2.10 m wide, with a thickness of 77 cm. It is set on a sandstone base, placed on limestone blocks. While the positioning of royal figures facing each other under a winged sun-disc is traditional in Egyptian art, the king is shown as unmistakably Persian; note the dress, hair and crown. (Ismailia. After J. Ménant, *Rec. Trav.* 9 (1887): 131–157.)

- §2 I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.
- §3 King Darius proclaims: I am a Persian; from Persia, I seized Egypt. I ordered this canal to be dug, from a river called Nile, which flows in Egypt, to the sea which goes to Persia.⁴ So this canal was dug as I had ordered, and ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia, as was my desire.⁵

Notes

1. Kabret lies about 130 km north of Suez, on the right bank of the canal; the reverse of the stela carries an Egyptian hieroglyphic text. (See **fig.11.6**, for the image on the obverse.) It is one of four (one is now lost, one each set up at Tell el-Maskoutah and Suez), but only this one preserves sufficient text. See Posener 1936: 48–87 for the Egyptian text, which is rather damaged, but clearly deals with the same subject, though following Egyptian epigraphic conventions.
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
3. Cf. **11, no.8**, para.2; **no.13(i)**, para.3.
4. A canal linking the Nile to the Red Sea had already been started by Necho II of Egypt (610–595), although apparently never completed (Hdt. II, 158).
5. Strong arguments have been advanced (Salles 1987; 1988a) against the possibility of regular sailings between the northern Red Sea and the Persian Gulf at this time, given the dangerous nature of the Red Sea coast (Searight 2003; cf. **6, no.3**, n.3) and the type of boats in use. This suggests that the canal performed primarily an ideological function (see Tuplin 1991 for detailed discussion). However, Bresciani (1998) has reasserted the commercial purpose of the canal, together with suggestions that fire altars and associated cults were set up along the canal.

7. Persian supremacy in the empire

DPe. Old Persian text inscribed on the south wall of the Persepolis terrace: Kent, DPe; Schmitt 2000, DPe.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 228; Stolper 1998b, DPe; Brosius 2000, no.133.

- §1 I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of many countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.
- §2 King Darius proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, these (are) the countries of which I took possession together with these Persian people; these feared me (and) brought me tribute:² Elam, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Lydia (Sardis), Ionians of the mainland and (those) by the sea, and the countries beyond the sea, Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, India, Gandara, Scythians (Saca), Maka.
- §3 King Darius proclaims: If you should think thus: ‘May I not fear anyone else’, protect this Persian people! If the Persian people is protected, for a very long time unbroken happiness³ will rest upon this house.⁴

Notes

1. For a photograph of the text, see Shahbazi 1985, pl.VI.
2. OP *baji-*, the ‘king’s share’, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989; 1998.
3. See **7, no.87**, n.3

4. OP *vith-* = 'house'/'family'. Alternative translation by Schmitt (2000: 61): 'If the Persian people shall be protected, the blissful happiness existing very far off, the undisturbed one – that will come down also upon this palace.'

8. A prayer for Persia

DPd. Old Persian inscription on the south wall of the Persepolis terrace, next to DPe (11, no.7): Kent, DPd; Schmitt 2000, DPd.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 227–8; Stolper 1998b, DPd; Brosius 2000, no.104.

- §1 Great (is) Auramazda, greatest of the gods – he made Darius king, he bestowed kingship upon him; by the favour of Auramazda Darius (is) king.
 §2 Darius the king proclaims: This country, Persia, which Auramazda bestowed upon me, which (is) good, containing good horses, good men, by the favour of Auramazda and of me, Darius the king, it fears no one else.
 §3 King Darius proclaims: May Auramazda bring me aid, together with all the gods; and may Auramazda protect this country from the army (of the enemy), from famine, from the lie!² May there not come upon this country the army (of the enemy), famine, the lie! This I pray as a favour from Auramazda together with all the gods; this favour may Auramazda grant me together with all the gods.

Notes

1. For a photograph, see Shahbazi 1985, pls.IV & VI.
 2. OP *drauga-*, 'lie', 'falsehood', by implication 'disorder', 'chaos'; cf. 5, no.1, n.15.

9. The centrality of Persia

Herodotus I, 134.2.

They (sc. the Persians) esteem most of all those who live closest to them, then those who are next farthest, and so they continue on, according esteem in this way; those who live farthest they esteem the least; because they consider themselves to be far and away the best of men, the rest to have a claim to virtue in proportion, with those living at the greatest distance from them being the worst.¹

Note

1. Although this fits nicely with the Persian ethnocentrism promulgated in the royal inscriptions, Herodotus may here be transposing Greek ethnocentric notions onto the Persians (Bichler 2000: 226).

B. The royal centres

(a) Persepolis

10. The construction of the Persepolis citadel

DPf. Elamite inscription on south wall of Persepolis terrace, between DPe and DPg:¹ Weissbach 1911: 82 & 83 (omitting para.3); Grillot-Susini 1987: 67–9.

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 229; Stolper 1998b, DPf.

- §1 I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this wide earth, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid.
- §2 And King Darius proclaims: On this platform² where this fortress has been built, previously, no fortress had been built there.³ By the favour of Auramazda, this fortress, it was I who built it as Auramazda – all the gods (being) with him – wished it, namely that this fortress be built. And I built it, completed (it), beautified and made (it) solid, exactly as I determined.⁴
- §3 And King Darius proclaims: May Auramazda – all the gods (being) with him – protect me, as well as this fortress, and also what has been put together for/on this structure! May that which a disloyal man⁵ may think not happen.



Figure 11.7 The remarkable palace terrace at Persepolis, showing the irregular stone blocks carefully fitted together. It contains a complex drainage (as well as water supply) system. The terrace rises sheer (12 m) above the Marv Dasht plain, and is reached by a double flight of stairs (110 wide, shallow steps), bringing the visitor to the great 'Gate of All Lands' (see 12, no.4 & fig.12.1). (Photograph courtesy of M.S. Drower.)

Notes

1. See **11, nos.3; 7**.
2. Lecoq and Hallock (PFT, s.v. *kat*) take El. *GIŠ.kat*, ‘place’/‘throne’, as a transcription of OP *gathu*. See Blois (1995), who points out that it is attested earlier as an Elamite word for ‘throne’, while OP *gathu* technically means ‘walkway’, see **11, no.16**, n.10. For the massive palace platform, see **fig.11.7**.
3. While the palace terrace at Persepolis was undoubtedly begun by Darius I, there was already a town near it, which was incorporated into the urban space. This was almost certainly the Elamite *Matezzish* = Babylonian *Hum/badeshu*; see discussion and references in Briant 1996a: 99 [2002b: 86–8]; **5, no.1**, n.94; **11, Introduction**.
4. Or: ‘exactly as it had been determined for me’ (i.e. by Auramazda), see Grillot 1987: 68.
5. El. *harikka* is a rendering of OP *arika*, ‘faithless’, ‘hostile’.

11. A later description of Persepolis

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 70.1–2; 71.1, 3–8.¹

Persepolis was the metropolis of the Persian kingdom. (. . .) It was the richest under the sun and the private houses had been fitted out very luxuriously over the years.²

(71) Alexander went up into the citadel and took over the treasury³ there. From Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, until that time it had been accumulated from the revenues and so was full of silver and gold. For they found in it a hundred and twenty thousand talents,⁴ when the gold was calculated in terms of silver. (. . .)

I do not think it inappropriate to discuss briefly the palaces of the city given the richness of its buildings. The citadel is remarkable, surrounded by a triple wall.⁵ Its first section is built over a very elaborate foundation and is sixteen cubits high, decorated with battlements;⁶ the second is, in every way, the same as the first, but twice as high. The third enclosure is rectangular in shape, and its wall is sixty cubits high, built of hard stone and naturally long-lasting.⁷ Each of the sides has bronze gates with bronze poles twenty cubits high.⁸ These were intended to impress the onlooker, while the gates were for security. (. . .)

At the eastern end of the citadel, four plethra distant, is the so-called royal hill, in which were the tombs of the kings.⁹ It was a smooth rock with several chambers inside which were the coffins of the dead rulers. They have no other access for getting there; and the sarcophagi of the dead reach there by being lifted by certain devices.¹⁰ All around this citadel were royal residences and those of generals, all richly furnished, and storerooms constructed to keep the wealth safe.

Notes

1. Diodorus is the only preserved ‘Alexander historian’ who gives a description of Persepolis. On the uncertainties of, and debates about, Diodorus’ sources for Book XVII, see Welles 1963: 6–18.
2. Unfortunately, there has been very little exploration of the territory below the Persepolis terrace, but see Calmeyer 1990a: 9 & n.8, cf. Abb.1 (p.23), **fig.11.8**, indicating building remains to the south of platform.
3. See Schmidt 1957; Cahill 1985; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993b.
4. This figure (approx. 3,600,000 kg) – like others – cannot be taken at face value. The excavators of the treasury found virtually no metal items in the treasury; see Schmidt 1953: 187 for the very few recovered. Although the palace platform did not exist before Darius (see **11, no.10**), an earlier urban settlement near Persepolis is attested, see **11, no.10**, n.3.

5. Only parts of fortification walls, to the north and east, have been found, see Schmidt 1953; cf. **fig.11.8**.
6. Roughly 8 m. But note that one of the mss. gives 'sixteen towers', corrected in the margin to cubits.
7. Around 30 m; the excavated walls are of mud-brick.
8. Around 10 m. We should probably envisage the door leaves as sheathed with bands of bronze, like the Balawat Gate of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (856–824), now in the British Museum, London.
9. About 120 m. See the plan (**fig.11.8**) for the location of the two royal tombs east of the terrace, and an unfinished third one (cf. Schmidt 1970: 99). Only Artaxerxes II and III were buried here; the tombs of kings from Darius I to Darius II were located at Naqsh-e Rostam, on the edge of the city (cf. **11, no.16**, n.1; **fig.11.15**).
10. Diodorus' description is roughly right: the lowest part of the tombs is 15 m above the current level of the ground at Naqsh-e Rostam (originally much higher) and the entry to the tombs, with its three vaulted chambers, well above that (Schmidt 1970). Note Ctesias, FGrH 688 F13(19), describing the death of Darius I's relatives while visiting his new tomb, when those lifting them with a hoist let go of the ropes.

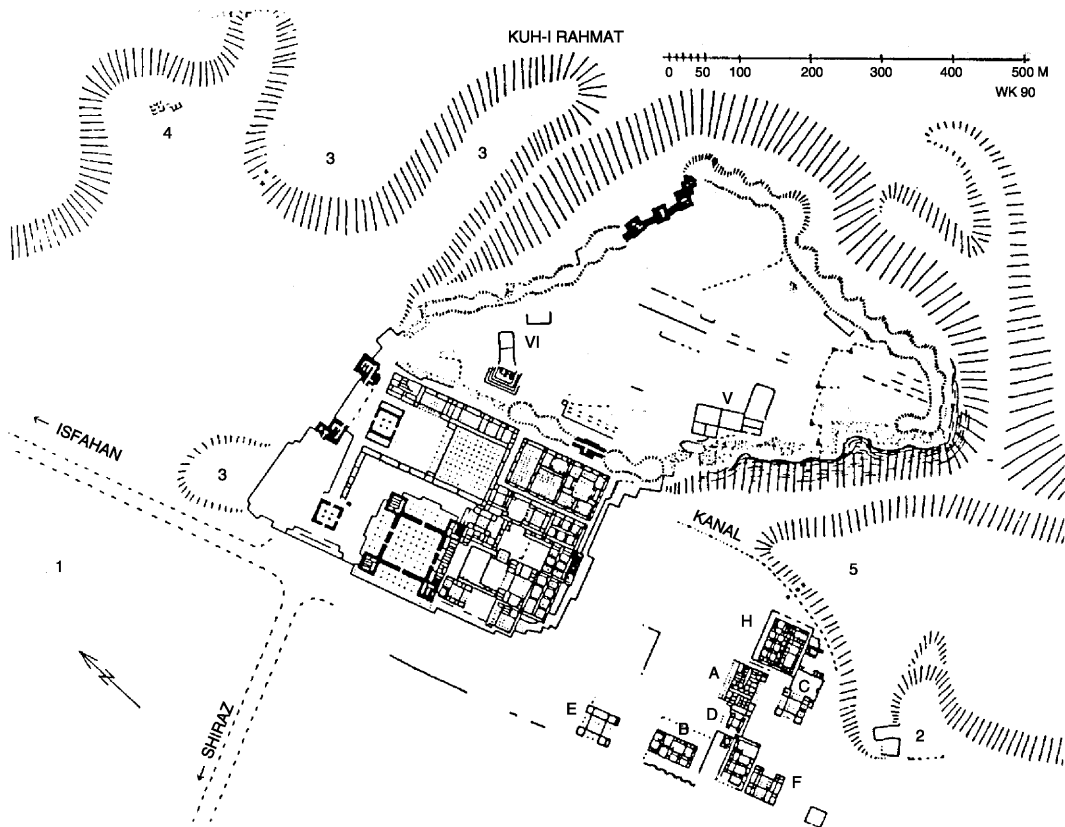


Figure 11.8 Plan of the Persepolis terrace and environs, showing its setting below the Kuh-i Rahmat. Note the sections of the fortification walls to the north and east, and the various structures (indicated by capital letters) to the south.

Key: 1. 'Frataraka Temple' (hellenistic period); 2. The unfinished tomb (possibly a trial piece for tomb V, see Calmeyer 1990a: 11–12; 14); 3. Quarry; 4. Remains of Achaemenid doorpost; 5. Three stone columns; V. Tomb of Artaxerxes II(?); VI. Tomb of Artaxerxes III(?). For discussion of urban and non-palatial aspects of the site and its environs, see Boucharlat 2003a. (After W. Kleiss.)

(b) Susa**12. The fortifications of Susa**

DSe. Trilingual text preserved in several, mainly fragmentary, copies from Susa: Kent, DSe.¹
Translations: Lecoq 1997: 232–4; Brosius 2000, no.46.

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness² for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Darius, great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, of Aryan lineage.³
- §3 King Darius proclaims: These are the people I seized outside Persia; I ruled over them; they brought me tribute;⁴ what I said to them, that they did; my law⁵ that held them (firm): Media, Elam, Parthia, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Maka,⁶ Gandara, India, Saca who drink hauma, Saca with pointed hats,⁷ Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionians of the sea, Scythians beyond the sea,⁸ Thrace, Ionians beyond the sea, Caria.
- §4 King Darius proclaims: Much had been done wrong, that I put right;⁹ the lands were in turmoil, one smiting the other. That which I have done, all that I did by the favour of Auramazda – that the one no longer smites the other, each one is in his place. My law – that they fear, so that the stronger does not smite nor harm the weak.¹⁰
- §5 By the favour of Auramazda, there was much earlier building which was not in a good state; at Susa I saw that the fortress had collapsed; then I built there another fortress.¹¹
- §6 King Darius proclaims: Me may Auramazda, together with the gods, protect, and my house,¹² and what I have written.

Notes

1. The text is reconstructed on the basis of at least ten fragmentary OP clay tablets, three Elamite, two partial Akkadian, and one almost complete Akkadian version.
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
3. Here is the classic Persian royal pedigree: descent, membership of the royal family (Achaemenid) and dominant ethnic group (Persian). How exactly to understand ‘Aryan’ in the Old Persian inscriptions is uncertain, although at times we get a sense that the king distinguishes between Iranian peoples and others (Herrenschmidt 1976; Gnoli 1989, ch.1; Briant 1996a: 193–4 [2002b: 180–1]), cf. **11, no.3**, where Persia and Media are distinguished from people speaking other languages. Here it is possible that the term is being used in the more restricted, archaic sense of ‘noble’. See also, **17, Section B(a)**.
4. See **11, no.7**, n.2.
5. OP *data-* does not mean law in the sense of an enacted code, applied throughout the empire, but rather a royal decision or decree, see Briant 1996a: 981–2 [2002b: 956–7]; cf. **17, Introduction; 17, no.27**, n.9.
6. See **11, no.2**, n.16.
7. For these two groups, see **11, no.4**, n.2.
8. The previous two groups of Scythians are located on the north-eastern edges of the empire, while this group refers to those around the Danube, given the ‘western’ position it occupies in the list.
9. Cf. the very similar statement of Xerxes, **7, no.88**, para.4c.
10. Cf. **11, no.17**, para.2a.
11. For the Achaemenid building at Susa, which involved a complete remodelling of the old Elamite

city, see Boucharlat 1990. Note D.S. XVII, 17.3; 18.1, for the siege of the Susa citadel by Antigonos in 317, confirming the fortified nature of the site. The fortress was in the area called Acropole by the French excavators (see **fig.11.9**).

12. See **11, no.1**, n.6.

13. Darius I's palace at Susa

(i) The Susa foundation charter

DSf. Trilingual text from Susa: Kent, DSf; Grillot-Susini 1990.¹

Translations: Lecoq 1997: 234–7; Brosius 2000, no.45; Henkelman 2003d: 375–6.

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness² for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this earth, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.
- §3 King Darius proclaims: Auramazda, the greatest of the gods, created me; he made me king, he bestowed this kingdom on me, large, with good horses, with good men.³
- §4 By the favour of Auramazda, my father Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather were both living when Auramazda made me king on this earth.⁴
- §5 Thus was the desire of Auramazda: he chose me as the man in all the earth; me he made king in all the earth.⁵
- §6 I worshipped Auramazda; Auramazda bore me aid; what I commanded to be done, he caused to be successful; all I did, I did by the favour of Auramazda.
- §7 This palace⁶ which I built in Susa, its materials were brought from far away; downwards, the earth was dug, until I reached the rock in the earth. When it had been dug, and the rubble packed – on one side its depth was 40 cubits, on the other, its depth was 20 cubits; on this rubble, the palace was set.⁷
- §8 And that the earth was dug downwards and the rubble packed and the bricks moulded, the Babylonian people did it.⁸
- §9 The cedarwood was brought from a mountain called Lebanon; the Assyrian people⁹ brought it as far as Babylon; from Babylon, the Carians and Ionians brought it as far as Susa; the *yaka*-wood¹⁰ was brought from Gandara and Carmania.
- §10 The gold which was worked here was brought from Lydia (Sardis) and Bactria;¹¹ the lapis lazuli and the carnelian which was worked here was brought from Sogdiana; the turquoise which was worked here was brought from Chorasmia.¹²
- §11 The silver and the ebony were brought from Egypt;¹³ the decoration, with which the walls were ornamented, was brought from Ionia; the ivory which was worked here was brought from Nubia, India and Arachosia.
- §12 The stone columns which were worked here were brought from a village called Abiradu in Elam;¹⁴ the masons who crafted the stone were Ionians and Sardians.¹⁵
- §13 The goldsmiths who worked the gold were Medes and Egyptians; the men who worked the wood were Sardians and Egyptians; the men who crafted the bricks were the Babylonians;¹⁶ the men who decorated the wall were Medes and Egyptians.
- §14 King Darius proclaims: At Susa much that was excellent was commanded (to be done), much that was excellent was done. Me may Auramazda protect, and my father Hystaspes¹⁷ and my people.

THE ROYAL CENTRES

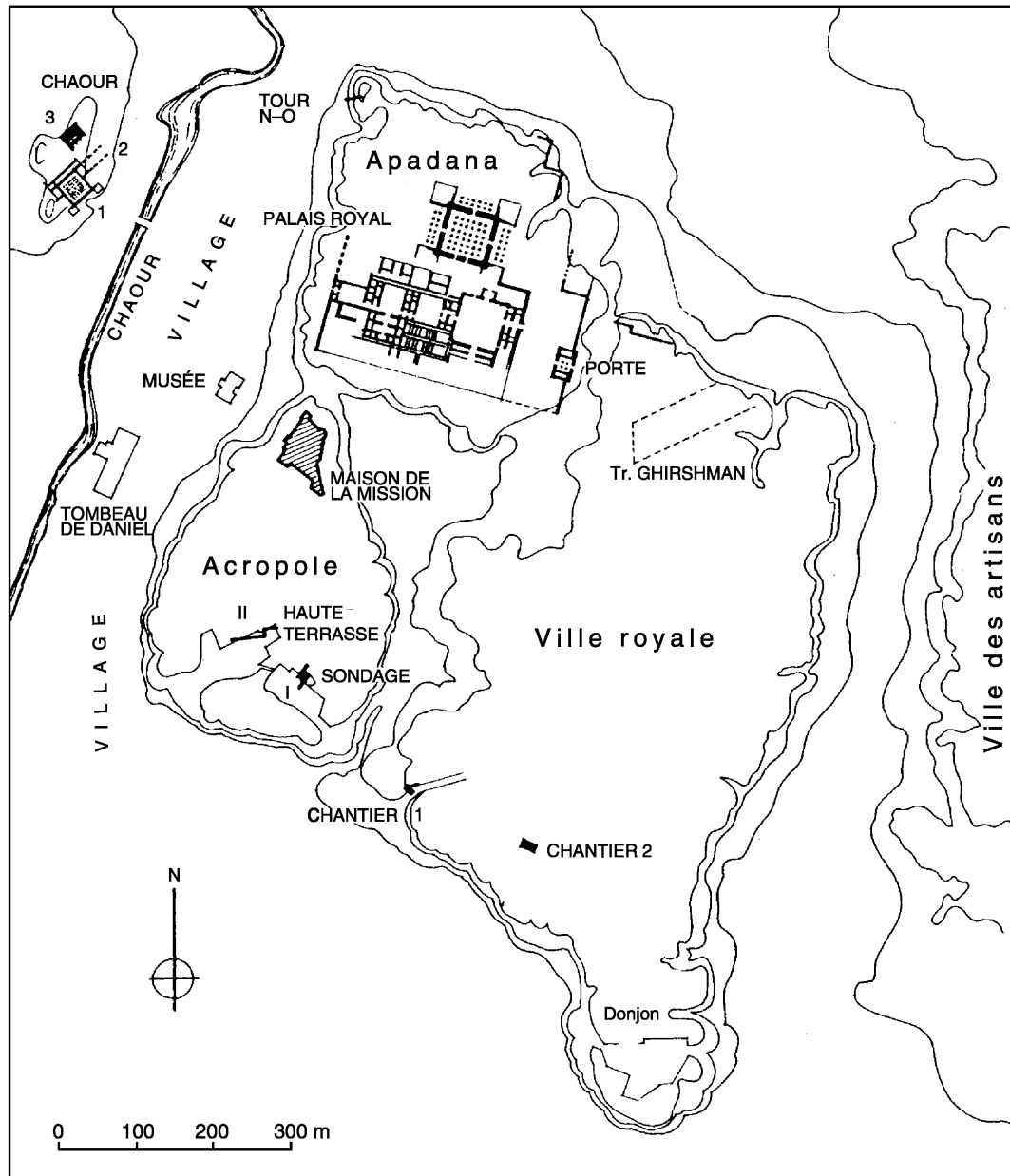


Figure 11.9 General plan of Achaemenid Susa. Note that the 'Ville Royale' mound was linked to the 'Apadana' hill (site of Darius I's palace) by a brick bridge spanning a 15 m deep ravine. The 'Ville Royale' was supported by a 10–12 m high glacis of unbaked brick. The area labelled 'Acropole' is the presumed site of the citadel. The palace on the west bank of the Chaour is that of Artaxerxes II (see 9, no.71). (After J. Perrot and D. Ladiray, CDAFI 4 (1974).)

Notes

1. Fragments of the text, on clay tablets, barrels, stone tablets and glazed bricks, have been found in numerous places at Susa. Altogether there are thirteen pieces of the Old Persian text (one almost complete), twelve Elamite and twenty-seven Akkadian. See discussion (with photograph of OP copy) in Caubet 1994: 271–2.
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
3. Cf. **11, nos.6**, para.1; **8**, para.2.
4. For Darius' genealogy, see **5, no.1**, para.2.
5. See **7, no.1**, para.3, where Xerxes makes the same point, emphasising the crucial role of divine action in legitimising kings, able to override the important aspect of descent.
6. OP *hadiš*. It is assumed (on the basis of the findspots of DSz and DSaa, see **11 no.13(ii/a & ii/b)**), that the text commemorates the constructions of the Apadana terrace (see **fig.11.10**), including a great columned hall (generally thought to be called apadana in Old Persian, cf. **11, no.1**, n.1), as well as residential buildings.
7. Precise understanding of this foundation work (approx.20 m and 10 m, respectively) is unclear. The excavations have revealed that the 12 ha palace buildings were supported by a 15 m high retaining wall, rising sheer above the banks of the Chaour to the west.
8. Bricks were the fundamental Mesopotamian building material, and the Babylonians were masters of brick-moulding, see Moorey 1999: 302–9.

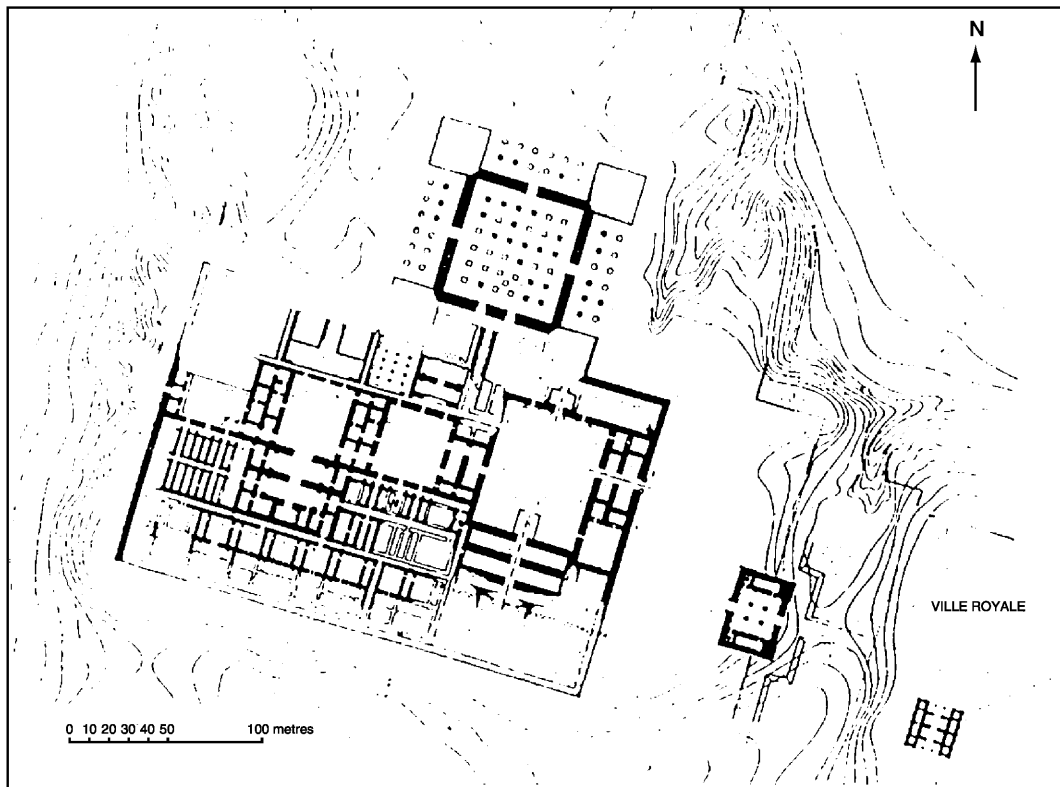


Figure 11.10 Plan of the palace begun by Darius I at Susa. The palace platform itself covers an area of 12 ha, supported by a retaining wall 15 m high, and rising starkly above the Chaour river to the west. (After D. Ladiray, *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 227 (Oct. 1997).)

9. This designates the people of the province 'Beyond-the-River', i.e. Syria-Palestine, as shown by the Babylonian version of the text, see Calmeyer 1990b: 111–12.
10. Dalbergia Sissoo Roxb., see Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 155, s.v., for references.
11. Both Lydia and Bactria were famed for their gold deposits, as was Egypt (Moorey 1999: 220), which, rather perplexingly, appears in this text as a source of silver.
12. Badakhshan, in north-east Afghanistan, was the source of lapis lazuli, see Herrmann 1968, cf. now the discussion by Moorey (1999: 85–7). Carnelian is attested as coming from both India and Iran (Moorey 1999: 97), while the Sinai peninsula, Iran and Central Asia were the chief sources of turquoise (Moorey 1999: 102–3).
13. Egypt is not usually seen as a source of silver, while Iran and Anatolia have well-attested silver deposits, see Moorey 1999: 234–5. Ebony will have come through Egypt from further south.
14. Not known otherwise.
15. See Nylander 1970, for west Anatolian stone-working techniques in Achaemenid building, already attested at Pasargadae, cf. Boardman 2000: 128–30. See **fig.11.12** for a reconstruction drawing of one of the magnificent columns from Darius' palace at Susa.
16. It is possible, though not certain, that this is a reference to the glazed relief bricks recovered from Susa (cf. Boardman 2000: 130; see **figs.11.11; 11.20**). Note that Diodorus (I, 46.4) has Cambyses already taking Egyptian artisans back to Persia (anachronistically, Susa).
17. This could be taken to indicate that Hystaspes was still alive at the time this version of the building text was written in contrast to **11, no.13(ii/a & ii/b)**. But there are so many fragments and versions of this inscription (see above, n.1) that it is difficult to connect them directly with historical circumstances. (For some events possibly connected to Hystaspes' death, see **16, no.52**).

(ii) Two foundation charters from the Apadana terrace

(a) DSz. Elamite text on a stone tablet: Vallat 1970.¹
 Translation: Lecoq 1997: 243–4.

- §1 I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this earth, the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.
- §2 And King Darius proclaims: Auramazda, greatest of the gods, created me, he made kingship for me, he gave me this kingship, large, beautiful with men and with horses.
- §3 And, by the favour of Auramazda, my father Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather were both living when Auramazda made me king on this earth.²
- §4 Auramazda wanted it thus: over the whole span of this earth, he selected me as the man, he made me king on this earth.
- §5 I worshipped Auramazda; Auramazda gave me his support; that which I wished to do, he made it succeed for me; all I did, that I did by the favour of Auramazda.
- §6 The palace which I built at Susa: from far away its materials were brought; and the earth was dug down deep until rock was reached. When it had been completely dug, its foundations, 20 cubits, were laid on the rubble; on the rubble, the palace was set.
- §7 The fact that the earth was removed in depth and that on the rubble its foundations were made, and that the bricks were moulded – the people of Babylon did it.
- §8 And the cedarwood was brought from a mountain called Lebanon; the people of Assyria brought it as far as Babylon; and from Babylon, the Carians and Ionians brought it as far as Susa; and the *yaka*-wood was brought from Gandara and Carmania.
- §9 And the gold was brought from Sardis and Bactria – it was worked here; and the lapis lazuli as well as the carnelian which was worked here was brought from Sogdiana; the turquoise, which was brought from Chorasmia – it was worked here.



Figure 11.11 One of the fine polychrome, glazed brick relief panels from the palace area at Susa, showing two sphinxes beneath a winged disc (1.20 m × 1.17 m × 5 cm). The colours are brown, pale green, yellow, white with grey-black outlines. The sphinxes wear feathered poloi, decorated with horns indicating divinity. The technique (old established, both locally and in Babylonia) was also used to decorate ceremonial stairs with figures similar to those at Persepolis. Conversely, glazed brick decoration was also used at Persepolis. (Photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

- §10 And the silver and ebony were brought from Egypt; the decoration, with which the walls were ornamented, was brought from Ionia; and the ivory, which was worked here, was brought from Nubia, India and Arachosia.
- §11 And the stone columns, which were worked here, were brought from a village called Abiradu in Elam; the craftsmen who worked the stone were Ionians and Sardians.

- §12 And the goldsmiths who worked the gold were Medes and Egyptians; and the men who worked the wood were Sardiens and Egyptians; and the men who crafted the bricks were Babylonians; and the men who decorated the wall were Medes and Egyptians.
- §13 And King Darius proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, at Susa much of excellence was ordered, much of excellence was done. Me may Auramazda protect, as well as my people.

(b) DSaa. Akkadian text on stone tablet: Vallat 1986.
Translation, Lecoq 1997: 245–6.

- §1 I (am) Darius, great king, king of kings, king of lands, king on this earth, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.
- §2 King Darius proclaims: With the protection of Auramazda, this palace³ which has been built here, it is I who built it. In the place of the palace building its foundations were dug until I arrived at the resistant part of the earth and they were filled with rubble, 20 cubits; on the rubble, the foundations of the palace were set.
- §3 These are the materials which were used for this palace: gold, silver, lapis lazuli, turquoise, carnelian, cedarwood, Maka-wood,⁴ ebony, ivory and the decoration of the reliefs; all the columns are of stone.
- §4 These are the lands who brought the materials and the decoration of the palace: Persia, Elam, Media, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the sealands,⁵ Sardis, Ionia, Urartu,⁶ Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Areia, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Cimmeria,⁷ Sattagydia, Arachosia, Qadie.⁸
- §5 King Darius proclaims: With the protection of Auramazda, the materials of the decoration of the palace were brought from far away and I organised it. All I did, I accomplished entirely thanks to the protection of Auramazda; me may Auramazda protect until I have accomplished all.

Notes

1. Found in the foundations of the Apadana. Possible fragments of the OP version and other possible Elamite fragments are discussed by Steve 1974: 161–8. It is a variant of DSf (= **11, no.13(i)**), cf. the annotations there, for paras.7–12.
2. See **11, no.13(i)**, nn.3 & 4.
3. Akk. *ekallu*, the regular word for a royal residence.
4. This differs from the other versions, where it is called *yaka*-wood; for Maka, see **11, no.2**, n.16.
5. Presumably the islands on the western edges of the imperial territories.
6. The Babylonian term for Armenia.
7. The Babylonian term for the Scythians.
8. The Babylonian equivalent of Maka, cf. **11, no.2**, n.16.

(c) Ecbatana

14. Artaxerxes II's palace at Ecbatana(?)

A²Hb. Old Persian text on column base, Hamadan(?): Kent, A²Hb.¹
Translations: Lecoq 1997: 270; Knapton, Sarraf and Curtis 2001: 101–2.

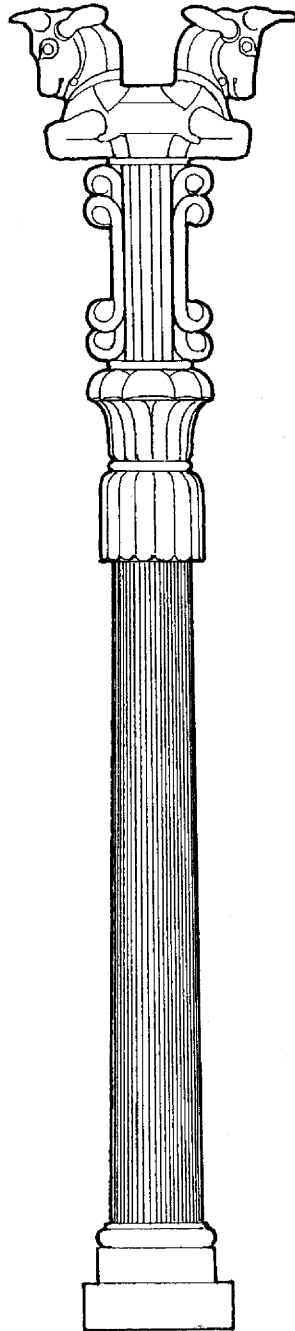


Figure 11.12 Reconstructed stone column from the Susa Apadana. The adorsed bull protomes, capital and proportions (estimated original height, about 22 m) closely resemble those at Persepolis. (After D. Ladiray, *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 227 (Oct. 1997).)

[. . .] The apadana of columns in stone,² Artaxerxes the great king built it, he the son of Darius,³ an Achaemenid; me may Mithra protect [. . .]⁴

Notes

1. The base is in the Tehran Museum, but as there is no certain findspot, it remains moot whether this can be relied on as evidence for the structure, but note that the Iranian excavations at Ecbatana found an inscribed column base of Artaxerxes II (Sarraf 2003, pl.21). For another inscribed column base, said to be from Hamadan, see **fig.11.13**.
2. For the apadana at Ecbatana, see the references at **11, no.1**, n.1.
3. I.e. Darius II.
4. For the changes in the invocation, see **9, nos.22; 71; 11, Introduction; no.37**. What is strange here is the fact that only Mithra is invoked, whereas in other Artaxerxes II texts, he appears together with, and always after, Auramazda and Anahita. The fact that the text is fragmentary does not alter the fact. However, the texts where he does invoke Anahita are from Susa; was she perhaps particularly associated with that city and no others?

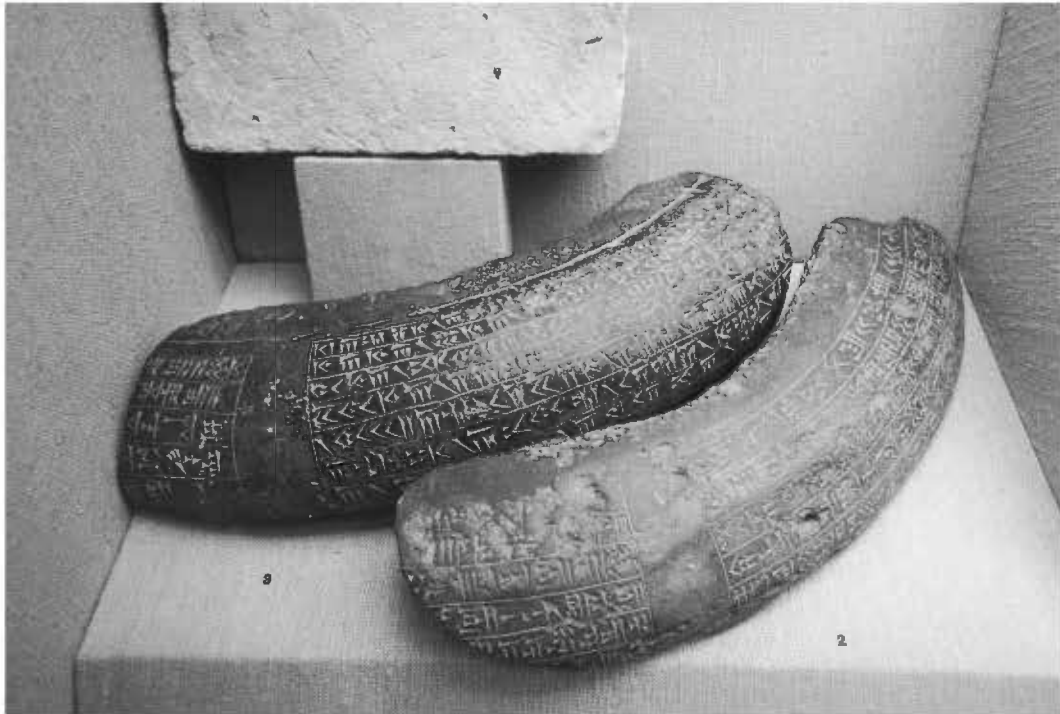


Figure 11.13 Base of a black granite column said to have come from Hamadan, now in the British Museum. For the text, see **11, no.37**; cf. Knapton, Curtis and Sarraf (2001: 102–5), who also discuss another recently found inscribed fragment supposedly from Hamadan. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

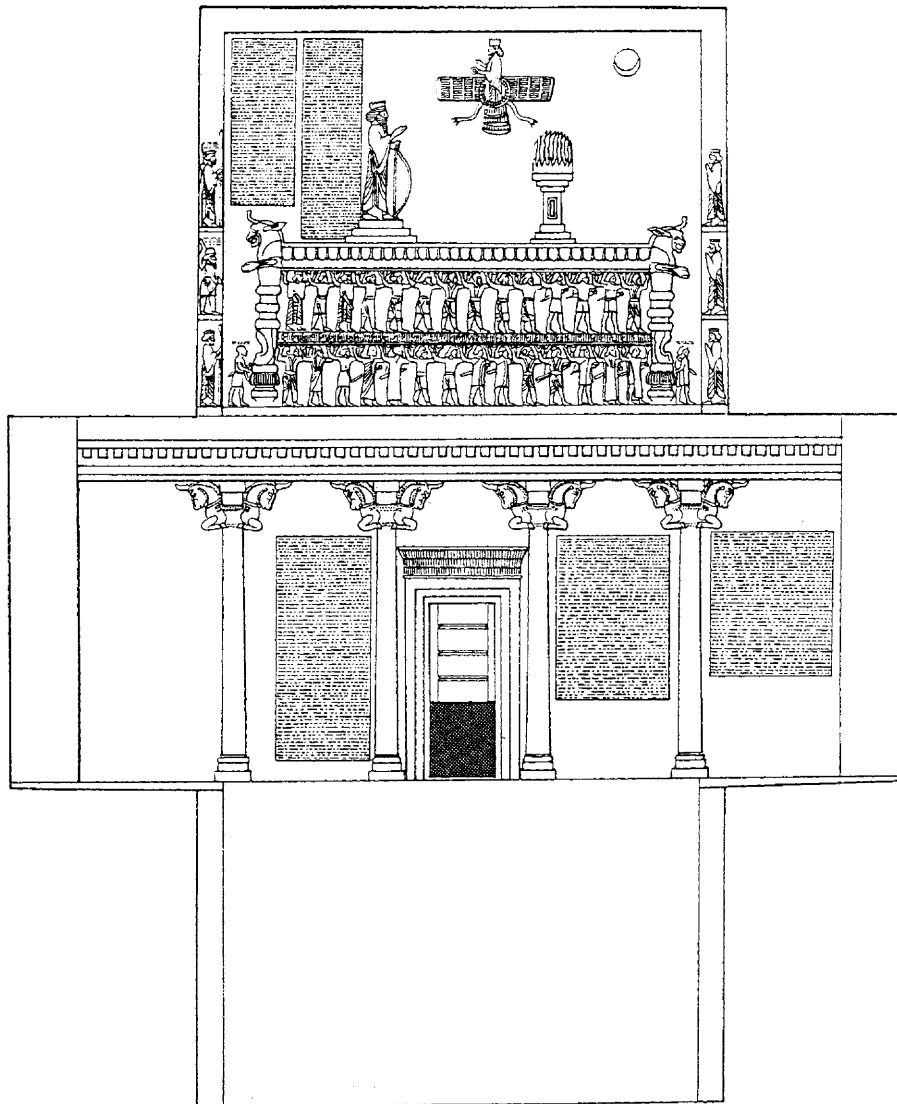


Figure 11.14 Drawing of the tomb of Darius I at Naqsh-i Rostam, near Persepolis (see **11, nos.16–17** for the inscriptions; **fig.11.15** for a view of the site). The base of the tomb is 15 m above the (present) ground, with the cruciform façade rising in three registers 22 m above that. The entrance to the tomb is through the door set in the palace façade (central register), and contains three vaulted chambers (empty when excavated). The scene above (to which the king refers in the inscription, see **11, no.16**, para.4) shows representatives of the different peoples of the empire raising the throne-platform on which he stands – in other contexts the king is enthroned (cf. **11, no.3; figs.11.5; 11.16**). The feet of the structure are shown slightly above the baseline. The king, standing on a stepped plinth, rests his bow on his foot. He raises his hand in a gesture of salutation towards a figure in a winged disc (see **11, Introduction; figs.11.44–11.46**), who returns the gesture, while holding a ring in its other hand – perhaps to be compared to the ‘ring of office’ found on investiture scenes in the Parthian and Sassanian periods (see, e.g., Potts 1999, figs.10.14,

15. A later description of Ecbatana

Polybius X, 27.5–10.¹

This city (sc. Ecbatana) is located in the northern part of Media, over against those parts of Asia fronting on Maeotis and the Euxine.² From of old it had been the royal residence of the Medes and seems to have greatly exceeded all the other cities in wealth and the splendour of its buildings.³ It lies in the foothills of Mount Orontes⁴ and has no wall, but possesses an artificial citadel, the fortifications of which are remarkably strong. Beneath this stands the palace (. . .).⁵ (It) is about seven stadia⁶ in circumference, and by the magnificence of its various structures conveys an impressive idea of the wealth of the original founders. For the woodwork was all of cedar and cypress, but no part of it had been left plain: the rafters, the coffers of the ceiling, and the columns in the porticoes and colonnades were sheathed in either silver or gold, and all the tiles were silver.⁷

Notes

1. The description comes in Polybius' account of the Seleucid king Antiochus III's campaign to Central Asia, 210 BC, see Walbank 1967, ad loc.
2. The Cimmerian Bosphorus and Black Sea.
3. This recalls Herodotus' rather fanciful description of the building of Ecbatana by Deiokes, the first Median king; see **2, no.13**.
4. For the location and topography of Ecbatana in the Zagros mountain chain, see EncIr, s.v. Ecbatana, RLA, s.v. Hamadan. Mount Orontes is Mount Elvend.
5. Polybius here introduces a typical disclaimer, asking whether he should go on describing the palace's marvels, as he may not be believed.
6. Well over 1 km.
7. This passage is cast in the past, as Polybius goes on to describe how the palace had been stripped of its precious metals, first by Alexander, then by Antigonous and Seleucus, two of his successors; despite this, enough had been preserved for Antiochus III, about a hundred years later, to collect sufficient funds to mint about 4,000 talents (120,000 kg). For the citadel housing the Achaemenid treasury, see Arrian *Anab.* III, 19.5, 7.

Figure 11.14 continued

10.16 & 11.4). A crescent moon appears to the right. Immediately facing the king is an altar on which a fire burns, set on a plinth like the one on which the king stands. On the side walls of the top register are, on the right, six mourning(?) Persian courtiers, on the left, seven armed men, one carrying a bow-case and battle-axe. The top two figures on the left and closest to the king are captioned. The top one (DNc) reads: 'Gobryas, the Patischorean, spear/lance-bearer of Darius the king' (cf. Henkelman 2002: 19). The one below (DNd) reads: 'Aspathines, the "garment-bearer" (i.e. chamberlain), holds Darius the king's bow-and-arrow case.' (See **5, no.1**, para.68 & n.112 for Gobryas, and **5, no.9** for Aspathines; Henkelman 2003a: 117–23, for the latter's title and position.) The former figures as one of Darius' helpers in his seizure of the throne in both Darius' and Herodotus' accounts. Aspathines does not appear in Darius' account, but in Herodotus, and his naming on the tomb indicates his prominent position. Note also his (probable) seal (Garrison 1998) and function within the Persepolis administration (Henkelman 2003a: 123–8). While the other royal tombs show similar figures on the sides, they are never identified. However, note the connection between chamberlains and offerings at a tomb (Henkelman 2003a: 107–10), suggesting that such officials regularly played a role in royal funerals and memorial cults (see **11, no.68**). This tomb layout and decoration became the pattern of all subsequent Achaemenid royal tombs. (After Seidl 2003.)

C. The mirror of princes

16. War and peace

DNa. Old Persian and Elamite inscription behind the royal figure on Darius I's tomb; the Babylonian version is on the left side of the façade wall: Kent, DNa; Schmitt 2000, DNa.¹
Translations: Lecoq 1997: 219–21; Brosius 2000, nos.48, 100, 136.

- §1 A great god (is) Auramazda, who created this earth,² who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created happiness³ for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.⁴
- §3 Darius the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda these are the countries which I seized outside Persia; I ruled over them; they bore me tribute;⁵ what was said to them by me, that they did; my law⁶ – that held them (firm); Media, Elam, Parthia, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, India, Saca who drink *hauma*, Saca with pointed hats,⁷ Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, Scythians who are across the sea,⁸ Thrace, petasos-wearing Ionians,⁹ Libya, Nubia, Maka,¹⁰ Caria.

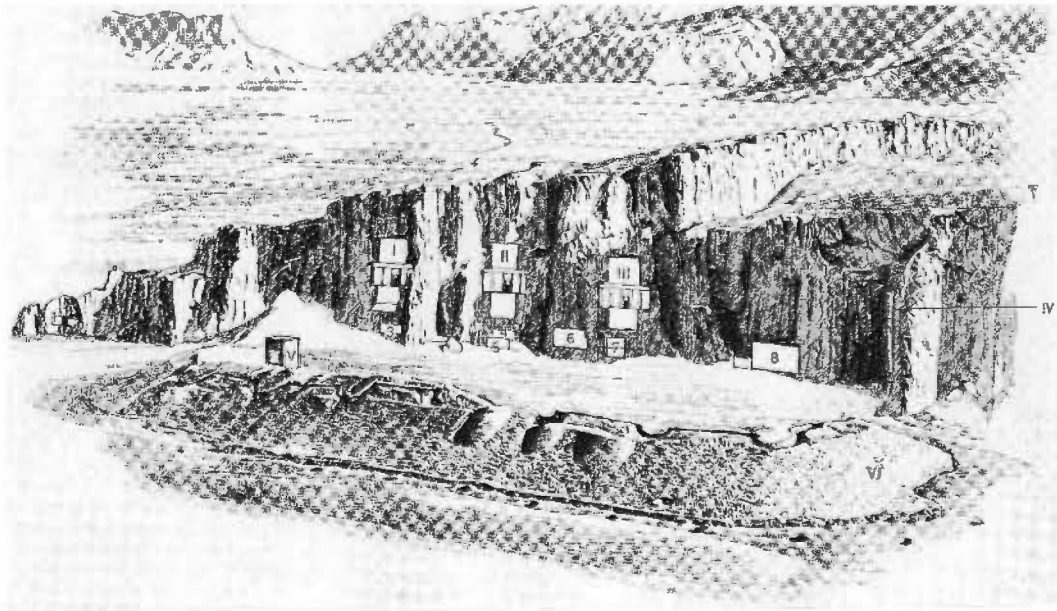


Figure 11.15 View of the royal tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam.

Key: I: Tomb of Darius II(?); II: Tomb of Artaxerxes I(?); III: Tomb of Darius I; IV (not visible): Tomb of Xerxes(?) (for the stylistic criteria of attributions, see Calmeyer 1990a); V: Kabah-i Zardusht (see [fig.11.48](#)); VI: Sassanian enclosure wall; 1–8: Sassanian rock reliefs. Various installations at the site are now covered by a deposit of earth and debris at least 5 m deep. (After L. Trümpelmann, *Zwischen Persepolis und Firuzabad*, Mainz, 1992.)

- §4 Darius the king proclaims: Auramazda, when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter bestowed it upon me, made me king; I am king. By the favour of Auramazda I put it in its proper place; what I said to them, that they did, as was my desire. If now you should think: ‘How many are the countries which King Darius held?’, look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne,¹¹ then shall you know, then shall it become known to you: the spear of the Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to you: the Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.
- §5 Darius the king proclaims: This which has been done, all that by the favour of Auramazda I did. Auramazda bore me aid, until I had done the work. Me may Auramazda protect from evil, and my royal house, and this land! This I pray of Auramazda, this may Auramazda give to me!
- §6 Oh man, that which is the command of Auramazda, let this not seem evil to you! Do not leave the right path! Do not be disobedient!

Notes

1. The cross-shape of Darius I’s tomb, and its decoration (see **fig.11.14**) became the norm for royal burials from his time onwards. Naqsh-e Rostam, the location of the tombs some 6 km from the Persepolis terrace, probably lay on the outskirts of the city. Artaxerxes II and III relocated their burials, while keeping the same form, close to the Persepolis terrace itself (see **fig.11.8**). Only Darius I’s tomb carries royal statements (DNa; DNb (= **11, no.17**)), although Artaxerxes’ tomb near the terrace (see **11, no.4**, n.1, for attribution) also identifies the throne-bearers in words.
2. OP *bumi-*, argued to indicate the inhabited, known world, over which the Persian kings reign, see Herrenschildt 1976.
3. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
4. See **11, no.12**, n.3.
5. See **11, no.7**, n.2.
6. See **11, no.12**, n.5.
7. See **11, no.4**, n.2.
8. See **11, no.12**, n.8.
9. See **11, no.4**, n.3.
10. See **11, no.2**, n.16.
11. A literal reference to the figures forming the supporting struts of the long carved throne-platform (OP *gathu-*) on which the king is depicted as standing (**fig.11.14**) or sitting; see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1992, for a probable reference of its use by Alexander. Note that its feet are always shown slightly raised off the ground.

17. The kingly qualities

DNb; XPl. Two inscriptions, virtually identical in content, one inscribed on Darius I’s tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam (DNb), the other, in Xerxes’ name, found 2 km north of Persepolis (XPl). The Darius inscription is trilingual, the Xerxes one only survives in Old Persian: Kent, DNb; editio princeps of XPl, Gharib 1967; Schmitt 2000, DNb; XPl.¹
Translations: Lecoq 1997: 221–4; 259–61; Brosius 2000, no.103.

- §1 A great god (is) Auramazda, who created this excellent (work) which one sees; who created happiness² for man; who bestowed wisdom and energy upon Darius/Xerxes the king.
- §2a Darius/Xerxes the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda I am of such a kind that I am a friend to what is right, I am no friend to what is wrong. (It is) not my wish that



Figure 11.16 The king enthroned, holding a sceptre, with a fan-bearer behind, at one of the entrances to the Hundred Column Hall at Persepolis. The seated royal figure and attendant are set upon a version of the throne-platform depicted on the royal tombs (see **figs. 11.5; 11.14**). But here there are fewer individuals, and they are arranged in three registers, an arrangement mirrored on the opposite side of the doorway, and elsewhere in Persepolis. Note tomb VI in the background. (Photograph N. Mizabani; copyright reserved.)

to the weak is done wrong because of the mighty, it is not my wish that the mighty is hurt because of the weak.³

- §2b What is right, that is my wish. I am no friend of the man who is a follower of the Lie.⁴ I am not hot-tempered. When I feel anger rising, I keep that under control by my thinking power. I control firmly my impulses.
- §2c The man who cooperates, him do I reward according to his cooperation. He who does harm, him I punish according to the damage. It is not my wish that a man does harm, it is certainly not my wish that a man if he causes harm be not punished.
- §2d What a man says against a man, that does not convince me, until I have heard testimony from both parties.
- §2e What a man does or performs according to his powers, satisfies me, therewith I am satisfied; it gives me great pleasure and I give much to faithful men.
- §2f Of such a kind (are) my intelligence and command; when you shall see or hear what has been done by me, both in the house⁵ and in battle – that (is) my ability in addition to thinking and intelligence.
- §2g Moreover this (is) my ability, that my body is strong. As a fighter I am a good fighter. At once my intelligence stands in its place, whether I see a rebel or not. Both by

intelligence and by command at that time I regard myself as superior to panic, when I see a rebel just as when I do not see (one).

- §2h I am furious in the strength of my revenge⁶ with both hands and both feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman, both on foot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman, both on foot and on horseback.⁷
- §2i These are the skills which Auramazda has bestowed upon me and I have had the strength to bear them. By the favour of Auramazda, what has been done by me, I have done with these skills which Auramazda has bestowed upon me.

[DNb only, see note 1.]

- §3a Oh young man,⁸ actively make known what kind you are, of what kind your skills are, what kind your conduct. Let not that seem good to you which is spoken in your ear; listen, too, to what is also said.⁹
- §3b Oh young man, let not that seem good to you, which the [. . .]¹⁰ does; what the weak does, observe that too! Oh young man, do not set yourself against the [. . .]; moreover, do not be insecure as regards happiness!¹¹ Let not [. . .].

Notes

1. DNb contains ten more lines than XPl. They are separated from the main text by a space, and contain a moralistic exhortation. This has been incorporated into the penultimate section of the Aramaic version of Darius' Bisitun text from Elephantine (TADAE III, C2.1 (pp.70 & 71); Sims-Williams 1981). Fragments of another copy of XPl were found in the hellenistic 'frataraka temple' to the north-west of the Persepolis terrace, see Schmitt 1996: 15–21. Mayrhofer (1981: 131–2) has suggested that two brick fragments from Susa may have been part of yet another text of XPl. For the divergences between the two texts (primarily scribal), see Schmitt 2000: 104–5.
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3
3. OP *skauthi*- 'weak', and OP *tunavant*- 'strong', 'powerful' (cf. **13, no.1 (i)**). See also the discussion in Stolper 2000b.
4. See **5, no.1**, n.15.
5. OP *vith*- means 'house' and/or 'family', and could mean here 'court'/'palace', as Kent and Schmitt (2000) take it; cf. Lecoq (1997: 223), who compares it to Latin *domi bellique*.
6. OP *yaumaini*-; the adjective only occurs here. See Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 156, for the poetic translation, 'mit siedender Vergeltungskraft'; more reserved: Schmitt 2000: 41 & 43, 'I am fervent in counter-attack'.
7. Cf. Strabo XV, 3.8 (citing Onesicritus) for the supposed inscription on Darius' tomb: 'As a horseman and bowman, I have been the best.'
8. OP *marika*- has usually been translated as 'menial' (cf. Kent: 140, para.9a), which has an odd ring here, on the basis of the Babylonian rendering *qallu*, 'slave'. See Schmitt (2000: 43, ad l.50), who suggests that it could be an exhortation to the king's successor, which fits well with what follows.
9. Lecoq (1997) translates it as, 'listen even to what the enemy tells you'.
10. The opposite of 'the weak' in the balancing passage is expected.
11. Schmitt 2000 translates: 'do not become (a man) without fervour in counter-attack owing to your blissful happiness' (the first part of the sentence thus echoing the beginning of para.2h). The translation here accords with that of Sims-Williams (1981).

18. A Greek disquisition on Persian kingship

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 9.1–2, 5–8, 11, 13–20, 22–8.¹

So this is how Cyrus died – the man most kingly and worthy to rule of the Persians born since Cyrus the Elder, as agreed by all those known to have intimate knowledge of him.

Because, first, while still a child and being educated along with his brother and the other boys, he was considered to be the best of all in everything.²

Here Cyrus was thought to be the most respectful among his comrades, more obedient to his elders than those inferior in rank to him. Next, he was the greatest lover of horses and best at handling them. They judged him to be keenest to learn and practise the arts of war, the use of both bow and javelin.³ When he reached the right age, he was most fond of hunting and putting himself at risk when facing wild animals. Once, when a bear charged him, he did not run away, but grappled with it and was dragged off his horse; he was wounded, and still had the scars, but eventually killed it. And the man who was first to come to his assistance he made an object of envy to many.⁴

Then when he was sent by his father down as satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia and Cappadocia,⁵ and appointed general of all those who muster in the Plain of Castolus,⁶ he showed, first, that he thought it most important, when he made a treaty or agreement or any promise, that he always kept his word. The result was that the cities trusted him and went over to him; men, too, trusted him. (. . .)⁷

It was also obvious that if anyone did him a good or bad turn, he tried to outdo him. Some even reported a prayer of his, that his life might be long enough to outdo those who had done him well or ill in recompense.⁸ (. . .) No one could say that he let evil-doers and criminals mock him; indeed, he exceeded all in his punishments. Often one could see along the travelled roads men who had lost feet, hands or eyes. The result was that in Cyrus' territory both Greek and barbarian could travel wherever he wished without fear of harm, provided he had done no harm, taking with him whatever he needed.

However, all agree that he particularly honoured those who were good in war. Once he was at war with the Pisidians and Mysians,⁹ and himself campaigning in that territory. Whenever he noticed someone ready to face danger, he made him a commander of the area he was subjugating and later rewarded him with other gifts too. Like that, the brave became very wealthy, while the cowards were only deemed worthy to be their slaves. Consequently, there were many ready to face danger, when they thought that Cyrus would notice them.¹⁰

Further, if a man was plainly trying to demonstrate his uprightness, he did everything to enable him to live more prosperously than those who were greedy for unjust gain. Thus he had many tasks performed fairly and had an army worthy of the name. For the commanders and captains, who crossed the sea to serve him for the sake of money, realised it was more profitable to serve Cyrus well than get their monthly wage. Indeed, whenever someone performed well a service he had been assigned, he never let such effort go unrewarded. (. . .)

If he saw someone being an able administrator, acting justly, organising the area under his control and producing revenue, he would not take it away but always add more. So they worked happily, made their gains with confidence and, what is more, did not conceal them from Cyrus. Because Cyrus never envied those who were openly rich, but tried to make use of the wealth of those who tried to hide it.¹¹

As for friends – all admit that he was exceptional in doing services for those he made friends, knew to be faithful and considered to be capable of helping him in carrying out whatever task was needed. (. . .)

I think that he received more gifts than anyone else and for many reasons. But more than anyone he distributed them among his friends, paying attention to the taste of each one, and what he had observed to be his need. When he was sent fine things to wear, whether for war or showy adornment, they say that he remarked about them that he could not possibly wear all this finery himself, but that man's finest adornment was that his friends should be well dressed. Of course, it is not surprising that he greatly outdid his friends in benefits, since he had the greater resources.¹² The fact that he surpassed them in consideration and enthusiasm to do favours, that strikes me as more admirable. For example, often, when he had received a particularly sweet wine, Cyrus would send half-empty jars, with the message: 'Cyrus has not come across such a sweet wine for a long time. So he has sent it to you and asks you, together with those you love most, to drink it today.' Often, too, he would send halves of geese or loaves and suchlike, charging the bearer to say: 'Cyrus enjoyed these; so he would like you to taste it too.' When there was a great shortage of fodder (although he was always well supplied because of his many servants as well as foresight), he would send round and tell his friends to give this fodder to the horses they themselves rode, so that those carrying his friends would not be hungry. Whenever he was travelling and likely to be seen by many people, he would call his friends and engage them in conversation in order to show who were the men he held in esteem.¹³ In my opinion, therefore, based on what I have heard, no one, neither Greek nor barbarian, has ever been more loved by more people.

Notes

1. Xenophon provides this eulogy of Cyrus the Younger after his death in battle against his brother, Artaxerxes II, in 401 (see **9, Section A**). In it he celebrates the qualities that, in the view of Cyrus' partisans, fitted him for the throne – qualities which, interestingly, echo those set out by Darius I and Xerxes (**11, no.17**). Obviously, there are profound terminological, stylistic and conceptual differences in the Greek writer's account, but the convergence of themes with these Persian texts (as well as some others) is striking.
2. Xenophon here inserts a brief description of Persian education; see **13, no.10**.
3. Cf. **11, no.17**, para.2h.
4. For the king hunting, cf. **13, nos.30; 31; fig.6.4**.
5. See **8, no.32**.
6. Cf. **8, no.32**, n.9.
7. In I, 9.8–10, Xenophon illustrates this point, contrasting Cyrus' behaviour with that of Tis-saphernes, his mortal enemy (see **9, Section A**).
8. Cf. **11, no.17**, para.2c, for the practice of appropriate reward as a royal quality.
9. See **9, no.9**, n.2, for the Pisidians, **9, no.11**, n.5 for the Mysians.
10. For the importance of acquitting oneself with bravery in sight of the king, see **7, no.31; 13, no.18(i)**.
11. Note the emphasis on just dealing, cooperation and reward in **11, no.17**.
12. For the presentation of gifts to the king and his distribution of them, see **13, Section B(c) nos.24; 25; 37; 39; 11, nos.26–7; fig.11.23**.
13. Cf. **11, no.22(3.19)**.

19. Standard features of Persian kings noted by classical writers**(i)** Strabo XV, 3.2.1.

The one (sc. king) who organised the tributes was Darius, called ‘Long Arm’,¹ and the most handsome of men,² except for the length of his forearms, as they reached to the knees.

(ii) Plutarch, *Artoxerxes* 1.1.

The first Artoxerxes, who was king of the Persians, excelled in mildness and greatness of spirit. He was called ‘Long Arm’, as his right arm was longer than the other.

(iii) Cornelius Nepos, *Lives of the Great Generals*, 21: *Kings* 1.

‘Long Arm’ (sc. Artaxerxes I) was above all celebrated for his impressive and beautiful stature; no Persian could outstrip him in courage.³ Mnemon (sc. Artaxerxes II), however, was famed for his justice.⁴

(iv) Plutarch, *Artoxerxes* 4.4.

There was a certain hesitancy in the king’s (sc. Artaxerxes II’s) nature, which appeared to many as reasonableness. In the beginning it seemed as though he wanted to imitate the mildness of his homonym Artoxerxes⁵ – exaggerating kindness to those who happened to approach him and those courting honours for their services, remitting all punishment for insult, showing pleasure when he received some boon, no less to those who were proffering one than those receiving one; and, when he gave he appeared kind and benevolent.

(v) Plutarch, *Alexander* 21.6.

The wife of Darius (III) was said to have been the most beautiful princess of her time, just as Darius himself was the tallest and handsomest man in Asia, and their daughters resembled their parents.⁶

Notes

1. Strabo is describing the storage of tribute at Susa. The Persian king associated with setting the empire’s tribute payments is Darius I (see **14, no.2**), so that is presumably the ruler envisaged here, despite the soubriquet Strabo attaches to him, which is more usually that of Artaxerxes I (see **(ii)** here).
2. Cf. Xerxes, whose handsome physique demonstrating his kingly suitability is commented on by Herodotus (**7, no.5**).
3. Cf. the story of Darius III’s exceptional courage (**10, no.5**) and the emphasis on the king’s physical prowess in **11, nos.17–18**.
4. Cf. also the last words attributed to Darius II, **9, no.3**.
5. See **(ii)** above.

6. The description occurs in the context of the aftermath of the Battle of Issus. Note the famous anecdote of Sisygambis, Darius' mother, mistaking Hephaestion for Alexander because of his greater height (D.S. XVII, 37.5; Q.C. III, 12.16–17).

D. Microcosms of empire

20. The king's table supplied by the empire

- (i) Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 6.6.

'It is essential', he (sc. Cyrus)¹ said, 'that we make sure that those who go as satraps to these lands are such that they will remember to send back here from each area whatever is good and excellent, so that we, too, who stay here may share in the good things that are found everywhere.'

- (ii) Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 6.23.

People were so devoted to him (sc. Cyrus) that every land² thought itself poor indeed if it did not send to Cyrus the good things in its country, whether they were natural produce, animals bred there or manufactured goods; and every city did the same.³

- (iii) Deinon, ap. Athenaeus XIV, 652b–c.

They used to set on the king's table all the delicacies produced by the lands over which he ruled, the first fruits of each. Because Xerxes did not think that princes should use any foreign food or drink, which is why a custom came into being later on. In fact, on one occasion one of the eunuchs presented some Attic figs among the other desserts, and Xerxes asked whence they came. When he heard they came from Athens, he forbade the suppliers to buy them until he could take them himself without having to buy them. And they say that the eunuch had done this to remind the king of the campaign he needed to lead against Athens.

- (iv) Strabo XV, 3.22.

Mostly (the Persians) are restrained in their habits; but because of their wealth the kings fell into luxury, so that they demanded wheat from Assus in Aeolis, Chalymonian wine from Syria,⁴ and water from the Eulaeus,⁵ the lightest of all, so that an Attic cotyle⁶ of it weighs a drachm less than other waters.

- (v) Ctesias, *On the Tributes of Asia* = FGrH 688 F53; Lenfant, 214.⁷

Ctesias says that in Carmania there is acanthus oil, which was used by the king.⁸ When he catalogues, in the same book *On the Tributes of Asia*, everything that is prepared for the king's dinner, he mentions neither pepper⁹ nor vinegar.¹⁰

Notes

1. Cyrus (II) the Great, who is presented in Xenophon's work as founder of all aspects of the imperial organisation.
2. Gr. *ethnos*, which can be translated as 'people', 'race', 'nation' or 'country'.
3. Note how this positive image is turned against the Persian king to create a negative image in Xenophon's hagiography of his hero, the Spartan king Agesilaus (Ages. 9.3). There he contrasts Agesilaus' simple life style with the decadence of the Persian king, for whom 'people travelled the world hunting down drinks the king would enjoy, while countless cooks contrived delicacies for him to eat'.
4. Cf. Poseidonius (FGrH 87 F68), who says that the Chalybonian wine from the vineyards of Damascus was the only kind the Persian king ever drank.
5. Hellenised form of Akk. Uлай, elsewhere called the Choaspes (e.g. Hdt. I, 188), mod. Karkheh. The Karkheh–Karun rivers are the main waterways draining modern Khuzestan, with the Karkheh close to Susa. For the problems of identifying the modern waterways with the ancient ones, because of geophysical changes, see *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Eulaios. On the king's use of special water, see further **11, no.62**.
6. A *cotyle* is about half a litre.
7. For the attribution of the whole of this Athenaeus quote to Ctesias' work on the products of Asia, see Lenfant, 330–1, n.970. The impression we have from the few citations of this work is that Ctesias presented the tribute in terms of royal food consumption.
8. Note that Polyaeus' enumeration of items consumed at the 'king's dinner' (**12, no.39**, C.27) includes *acanthus* oil.
9. Pepper was used as a condiment in the Roman world, hence Athenaeus' surprise. It reached the Mediterranean world via Iran from India, and was known in Greece by the mid-fifth century, as shown by the Hippocratic treatise on women's diseases (I, 81). However, for a very long time it was only used medicinally.
10. Vinegar appears in Polyaeus' list (**12, no.39**, D.10) as one of the items distributed by the king; note **12, no.40**, n.14, for the possibility of vinegar in the Fortification texts.

21. The royal gardens

(i) The king in his garden

Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 4.13.

'What is more', said Socrates,¹ 'wherever he (sc. the Persian king) dwells and wherever he goes, he is concerned that there should be gardens, which are called *paradeisoi*,² full of all the beautiful and fine plants that grow on earth. And he spends most of his time in them, unless the time of year prevents it.'

'Good heavens, Socrates', said Critobulus, 'then the king, who himself stays in them, must ensure that the *paradeisoi* are equipped as beautifully as possible with trees and all the other lovely things the earth produces.'

(ii) Fruit-trees to be planted in royal parks in Fars

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 33. Reign of Darius I; no seal.³

75 olive(?) seedlings(?), 241 *karukur* seedlings(?), 60 *kazla* seedlings(?), 5 *silti* seedlings(?), 384 apple seedlings(?), 30 quince seedlings(?), 70 mulberry seedlings(?), 303 pear seedlings(?); total: 1,168 tree seedlings(?) (for) planting(?). At Pirdubatti,⁴ (at) the plantation.⁵ (For) Mishputra to keep (i.e. take care of).⁶

1,800 *karukur* seedlings(?), 40 apple seedlings(?), 27 pear seedlings(?); total: 1,867 tree seedlings(?) (for) planting(?). (At) Pirdubatti, at the storehouse. (For) Wulla to keep (i.e. take care of).

Total: 3,035 tree seedlings(?) (for) planting(?). Accounted (for at) Pirdubatti.

552 apple seedlings(?), 442 pear seedlings(?), 59 quince seedlings(?), 196 *karukur* seedlings(?); total: 1,249 tree seedlings(?) (for) planting(?). At Tikranush, (at) the plantation. (For) Zimakka to keep (i.e. take care of).

153 *kamma* . . . (?) apple seedlings(?), 420 *kamma* . . . (?) *karukur* seedlings(?), 72 *kamma* . . . (?) pear seedlings(?); total: 645 *kamma* . . . (?) tree seedlings(?) (for) planting(?). At Tkrash. (For) Maduduma to keep (i.e. take care of).

55 apple seedlings(?), 50 date seedlings(?), 472 *karukur* seedlings(?), 7 quince seedlings(?), 6 mulberry seedlings(?); total: 600⁷ tree seedlings(?) (for) planting(?). At Halibbash, at the store house. (For) Zarnuya to keep (i.e. take care of).

114 apple seedlings(?), 22 mulberry seedlings(?), 54 olive(?) seedlings(?), 46 *ku* . . . *karukur* seedlings(?), 274 *karukur* seedlings(?), 80 date seedlings(?), 57 pear seedlings(?); total: 697⁸ tree seedlings(?) (for) planting(?). At Appishtapdan, (at) the plantation. (For) . . . to keep (i.e. take care of).

This (is) the total . . . under the responsibility of Nabapirruna(?), (in) the year . . .

This tablet pertains (to) Nabapirruna.

(iii) A royal park in Phrygia

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.8.

From here (sc. Colossae in Phrygia) he (sc. Cyrus the Younger) marched three stages and twenty parasangs⁹ to Celaenae, an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. There Cyrus had a palace and a large *paradeisos* full of wild animals, which he used to hunt on horseback whenever he wanted exercise for himself and his horses. Through the centre of the *paradeisos* flows the Maeander river.¹⁰

(iv) The gardens of kings and nobles in Iran

Quintus Curtius Rufus VII, 2.22.

Now villas in that part of the world¹¹ possess ample grounds attractively planted with trees, a special source of pleasure for kings and satraps.

(v) A game reserve in Central Asia

Quintus Curtius Rufus VIII, 1.11–12.

In that part of the world¹² there are no better indicators of the wealth of the barbarians than their herds of fine animals enclosed in spacious tracts of wooded grazing-land. They select for this purpose large areas of forest, attractively watered by numerous perennial springs. The woods are encircled by walls and contain lodges which serve as shelters for the hunters. Alexander and his whole army entered one such forest, known to have been left undisturbed for four consecutive generations, and he issued orders for the animals to be beaten from the coverts throughout its length. Among these animals was a lion of unusual size which came

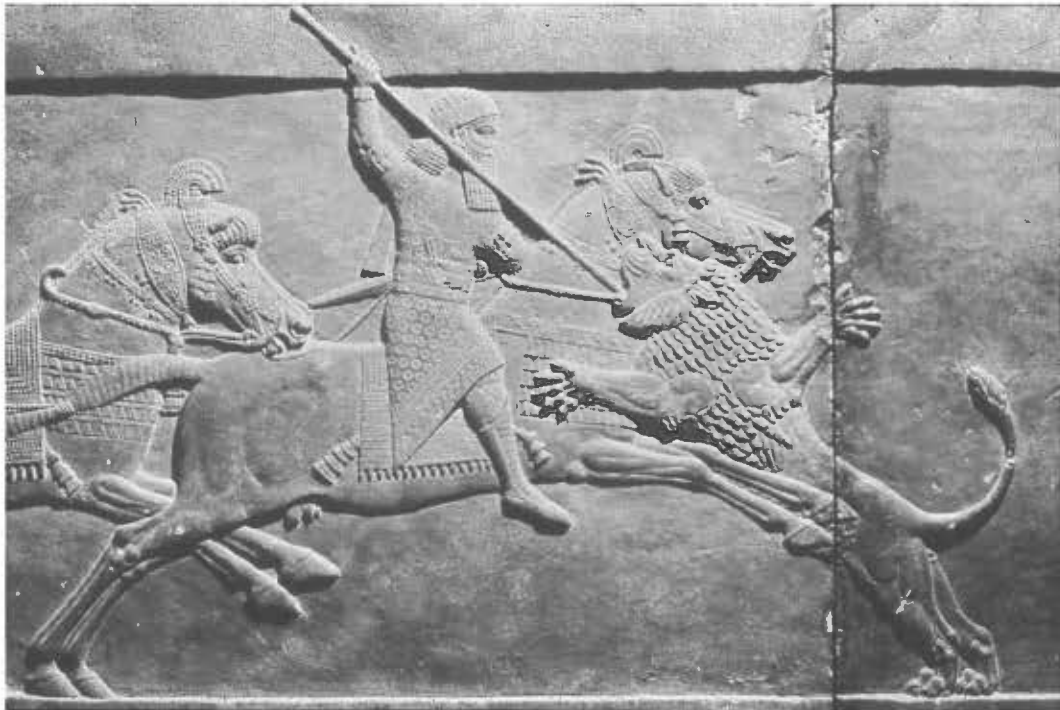


Figure 11.17 Neo-Assyrian relief from the North Palace at Nineveh (mid-seventh century BC) showing Ashurbanipal heroically killing a lion springing at him (cf. **11, no.21 (v)**). The setting is an enclosed arena, very probably a park. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

charging forward to pounce on the king himself. (. . .)¹³ As for Alexander, after four thousand animals had been brought down,¹⁴ he feasted with the entire army in that same wood.

(vi) A royal park set in a barren landscape

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 25.1–2.

He (sc. Artaxerxes II) reached a royal lodge, which had wonderful parks, beautifully laid out, in the midst of a treeless and bare countryside. Because it was freezing, he allowed the soldiers¹⁵ to gather wood from the park, by felling the trees, sparing neither pine nor cypress. When he saw them hesitate and not daring to do so because of their beauty and size, he himself took an axe and cut the largest and most beautiful of the trees. Then they gathered wood, made many fires and spent a comfortable night.

Notes

1. This tract on household and estate management and agriculture is presented as a Socratic dialogue. For a recent translation and commentary, see Pomeroy 1994.
2. Almost certainly the hellenised form of OP *paridaída* (El. *partetaš*, see **21(ii)** below), ‘pleasant retreat’, ‘pleasure park’, ‘garden’, mentioned as forming part of Artaxerxes II’s new palace at Susa (see **9, no.71**, n.1, cf. **fig.9.5**), although the notion that all were simply hunting or game parks is

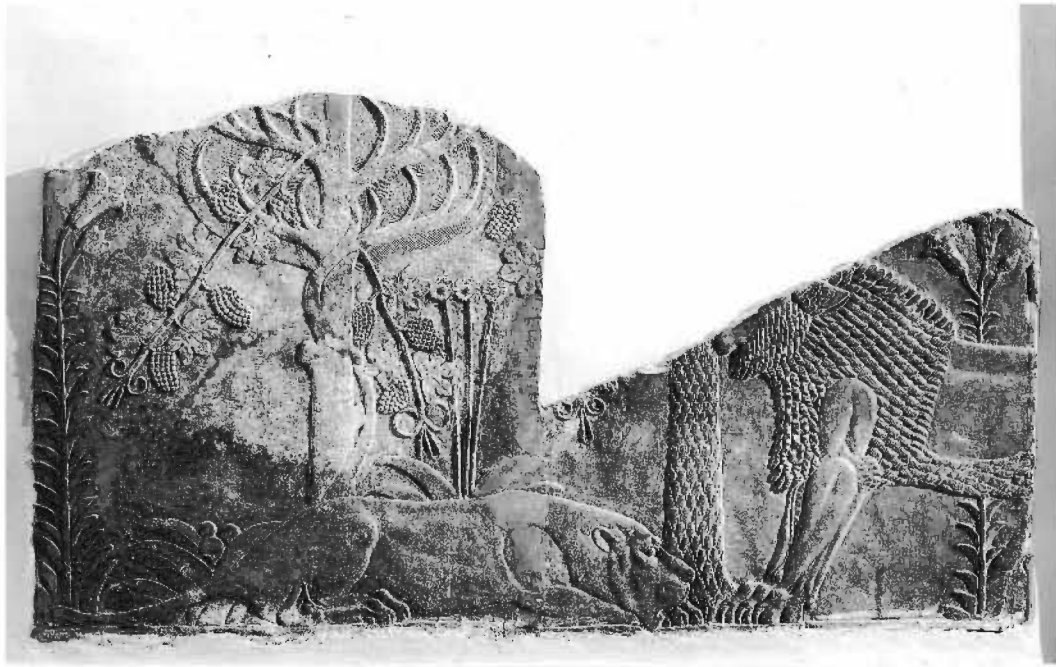


Figure 11.18 Neo-Assyrian relief from Ashurbanipal's North Palace at Nineveh (mid-seventh century BC) showing a lioness and lion basking in royal gardens, planted with trees, vines and flowers. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

wrong, as indicated by the occasional references to villages associated with them, the quantity of stores in them (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* IV, 4.7; further Briant 1996a: 456–8 [2002b: 442–4]), and the cultivation of orchards as here. For references to the disagreement about the meaning of the Old Persian word, see **9, no.71**, n.3; for Cyrus' formal gardens at Pasargadae, see **fig.3.5(b)**.

3. The question marks indicate that not all the translations of the Elamite are absolutely certain, although the understanding of the text as referring to 'seedlings' of various types of fruit-trees is extremely likely. The italicised words indicate unknown (so far) types of fruit, see PFa, 116, and cf. PFa, no.1.
4. Location not known. Only two of the place names in this text are approximately located: Tikrash is south-east of Persepolis; Appishtapdan, south-west; the others are thought to lie near these (Hallock 1978: 116). The PNs appear generally to be Iranian.
5. El. *partetaš*. Although Hallock thought this might not designate the Persian garden or plantation, called *paradeisos* in Greek, there seems no good reason to reject the equation (cf. Briant 1996a: 967 [2002b: 942–3]).
6. Note PF 1946, which mentions a 'tree-keeper', and PT 38, 'tree-keepers' (cf. **16, no.45**).
7. This is an error for 590 seedlings, if the preceding numbers are right.
8. Mistake for 647.
9. Xenophon is describing Cyrus the Younger's march to challenge his brother (**9, Section A**). A stage (Gr. *stathmos*) is usually reckoned to be about one day's march; the parasang (a Persian measure), perhaps 5.5 km.
10. Xenophon goes on to describe the great royal palace, built by Xerxes in 479, at Celaenae (see **7, no.77**), to which the park may well have been attached.
11. The setting is Ecbatana, the scene of the assassination of Alexander's old general, Parmenion, in 330. It was ordered by Alexander himself after the execution of Parmenion's son, Philotas, who was implicated in a plot; see Heckel 1992: 19–23.

12. The scene is set in a region of Central Asia which Quintus Curtius calls Bazaira, probably close to Samarkand (in modern Uzbekistan), where Arrian (IV, 6.1), too, mentions the existence of a Persian royal residence.
13. Quintus Curtius here recounts a story of rivalry between Alexander and Lysimachus as to who should kill the lion, with Alexander despatching it with a single stroke as befits a royal hero. The scene described reminds one vividly of Assyrian reliefs, showing lions in Assyrian royal parks and royal lion hunts, with the king as sole slayer of the animals, see **figs.11.17–11.18** (note also **13, no.30**(43)). Note the decoration of the gold-overlaid dagger sheath in the Oxus Treasure (**fig.11.27**), showing a lion hunt in a very Assyrian style.
14. Again the comparison with Assyrian kings, who enumerate the enormous numbers of wild animals killed, often along with their military achievements, is striking (see further, Kuhrt 1995a: 358–9). Note also some of the Egyptian kings of the New Kingdom (see, e.g., Tuthmosis III's elephant hunt in north Syria, Gebel Barkal Stele: W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, no.365, 1233–4).
15. The anecdote is connected with Artaxerxes II's 'campaign' in mountainous terrain against the Cadusians; see **9, no.67; 13, no.31**.

E. Imperial spectacles

22. A royal pageant

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 3.1, 3, 5, 9–19, 24–5, 33–4.

We shall now describe how, for the first time, Cyrus¹ went forth from the palace. For the majesty of this procession seems to us to have been one of the techniques that he devised to make his rule respected. First, then, before setting forth, he called to him the Persians and other allies who held office and presented them with Median robes; this was the first time the Persians wore Median dress.² As he distributed them, he told them he wanted to move in procession to the sacred precincts³ chosen for the gods and sacrifice with them.

When he had shared out the most beautiful garments to the noblest, he brought out other Median robes. He had had a large quantity prepared, and was not sparing with the purple, dark red, scarlet or crimson cloaks. After he had assigned each officer his share, he commanded them to adorn their friends with them, 'just as', he said, 'I have adorned you'.

So they left, sent for their friends and dressed them with the garments.

When the next day arrived, everything was ready before daybreak: ranks of soldiers lined either side of the road, just as they stand now when the king is to go in procession. No one may penetrate these lines who is not in a position of honour. People with whips were stationed there and struck anyone who tried to push his way in. First, in front of the gates stood around four thousand spear-bearers,⁴ four deep, two thousand either side of the gates. All the cavalry-men were there, dismounted from the horses and with their hands inside the sleeves of their coats, just as they do now when the king sees them.⁵ The Persians stood on the right, the other allies on the left of the street, with the chariots the same, half on either side.

Then, when the palace gates were thrown open, first to be led out were four magnificent bulls for Zeus and the other gods⁶ as the magi directed.⁷ After the bulls, came horses as a sacrifice to the sun.⁸ After that came a chariot, drawn by a gold-yoked and garlanded horse, sacred to Zeus, and then a chariot sacred to the sun, with a white horse garlanded like the previous one. After that came a third chariot,⁹ the horses covered with purple, and behind it followed men bearing fire on a great altar.¹⁰

Next, Cyrus himself on a chariot emerged from the gates, his tiara upright,¹¹ a purple tunic shot with white – no one else may have one shot with white – scarlet-dyed trousers about the legs and a coat all of purple. He also had a diadem around the tiara. His kinsmen, too, had the same mark of distinction, and have it still now. He kept his hands outside the sleeves. In front of him was a tall charioteer, but he was no taller than Cyrus either in reality or appearance – Cyrus seemed much taller.¹²

All, when they saw him, bowed low,¹³ either because they had been told to begin this or because they were overawed by his splendour or because Cyrus appeared so supremely glorious and beautiful.¹⁴ Previously, no Persian had done obeisance to Cyrus.

When Cyrus' chariot had emerged, the four thousand spearbearers went in front with the two thousand following on either side of the chariot. His sceptre-bearers, about three hundred, followed on horseback, finely dressed and holding javelins. Next came the horses bred for Cyrus, about two hundred, with golden bridles and swathed in embroidered cloths, followed by two thousand lance-bearers. Behind them came the original ten thousand cavalry, formed into a square with a hundred each side; Chrysantas was their commander. Behind them came ten thousand further Persian horsemen, drawn up in the same way, commanded by Hystaspas; after them another ten thousand in the same formation under Datamas, and then as many more again under Gadatas.¹⁵ After that came the cavalry of the Medes, Armenians, Hyrcanians, Cadusians, Sacae;¹⁶ and behind the cavalry came the chariots, four abreast, under the command of the Persian Artabatas.¹⁷

As he moved on, a mass of people followed on the outside with petitions asking Cyrus about various matters. So he sent to them some of the sceptre-bearers who were in his train, three on either side of his chariot, for the purpose of taking his messages. He told them to say that if anyone wanted anything from him, he should express his wish to one of the cavalry officers; and they, he said, would inform him. Immediately, they fell back and moved along the cavalry lines, each calculating whom he should approach. (. . .)

When they reached the sacred precincts, they sacrificed to Zeus and brought the bulls as burnt offerings. Then they brought the horses as burnt offerings to the sun; next they sacrificed to the earth on the instructions of the magi, and then to the heroes in charge of Syria.¹⁸

After that, as the topography seemed right, he indicated a goal about five stadia¹⁹ away and told them to ride their horses, group by group, as fast as possible towards it. (. . .)

He also allowed the chariots to do the same in groups. To all the winners he presented cattle and cups, so that they might sacrifice and feast.

In this way, as initiated by Cyrus, the royal procession continues until now, save that the victims are omitted if the king does not sacrifice.²⁰

Notes

1. Cyrus II, the subject of Xenophon's treatise.
2. For the adoption of Median dress – narrow trousers and thigh-length jacket, see **fig.11.5** (second figure from left in the top row) – by the Persians, see Calmeyer 1987: 11–12.
3. For the problem of Persian sacred structures, see **11, no.35**, n.1; **figs.11.19; 11.40**.
4. For spear-bearers in the the Persepolis Fortification archive, see Henkelman 2002. See also **fig.11.20**.
5. See **9, no.4**, where Cyrus the Younger was accused of having insisted on people doing this in his presence, thus indicating his ambitions for the throne. The word for the garment used here is the OP loanword, *kandys*; see the discussion (with references) by Miller 1997: 165–7.

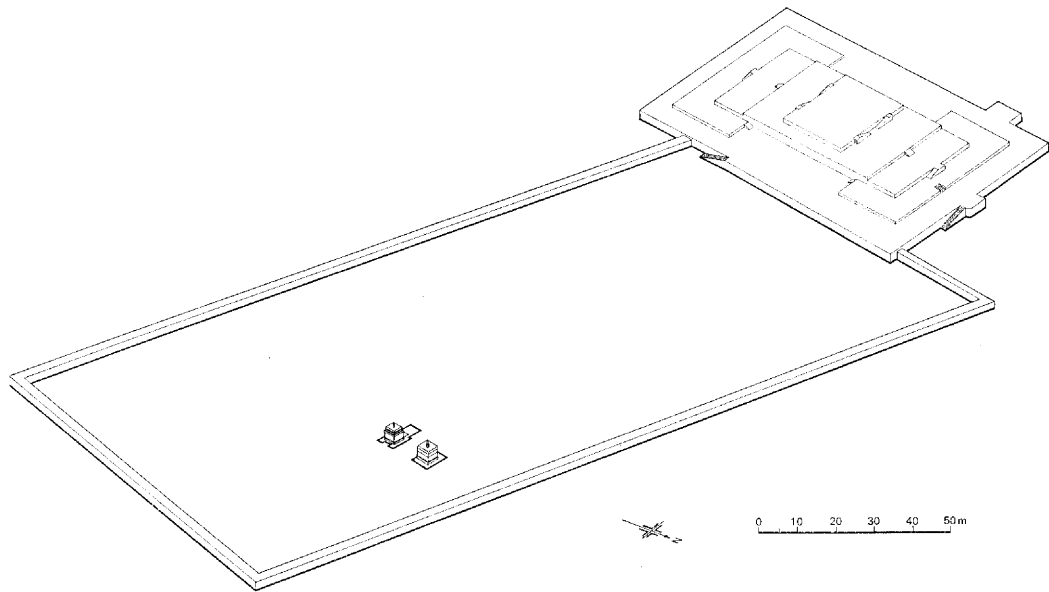


Figure 11.19 Axonometric reconstruction of the 'sacred precinct' at Pasargadae (see **fig.3.5(a)**, for the location). The arena measures approx. 210×85 m; the terrace overlooking it on the west and the walls are later in date (Boucharlat and Benech 2002). It encloses two limestone podia (2.10 m high), resting on a solid foundation and with seven steps leading to the top. The northern podium appears not to have had anything placed on top, while the southern one seems to have been surmounted by an altar with a deep bowl, suitable for holding a fire (see Stronach 1978: 138–45; cf. **fig.11.38**). The arrangement evokes the scene on the royal tomb façades, showing the king on a plinth facing a fire altar set on a similar one, see **fig.11.14**. (After Stronach 1978.)

6. Zeus in the Persian context is thought to mean Auramazda (see **11, nos.24; 35–6**); for the occurrence of 'the other gods' in the royal inscriptions, see (for example) **11, nos.1, n.5; 3, para.2; 8, para.3; 10, para.2; 12, para.6**; see further **11, Section H**.
7. For the magi, see **11, Section H(d)**.
8. Perhaps Mithra (but note **11, Introduction, n.7**); see further, **11, no.36 & n.3; Section H(f)**.
9. The word used for these chariots is Gr. *harma*, meaning a two-wheeled war chariot, cf. **fig.11.21**.
10. For the role of fire in cults of the Achaemenid period, see **11, Section H(e) & no.65**.
11. The tiara was a Persian head-dress, which only the king was allowed to wear upright (see **fig.11.25**); alternatively, 'upright' may simply describe the type of tiara. Note Baryaxes' assumption of the upright tiara in an attempt to claim Persian kingship in 324; he and his supporters were executed by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* VI, 29.3). It is unclear how it was decorated – on the reliefs it now appears completely plain, although seals and coins show crenellated forms (**figs.7.5b; 9.1; 11.35; 11.37; 11.44; 11.46**). Other terms for the tiara were *kurbasia* and *kidaris*. This head-dress, which leaves ears and neck exposed, must be distinguished from the mitra, which enveloped head and neck and was worn in battle (see **fig.10.1**, cf. **14, no.38, n.3**).
12. Note the stress on the Persian king's incomparable physical stature, cf. **7, no.5; 11, no.19(iii) & (v)**.
13. Gr. *proskunein*, which could take several forms; see **11, no.29 & n.2; fig.11.29**.
14. The comparison that comes to mind here is the Mesopotamian concept of *melammu*, the overwhelming beauty of, and terrifying splendour surrounding, a king which struck such awe into the beholders that they fell down in obeisance before him, see Cassin 1968.

15. Cyrus' commanders, who had figured repeatedly in Xenophon's text, are probably fictitious characters. Hystaspas and Datamas (Cadusian leader, Xen. *Cyrop.* V, 3.38) are Persian names. Apart from the late 'Gadatas inscription' (Magnesia, ML no. 12), whose authenticity is highly questionable, this is not attested as a Persian name, except here (Briant 2003b: 118–19); Chrysantas is clearly Greek.
16. For the Cadusians, see **8, no.37**; **9, no.67**; the Sacae are Scythians.
17. He had not figured previously in Xenophon's tale.
18. See nn.6 & 8, above for Zeus and the sun. How veneration of the earth should be understood is unclear, although it ties in with Herodotus' and Strabo's statements, characterising Persian cult as focused on natural phenomena (**11, nos.35–6**); note the extensive evidence for the cult of/at physical features in Persia (**11, nos.41** & n.3; **44** & n.4). The heroes of Syria are perhaps linked to Xenophon setting the pageant in Babylon, following Cyrus' conquest.
19. Approximately 1 km.
20. Note that cattle are only slaughtered at ritual banquets when the king is involved, which serves to stress royal munificence (Briant 1996a: 258 [2002a: 246–7]). This is reflected by the transactions registered in the 'Religious Journal' (NN 2259, Henkelman 2006, ch.5).

23. The royal camp

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 5.2–3, 8, 13.

We shall describe here in how well-ordered a way the camp, large as it was, was packed up and how quickly it reached the next place.¹ For wherever the king pitches camp, the whole royal retinue with their tents follow him on campaign, summer or winter.

Cyrus ordered this at the very start: his tent should be set up facing east.² Then, his first decision concerned the distance there should be between the spear-bearers and the royal tent. Next he indicated a place on the right for the bakers, on the left for the cooks,³ on the right for the horses, and on the left for the remaining pack animals. And everything else was organised in such a way that everyone knew his particular place, both its size and location. (. . .)

So he took up his position first in the centre of the camp, as being the safest place. Then came the most trusted men just as he had them around him at home, and in a circle around them he had the cavalry and the charioteers. (. . .) And the commanders all had standards over their tents.

Notes

1. Xenophon is describing the movement of Cyrus' army towards Persia.
2. In order to face, and honour, the rising sun? See **11, Introduction**, n.7; **no.53** & n.4.
3. Gr. *sitopoioi* and *opsopoioi*. On the likelihood that this arrangement reflects Xenophon's sense of order as well as Greek, rather than Persian, table-manners and is, thus, unlikely to be a reliable picture of Cyrus' camp at this point, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1997: 337 (cf. **12, no.41**).

24. The king and army in marching order

Herodotus VII, 40–1.

When this had been done,¹ the army filed through. First came the baggage train and pack animals; after them, the mixed troops of all peoples, with no divisions.² When more than half had gone by, there was a space and they did not come close to the king. Then a

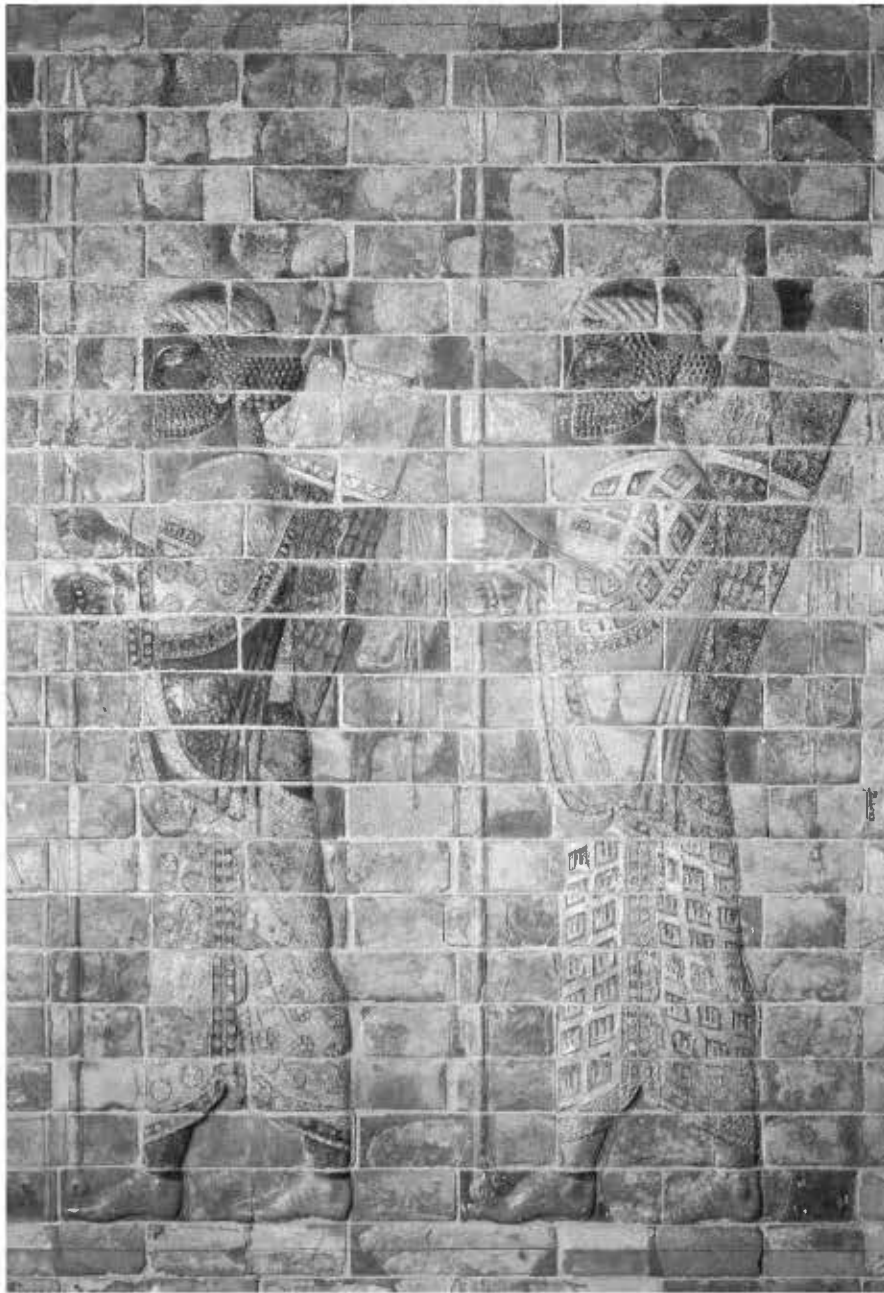


Figure 11.20 Two of the 'Susian guards'. Polychrome glazed brick relief (2.01 m high) from the eastern palace door on the Apadana (see **fig.11.9** for plan). The colours are brown, pale green, yellow and white, with outlines in greyish black. Each has an elegantly curved bow over his shoulder, a richly decorated quiver with tassles hanging from it, and a long lance with the spherical end resting on the foot. They wear beautifully ornamented robes, buttoned strap shoes, a pair of bracelets (cf. **figs.4.2 & 13.3**), ear-rings and a twisted gold fillet on their hair. (Photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

thousand horsemen, picked from all the Persians, led the way, followed by a thousand spear-bearers, also selected from all, with the spear points turned towards the ground. After them came ten so-called sacred Nesaeian horses, splendidly adorned. They are called Nesaeian for this reason: there is a great plain in Media, the name of which is Nesaea. This plain produces exceptionally large horses.³ Behind these ten horses came the sacred chariot of Zeus⁴ drawn by eight white horses; behind the horses followed the drivers on foot, holding the reins; for no mortal may mount that seat. After that came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaeian horses; next to him stood Patiramphes, the son of Otanes the Persian.⁵

(41) This is how Xerxes drove forth from Sardis. Whenever it occurred to him, he moved from the chariot to a carriage⁶ and back. Behind came a thousand spear-bearers, among the best and noblest of the Persians, holding the tips in the normal way; after them, another thousand horse, picked from the Persians, and after the horse, ten thousand, chosen from the remaining Persians.⁷ This was the infantry. A thousand of them had golden pomegranates, instead of points, on their spears and encircled the others; the nine thousand on the inside had silver pomegranates. The ones who held their spears pointing to the ground also had golden pomegranates, while those closest behind Xerxes had apples.⁸ These ten thousand were followed, in order, by ten thousand Persian horse. Behind the horse was a space of two stadia,⁹ and then came the remaining troops, not in divisions.

Notes

1. Herodotus has just described the execution of the son of Pythius the Lydian, see **13, no.29(i)**.
2. This is in contrast to Xerxes' so-called army review, see **11, no.25**.
3. For this highly prized breed of horses used by the Persians, see further Hdt. III, 106; **7, no.57**. For the location of the Ne/isaean plain, see **5, no.1**, para.13 & n.25. In approximately the same region the Assyrian king Sargon II (722–705) noted the remarkable expertise of the locals in horse-breeding and training (TCL 3, ll.170–3), as did Marco Polo about 1,900 years later (*Travels*, London, 1958: 48). Note that the tribute of the 'Medes' in Assyrian annals regularly included horses that had been broken in (cf. RLA X, 472, for references); cf. **14, no.29**, n.3.
4. Cf. **11, no.22** & n.6 for Xenophon's slightly different description of the chariot of 'Zeus'.
5. Otanes, son of Sisamnes (**4, no.23**), was a member of the foremost Persian élite, see **6, no.20**; **11, no.25**. The position of royal chariot driver was one of great trust. Note the Assyrian evidence for their prominence at court and great wealth, SAA 6, nos.34–58; 296–350.
6. Gr. *harmamaxa*, a covered carriage, particularly for the conveyance of women and children (see **12, nos.28**; **30**; **31**).
7. The so-called Immortals, cf. **11, no.25** (83).
8. See further on the royal bodyguard (*doruphoroi*), **12, no.5**. For a decorative gold pommel that may have been a spear butt, see Head 1992, fig.16d (no provenance given).
9. Roughly 400 m.

25. Staging the empire¹

Herodotus VII, 61–80; 83–7.1; 89–94.1; 95.

These were the ones who were with the army, with the Persians equipped like this. Around their heads they had the so-called tiara,² a soft felt cap, around the body, sleeved and coloured tunics [and corselets]³ of iron plates, which looked like fish,⁴ trousers on the legs and instead of round leather and metal shields, oblong wickerwork ones;⁵ the quivers hung below. They had short spears, large bows, reed arrows and, hanging from the belt, daggers

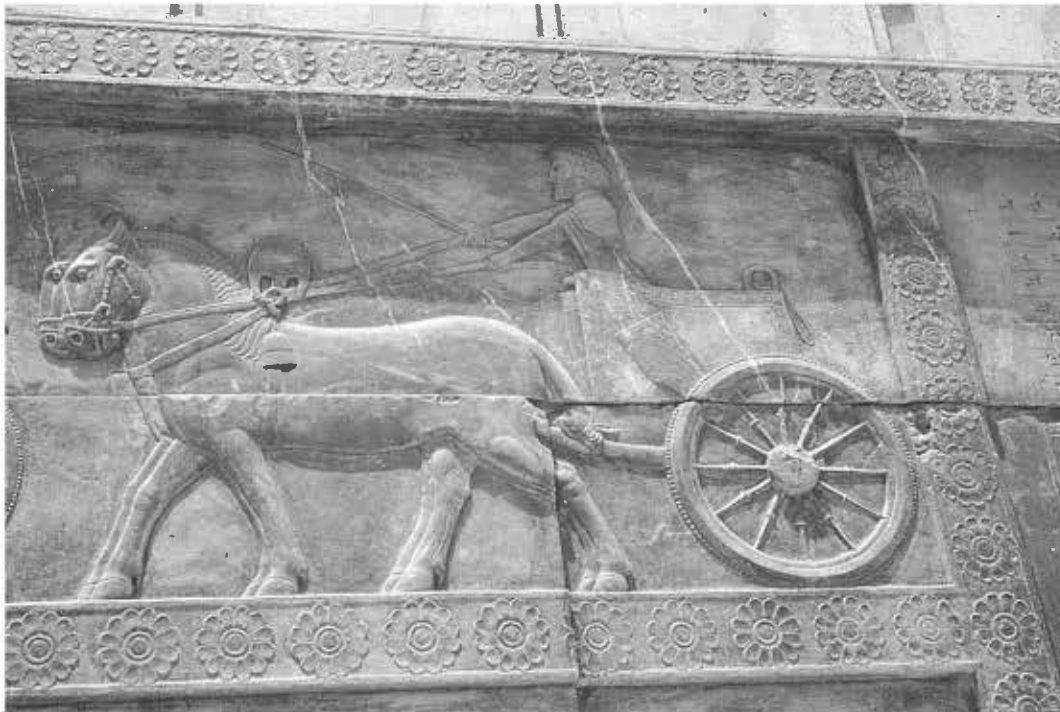


Figure 11.21 Two-wheeled chariot. Top register, northern wing of Apadana, east staircase, Persepolis. For reconstruction of the royal chariot, see Curtis 1998. (Photograph courtesy of M.S. Drower.)

against the right thigh. Their commander was Otanes,⁶ father of Xerxes' wife, Amestris. In olden times, the Greeks called them Cephenees; however, they themselves and their neighbours called them Artaioi. (. . .)⁷

(62) The Medes in the army had the same equipment; in fact the Persian outfit is Median.⁸ The Medes had as their commander Tigranes, an Achaemenid. (. . .)⁹ The Cissians in the army were equipped like the Persians, but instead of soft felt caps they wore a mitra.¹⁰ Anaphes, son of Otanes,¹¹ commanded them. The Hyrcanians had the same outfit as the Persians, and had as commander Megapanus, who was later in charge of Babylon.¹²

(63) The Assyrian soldiers¹³ had bronze helmets on their heads, twined around in a barbarian way not easy to describe; they had shields, spears and daggers similar to the Egyptian ones, as well as wooden clubs studded with iron and linen breastplates. The Greeks call them Syrians, but by the barbarians they are called Assyrians.¹⁴ Otaspes, son of Artachaees, commanded them.¹⁵

(64) The Bactrians had a head-dress very much like the Median one, with local-style reed bows and short spears. The Sacae (who are Scythians) had caps tapering to a point and sticking upright on their heads,¹⁶ wore trousers, and had local reed bows and daggers, and also battle-axes. They were Amyrgian Scythians,¹⁷ called Sacae, because the Persians call all the Scythians Sacae. Hystaspes, the son of Darius and Atossa, Cyrus' daughter,¹⁸ commanded the Bactrians and Sacae.

(65) The Indians wore garments made of cotton,¹⁹ and had reed bows and arrows, with iron on them. That was how the Indians were equipped and they were assigned to serve under Pharnazathres son of Artabates.²⁰

(66) The Areians were equipped with Median bows, otherwise they were like the Bactrians; Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes, commanded the Areians.²¹ The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarans and Dadicae had the same equipment as the Bactrians.²² These were their commanders: of the Parthians and Chorasmians, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces;²³ of the Sogdians, Azanes, son of Artaeus;²⁴ of the Gandarans and Dadicae, Artyphius, son of Artabanus.²⁵

(67) The Caspians wore cloaks, and had local-style reed bows and Persian-type daggers.²⁶ That is how they were equipped and as their leader they had Ariomardus, the brother of Artyphius, while the Sarangians had brightly dyed clothing, boots reaching to the knee, and Median bows and spears.²⁷ Pherendates, son of Megabazus,²⁸ commanded them. The Pactyes wore cloaks and had local bows and daggers.²⁹ They were under the command of Artayntes, son of Ithamitres.³⁰

(68) The Utians, Mycians and Paricanians³¹ were equipped like the Pactyes. Their commanders were: of the Utians and Mycians, Arsamenes, son of Darius, and of the Paricanians, Siromitres, son of Oeobazus.³²

(69) The Arabs were in belted robes and had in their right hands large bent-back bows. The Ethiopians (i.e. Nubians) wore leopard and lionskins, large bows made of palmfronds, no less than four cubits, and their small reed bows, instead of having iron tips had tips made of stone, which they also use for making seals.³³ They also had spears, with gazelle horns on the point, sharpened like a lance. They also had studded clubs. When they went into battle half their bodies were covered with gypsum, half with ochre. The commander of the Arabs and the Ethiopians, who dwell above Egypt, was Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, the daughter of Cyrus.³⁴ Darius loved her most of his wives and had a statue of beaten gold made of her.

(70) Now Arsames commanded the Ethiopians above Egypt and the Arabs, but the eastern Ethiopians (for they served in two regiments) were assigned to the Indians, yet their appearance was no different from the others, except for their speech and hair. The eastern Ethiopians have straight hair, while those from Libya³⁵ have the curliest hair of all. The Asian Ethiopians were mostly kitted out like the Indians, except they had the skin of the foreheads of horses on their heads, stripped off together with the ears and the mane, the mane serving as a crest, with the horses' ears worn stiffly upright. Instead of shields they had guards made of crane skins.

(71) The Libyans came wearing leather garments, and used fire-hardened stakes. Masages, son of Oarizes, was their commander.³⁶

(72) The Paphlagonians in the army had woven helmets on their heads, small shields and relatively short spears, but also javelins and daggers. On their feet they wore local-style boots reaching to mid-calf.³⁷ The Ligyans, Matieni, Mariandyni and Syrians had the same gear as the Paphlagonian soldiers. (The Syrians are called Cappadocians by the Persians.)³⁸ Dotus, son of Megasidrus, commanded the Paphlagonians and Matieni, while Gobryas, son of Darius and Artystone,³⁹ was in charge of the Ligyans and Syrians.

(73) The Phrygians had equipment very similar to that of the Paphlagonians, with minimal differences. (. . .)⁴⁰ The Armenians were fitted out like the Phrygians, given they are Phrygian colonists. Both were under the command of Artochmes, who was married to Darius' daughter.⁴¹

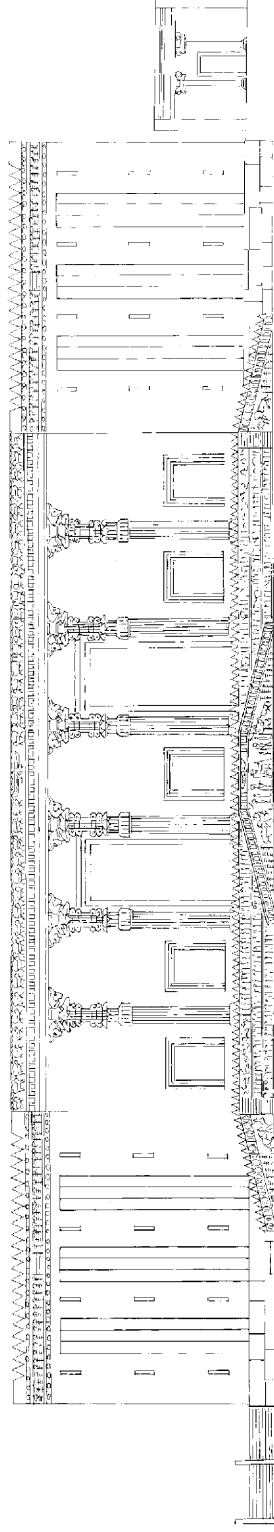


Figure 11.22 Reconstruction of the northern staircase and Apadana façade, Persepolis. On the left stand ranks of Persian soldiers; on the right, groups of subject peoples approach bearing gifts (see [fig.11.23](#)). Originally, the central panel showed the 'audience relief' ([fig.11.29](#)), with the king facing the approaching groups of gift-bearers. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

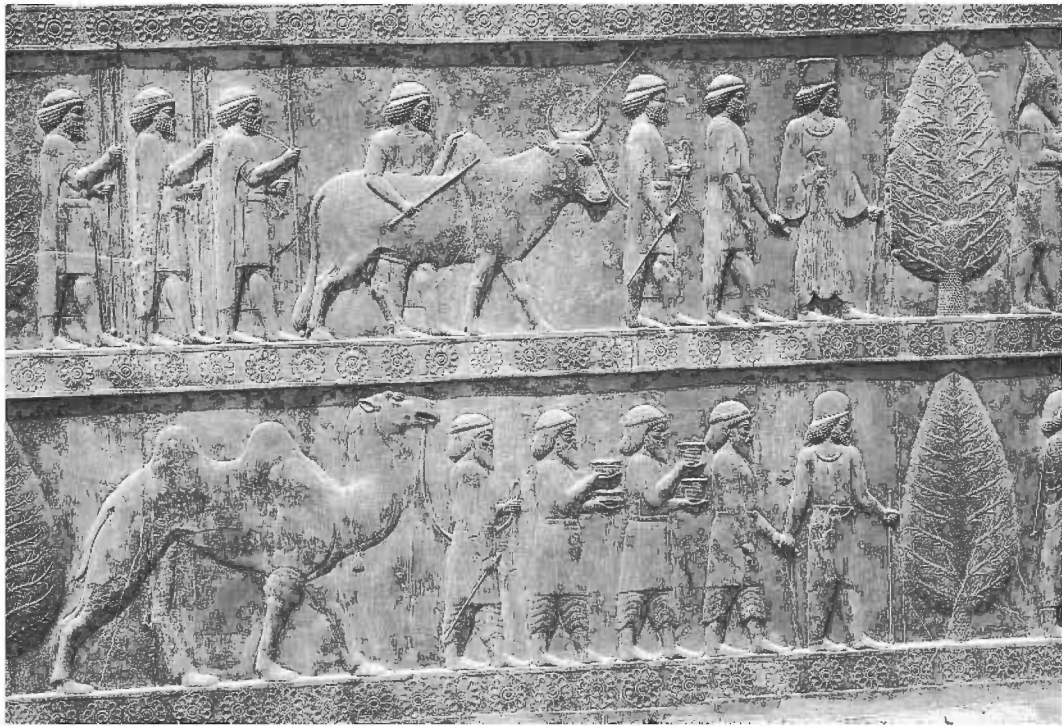


Figure 11.23 Some of the delegations bearing gifts for the king, each waiting to be ushered into his presence by a Persian courtier. From the eastern staircase of the Apadana, Persepolis.
 (a) top – Gandarans (region around mod. Kabul) in short-sleeved cloaks, sandals and fillets around their heads, bringing a humped bull, lances and shield; bottom – Bactrians in tunics, baggy trousers and boots, and tied headbands, bringing vessels and Bactrian camel.

(74) The Lydians had weapons very much like Greek ones. (. . .)⁴² The Mysians had local-style helmets on their heads, small shields, and fire-hardened javelins. (. . .)⁴³ Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, who attacked Marathon together with Datis, commanded the Lydians and Mysians.⁴⁴

(75) The Thracians served with foxskins on their heads, tunics on their bodies and were wrapped in multicoloured cloaks. On their feet and shins they had deerskin boots, as well as javelins, light shields and small daggers. (. . .)⁴⁵ Bassaces, son of Artabanus,⁴⁶ was in command of the Thracians.

(76) The [. . .]⁴⁷ had small oxhide shields; each had two wolfing spears and, on their heads, bronze helmets. On the helmets were set the ears and horns of an ox, made of bronze, and manes.⁴⁸ They wrapped their calves in purple rags. (. . .)⁴⁹

(77) The Cabalees, who are Meionians called Iasonians,⁵⁰ were equipped just like the Cilicians, which I shall point out when I get to the Cilician contingent. The Milyans⁵¹ had short spears and their garments were pinned together. Some had Lycian bows, and on their heads caps made of leather. All were commanded by Badres, son of Hystanes.⁵²

(78) The Moschi⁵³ had wooden helmets on their heads, and small shields and spears, although the tips were long. The Tibareni, Macrones and Mossynoeci⁵⁴ served with the same



Figure 11.23 (b) top – Babylonians in draped garments and tasselled hats, bringing vessels, textiles and humped bull; bottom – Lydians with sidelocks, cloaks draped over long dresses and boots, bringing Persian bracelets, vessels and a horse-drawn wagon.

equipment as the Moschi. These commanders were jointly in charge of them: Ariomardus, son of Darius and Parmys, the daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus,⁵⁵ of the Moschi and Tibareni: Artayctes, son of Cherasmis, governor of Sestus on the Hellespont,⁵⁶ of the Macrones and Mossynoeci.

(79) The Mares had local-style woven helmets on their heads, small hide shields and javelins. The Colchians had wooden helmets on their heads, oxhide shields, small, short spears as well as swords.⁵⁷ Pharandates, son of Teaspes,⁵⁸ commanded the Mares and Cholchians. The Alarodians and Saspies were armed like the Colchians and commanded by Masistius, son of Siromitres.⁵⁹

(80) The island peoples, coming from the Red Sea, and those islands where the king settles the so-called exiles,⁶⁰ had clothing and weapons very much like the Medes. Mardonites, son of Bagaeus, who died the year after in the battle at Mycale where he was a general, commanded these islanders.⁶¹ (. . .)⁶²

(83) These were the generals of the entire infantry with the exception of the Ten Thousand. These Ten Thousand, chosen from among the Persians, were under the command of Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes,⁶³ and were called Immortals, because if their number was diminished by death or illness, another one was chosen, so that there were never more nor less than ten thousand.⁶⁴ The Persians had the most brilliant outfits of all and were themselves the best. They had the equipment I described, but for the quantity and abundance of

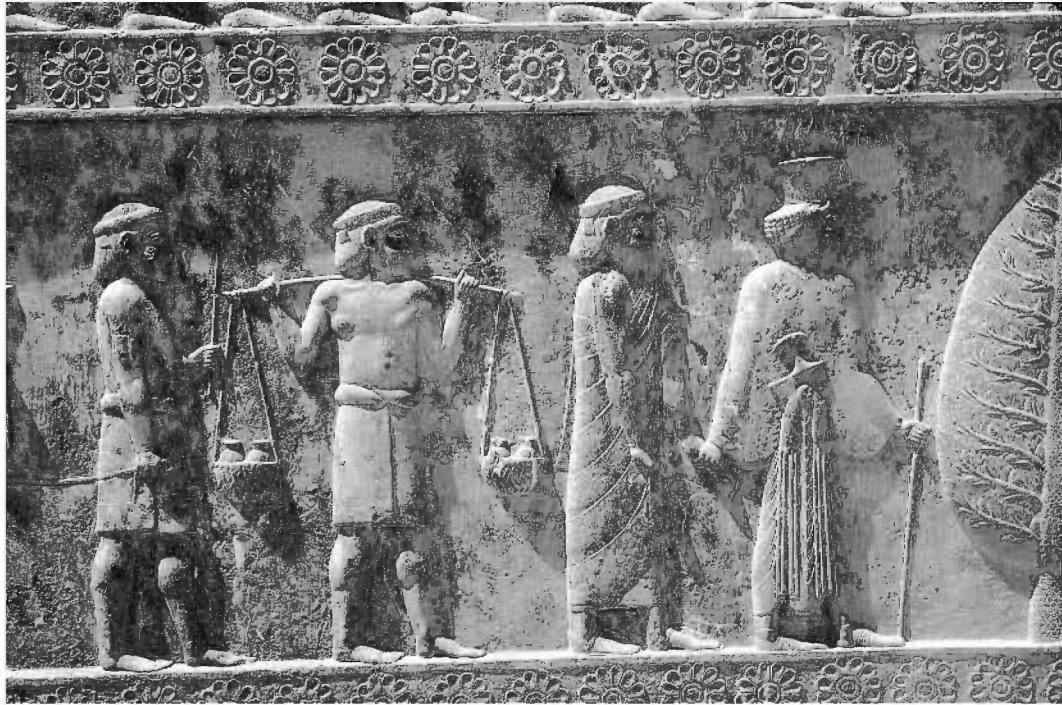


Figure 11.23 (c) Indians in loincloths and knotted headbands, bringing gold dust(?).

their gold, which was conspicuous. They brought their wagons with them, in which were their concubines and many servants, also well fitted out. Their corn, separate from the rest of the soldiers, was carried by camels and pack animals.

(84) These people are all horsemen, but not all supplied with horses – only these below. The Persian cavalry was equipped like their infantry, only on their heads some of them had helmets of beaten bronze and iron.

(85) There are some nomadic people called Sagartians.⁶⁵ (. . .) They supplied eight thousand horses (. . .)⁶⁶

(86) The Median and Cissian cavalry was equipped like the infantry. The Indian, too, was equipped like the infantry, but rode fast horses and drove chariots, drawn by horses and wild donkeys.⁶⁷ The Bactrians were equipped like their infantry, as were the Caspians. So, too, were the Libyans, and all drove chariots. The [. . .]⁶⁸ and Paricanians again were equipped like the infantry. The Arabs, too, were kitted out like their infantry, but they rode camels, whose speed was not inferior to that of horses.⁶⁹

(87) These were the only people who supplied cavalry. (. . .)⁷⁰

(89) The number of triremes was 1,207, and they who supplied them were these: the Phoenicians with the Syrians in Palestine, three hundred; they had helmets on their heads made in a similar way to Greek ones, wore linen breastplates and had rimless shields and spears. (. . .)⁷¹ The Egyptians provided two hundred ships; they had plaited helmets on their heads, hollow shields with huge rims, spears for sea-battles and large battle-axes. Most of them had breastplates and big swords.



Figure 11.23 (d) top – Pointed Hat Sacae (Scythians), in trousers and boots, bringing Persian bracelets, coats and trousers, and a horse; bottom – Ionians, dressed like the Lydians (but no side-locks), bringing vessels, textiles and skeins of wool(?).

Note that not all the identifications are certain; see further, Walser 1966. (Photograph courtesy M.S. Drower.)

(90) That was their equipment. The Cypriots provided one hundred and fifty ships, and were attired like this: their kings had turbans wound round their heads, while the others had tunics and were otherwise like the Greeks. (. . .)⁷² The Cilicians supplied a hundred ships.

(91) They had local-style helmets on their heads; instead of a regular shield, they had a special one made of oxhide and they wore woollen tunics. Each one had two spears and a sword made in a very similar way to the Egyptian ones. (. . .)⁷³ The Pamphylians supplied thirty ships and were equipped with Greek-type weapons. (. . .)⁷⁴

(92) The Lycians supplied fifty ships, wore breastplates and greaves and had cornelwood bows, featherless reed arrows and spears. Hung over their shoulders were goatskins and the caps on their heads were decorated with feathers.⁷⁵ They had daggers and scimitars. (. . .)⁷⁶

(93) The Dorians of Asia supplied thirty ships and had Greek weapons as they originated in the Peloponnese. The Carians provided seventy ships, and were generally equipped like Greeks, except that they had scimitars and daggers. (I have spoken previously about what they used to be called.)

(94) The Ionians gave a hundred ships, equipped in Greek fashion. (. . .)⁷⁷

(95) The islanders provided seventeen ships, and were armed like Greeks. (. . .)⁷⁸ The Aeolians provided sixty ships and were fitted out like Greeks. (. . .)⁷⁹ The Hellespontine

people, except the Abydenians (because the king had ordered them to stay at home and guard the bridge), and the rest of the people of Pontus serving in the army supplied a hundred ships, fitted out in Greek style.

Notes

1. The setting is Doriscus on the Thracian coast, see **6, no.25**. Note the similar ‘army review’ of Darius I, at the start of the Scythian campaign, **6, no.8**, and Xerxes’ earlier review at Abydos (Hdt. VII, 44). For discussion of these parades, which picture the empire (rather than being a literal inspection of forces about to fight), see Briant 1996a: 209–11 [2002b: 196–8].
2. See **11, no.22**, n.11.
3. This is restored, see the Oxford Text, ad loc.
4. The expression suggests scale armour, widely used in the Near East since the Bronze Age, see **7, no.57**, n.8 for references.
5. Cf. **fig.7.3**.
6. This cannot be Darius I’s co-conspirator (see **5, no.1**, para.68), and is more likely to be the son of Sisamnes, see **11, no.24**, n.5.
7. This seems to be an ethnonym related to the central Old Persian concept *arta*, ‘truth’, ‘order’; see Briant 1996a: 568; 928 [2002b: 550–1; 900]. Herodotus then explains how, in the Greek view, the later name ‘Persian’ was derived from the son of Perseus and Andromeda.
8. See **11, no.22**, n.2.
9. The Median ethnonym derives, according to Herodotus, from Medea. For the problems in identifying Tigranes, see **7, no.24**, n.3.
10. The Cissians were, according to Hdt. III, 91.4, the inhabitants of Susiana, and should be identified with the Cossaeans of Strabo (**17, no.1**). For the *mitra*, see **11, no.22**, n.11.
11. See, for references, above n.6.
12. Hyrcania is the region south-east of the Caspian. Megapanus is attested neither in Babylonian documents nor elsewhere (as yet).
13. See **11, no.13(i)**, n.9.
14. The mss. have ‘with them were the Chaldaeans’. This is almost certainly a later interpolation, as it does not fit with the way Herodotus uses the term ‘Chaldaeans’ elsewhere, and so should probably be deleted; see the Oxford Text, ad loc.; How and Wells 1912, ad loc.
15. Brother of Artayntes, active in the Aegean in 480/479, see **7, nos.52; 61; 80**.
16. These are the ‘Pointed Hat Scythians’ of Central Asia, see **fig.5.3; 7, no.88**, para.2; **11, nos.4; 12; 16**, para.3.
17. The OP royal inscriptions differentiate carefully between ‘Saca/Scythians who drink *hauma*’, who must be the Amyrgian Scythians, and the Saca/Scythians who wear pointed hats; for references, see n.16, above.
18. For Darius’ marriage to Atossa, see **5, no.14**; for her supposed role in securing the succession for her son, Xerxes, see **7, no.2**.
19. Lit. ‘of wood’; see Herodotus’ description of Indian cotton (III, 106.3): ‘They have wild trees there that bear a fruit that is beautiful like wool and as good as that which comes from sheep. The Indians wear cloth made from these plants.’ (Note also the description of Amasis’ linen breast-plate with gold and cotton embroidery, Hdt. III, 47.2.) The Assyrian king Sennacherib (705–681) had tried to grow cotton in his palace gardens, which he may have obtained via Bahrain, see Potts 1990, II: 133–5.
20. Not known otherwise.
21. Areia was centred on modern Herat. Hydarnes (OP *Vidarna*) was one of Darius’ helpers in the elimination of the pretender Gaumata, see **5, no.1**, para.68.
22. All are located in Central Asia.
23. See **7, no.49(ii)** & n.2 for references.
24. His brother was Artachaes, one of the people in charge of digging the canal through Mount Athos, see **7, no.22**.
25. Artabanus was Xerxes’ uncle, presented as opposed to Xerxes’ Greek campaign (Hdt. VII, 10).

26. *Akinakes*, frequently depicted on reliefs and mentioned as one of the highly prized gifts bestowed by the king (cf. **figs.11.26–11.28**). Note their presence among the reported funerary equipment of Cyrus the Great, **3, no.29**.
27. The people of Drangiana, the region of modern Seistan.
28. Pherendates is thought to be identical to the satrap of Egypt under Darius I (see **17, no.30**); he was killed at Eurymedon in 466 (**7, no.73**). For Megabazus' actions in Thrace under Darius I, see **6, nos.12; 14; 17; 19–20**.
29. Hdt. III, 93.1 places them close to Media, in Armenia, while at III, 102.1 they appear at the south-eastern end of the Iranian plateau. Given the roster of people here, Herodotus seems to be thinking of the latter in this case. How and Wells (1912, ad loc.) suggest that the word defines frontier peoples.
30. Not the brother of Otaspes (above (63)).
31. The Utians are probably the people of the mountain region south of Susa, elsewhere called Uxians (**10, 30(v)**, n.1; **17, no.1**); the Mycians may be the people called Maka in the OP royal inscriptions (see **11, nos.2** & n.16; **4; 12**), while the Paricanians should probably be equated to the Paraetaceni in the mountains between Persia and Media (cf. **10, no.31**, n.1; **17, no.1**).
32. Arsamenes does not figure elsewhere, but was presumably a (half-?)brother of Xerxes. Siromitres, who only appears here, was the father of Masistius, who was killed at Plataea in 479 (**7, no.57**); Oeobazus may be the Persian crucified in Thrace in 479 (**7, no.66**).
33. 4 cubits = about 2 m. The stone tip used 'for making seals' implies that they were regularly used as bow-drills, a technique (still in use) for boring holes through stone and making incised decorations (Hodges 1970: 40–1 & figs.37–9). It was widely used in Mesopotamian seal production from the late fourth millennium on (Collon 1987: 100 & fig.448).
34. For Darius' marriages, see **5, no.14**. Artystone, who is described as Cyrus' 'virgin daughter', meaning she had not been married to one of Darius' predecessors, figures in the Persepolis Fortification texts (Irtašduna), see **12, no.29(i); 16, nos.50(i); 51**. According to Aeschylus, Persians 308, an Arsames was killed at Salamis (cf. **8, no.9**, n.9).
35. In Herodotus' image of the world, Libya designates Africa (see the map in Grene 1987: 294–5).
36. Not known otherwise.
37. For Paphlagonia in northern Asia Minor, see **9, no.39**, nn.12–13. The boots, as described, evoke the divine figure on the late eighth-century Warpalawas relief (Ivriz, Central Anatolia), see the photograph in Roaf 1990: 181.
38. The Ligyans are barely known, see How and Wells 1912, ad loc. Herodotus locates Matiene variously in the Zagros, near Armenia, south-west of the Caspian and east of the Halys, see How and Wells 1912, I: 72, n. for discussion. The Mariandyni lived near Heraclea-Pontus on the Black Sea. For the Cappadocian 'Syrians', see **3, no.13**, n.5.
39. Dotus is not otherwise known; Darius' son Gobryas also only appears here.
40. A brief excursus on Phrygian migration.
41. Not attested elsewhere.
42. This contradicts Herodotus' earlier statement (I, 155–6) that Cyrus had forbidden the Lydians to bear arms. A brief note follows on their original name.
43. A brief note on the Mysian relationship to Lydia; see **9, no.11**, n.5 for Mysia.
44. See **6, nos.51; 57**; his father, Darius' full brother (Hdt. V, 25), was satrap of Lydia and played a prominent role in quashing the Ionian Revolt (cf. **6, Section D**).
45. A brief excursus on Thracian movements.
46. He only appears here; see above, n.25 for Artabanus.
47. There is a manuscript lacuna here; Stein restores Pisidians (see OCT, ad loc.), which makes sense in this context (but contrast How and Wells 1912, ad loc.). For the Pisidians (central Anatolia), see **9, no.9**, n.2.
48. It is possible that the 'wolfing spears' should be emended to read 'spears made in Lycia', see OCT, ad loc.; How and Wells 1912, ad loc. For soldiers with horned helmets in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, see Sandars 1978, esp. figs.64–9.
49. A short note is inserted here.
50. They were located (later) around the Lycian–Roman Asia frontier; see How and Wells 1912, n. ad iii.90.1.

51. From north-eastern Lycia. 'Pinned' garments suggest the use of fibulae, certainly used in the eighth to seventh centuries in central Anatolia; see the figure of Warpalawas on the relief mentioned above, n.37.
52. Badres is only attested here. Hystanes could be the Ushtani who features in Babylonian documents as satrap of Babylonia and Beyond-the-River in Darius I's reign, see CAH IV, 131; 136; 154; **Table 3a/1**. For sealings associated with an Ushtani/a in the Persepolis Fortification archive, see Dusinberre 1997b; Garrison and Root I, 5, 207, 277.
53. The Moschi are generally identified with the people called Mushki in Assyrian texts, where they are certainly later associated with the Phrygian kingdom (Kuhrt 1995a: 562; Bryce 1998: 388–9; note RLA VIII, 495, rejecting the equation of Herodotus' Moschi and the Assyrian Mushki).
54. Tibareni should perhaps be located in the region called Tabal by the Assyrians in central Anatolia, see Bryce 1998: 387–8. The other two groups should probably be located in the Black Sea area, see How and Wells 1912, ad iii. 94.2.
55. Only attested here and in Aeschylus' *Persians*; for Darius' marriages, see **5, no.14**.
56. Artayctes is said to have been married to Xerxes' sister, Mandane (D.S. XI, 57.1), and was himself in charge of the fortress at Sestos later (see **7, no.66**).
57. Both groups dwelt around the eastern end of the Black Sea.
58. He fought at Plataea, as his concubine is mentioned in the aftermath of the battle (Hdt. IX, 76); his father was married to a sister of Darius (Hdt. IV, 43).
59. Probably located in Armenia. For Masistius, see above, n.32.
60. By the Red Sea, Herodotus means the Persian Gulf. For Persian control in the region, see Salles 1990; cf. **13, no.30; 17, nos.43–5**.
61. See **7, nos.52; 61**; for Bagaeus' loyal service for Darius, see **5, no.15**.
62. Hdt. VII, 81–2 sums up his listing of the infantry at this point and gives the names of supreme commanders.
63. See above, n.21.
64. See the discussion of the Immortals in Briant 1996a: 272–3 [2002b: 261–2].
65. Cf. **3, no.5; 5, no.1**, n.69.
66. For the description of the Sagartians, see **17, no.9**.
67. For the use of wild donkeys (or onagers) to draw war chariots in the Near East in earlier periods, see Kuhrt 1995a: 38.
68. The reading here is disputed, with scholars undecided between Caspians, Caspiri and Casii (almost unknown) and an emendation to 'Sacae', cf. How and Wells 1912, ad loc.
69. For the Arab mode of fighting mounted on camels, see Briant 1982a: 132–4; **fig.11.24**.
70. Hdt. VII, 87–8 gives the organisation of the cavalry regiments and their commanders, together with an accident that befell one of them.
71. Brief excursus on Phoenicians and Syrians.
72. Short excursus on Cypriot origins.
73. A brief note on their name.
74. Note on the origin of the Pamphylians (east of Lycia).
75. It is sometimes suggested that the Peleset/Philistines, who are depicted (in c.1200) wearing what might be a feathered headdress, could be related to the later Lycians, see Sandars 1978.
76. Short note on their origins.
77. Short note on their name.
78. A note on their original name.
79. Note on their earlier name.

26. King and peasant

(i) Peasants honour the king along his route

Aelian, *Varia Historia* 1.31.¹

This is one of the most respected customs in Persia. When the Great King travels to Persepolis, everyone brings him something according to his means. As they are peasants tilling the

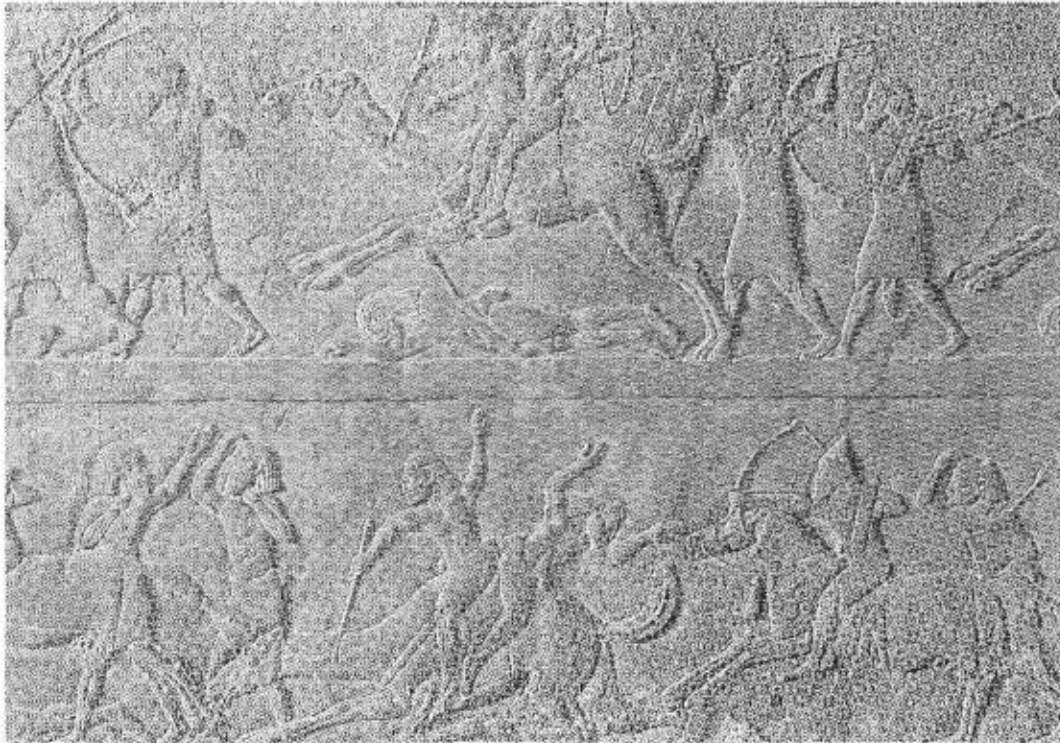


Figure 11.24 Relief showing fighting between Arabs and Assyrians, from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh, seventh century BC, now in the British Museum. Note the two men mounted on the camel, one guiding the animal's movement, the other turning back to shoot with his bow. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

soil and living off their own labour, they do not present large or luxurious gifts, but an ox or a sheep; others offer grain and yet others wine. As the king passes by, each person lays out these products for this purpose; they are called gifts and are regarded as such. The poorest of all offer milk, dates and cheese, seasonal delicacies and other first fruits of the local products.

(ii) The king's delight with humble gifts

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 4.5–5.1.²

There was no gift, however small, that he (sc. Artaxerxes II) would not accept with the greatest good will. For example, a certain Omisus had brought him a pomegranate of exceptional size. 'By Mithra',³ he said, 'this man would quickly turn a small city into a large one if he were entrusted with it.'

(5.1) On one of his journeys everyone was offering him gifts. A peasant, who had not been able to find anything in time, ran to the river, filled his hands with water and presented it to him. Artaxerxes was delighted and sent him a golden *phiale*⁴ and a thousand darics.⁵

Notes

1. The source of the story may be Deinon (Stevenson 1997: 77–80).
2. Two similar anecdotes are told by Aelian VH 1.32–3 (cf. **13, no.37**).
3. See further, **11, nos.57–8**.
4. The Persian drinking cup, frequently presented both to and by the king; see **13, no.24; fig.8.1**.
5. See **8, no.28**, n.5.

27. Public homage

Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F263a/b.¹

Is there any city or people of Asia that did not send embassies to the king? Is there any produce or any fine and valuable product of their workshops that they did not bring as gifts to lay down before the king? Many splendid bedcovers, fine blankets, some purple, some multi-coloured, others white; many tents fitted out in gold and fully equipped; not to mention many tunics and costly, splendid couches; and then chased silver and gold worked to perfection, cups and bowls, some covered with precious gems, others with the appearance of having been worked with simple elegance. And above and beyond all that, uncountable myriads of arms, both Greek and barbarian, and an incredible number of teams of horses and fatted animals for sacrifice, as well as many *medimnoi*² of spices, many leather bags and [pouches] and vast quantities of [papyri]; and among all the other things, everything necessary for sustenance, including the flesh of sacrificial victims preserved in salt³ – (all) in such quantities that people arriving from far away thought they were seeing mountains and hills being raised before them.

Notes

1. As this is only preserved in later quotes, it is uncertain what occasion Theopompus is describing. The context suggests it could be Artaxerxes III's expedition to Egypt in 343, see **9, no.77** (cf. Jacoby's comment, *FGrH* 115, ad loc.).
2. A Greek dry measure, of varying capacity, but generally somewhere in the region of 50 l.
3. For papyrus rolls as part of the audience gifts presented to the Assyrian king and his retinue, see *SAA* 1, no.34, r.19. Note that such presentations also included fish preserved and prepared in various ways, *ibid.* obv.9–10; 19–20; r.3–4; 5; 6; 10.

F. The king in majesty**28. The royal dress**

Quintus Curtius Rufus, III, 3.17–19.

The sumptuous attire of the king was especially remarkable. His tunic was purple, with white woven into it at the centre, and his gold-embroidered cloak had a gilded motif of hawks attacking each other with their beaks.¹ From his gold belt, which he wore in a female way, he had slung his dagger,² the scabbard decorated with precious stones.³ His royal diadem, called *kidaris* by the Persians,⁴ was encircled by a blue ribbon with white flecks.⁵

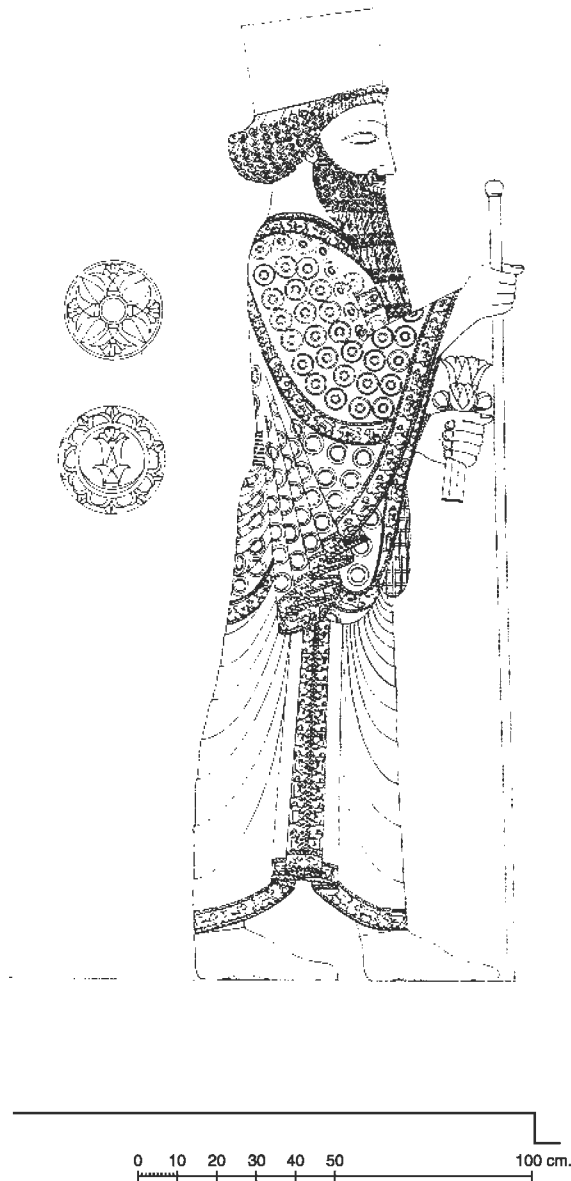


Figure 11.25 Reconstruction of the Persian royal robe. The style resembles Elamite dress (see **fig.11.5**: top row, third figure from left) and was used in ceremonial and court contexts (Calmeyer 1987: 11–12). How the drapery, belt and sleeve arrangement actually worked is debated (Beck 1972). The Persepolis reliefs retain indications of the fine decorative detail, including floral and faunal motifs, picked out in paint and with precious metal attachments; note, in particular, the lion border. The shoes have no buttoned straps, in contrast to non-royal figures (Root 1979: 112–13; see **fig.11.20**). The king wears a tiara, but unfortunately no ornamentation has been preserved, although there are indications of inlaid decoration in metal and/or precious, coloured stone. It is possible that it was regularly taller than that worn by others (see **11, no.22, n.11**; **fig.11.29**; **11.45**). The royal figure is frequently shown holding a lotus flower and sceptre, as here. (After G. Tilia in Shahbazi 1976.)

Notes

1. No preserved relief shows precisely this kind of decoration; see **fig.11.25**.
2. The Darius statue (**fig.11.2**) shows an Elamite dagger pushed into the king's belt. This description fits better with the military dress of trousers with belted tunic in which some Persian nobles are shown, wearing the Persian dagger (*akinakes*) suspended from the belt (**fig.11.26**).

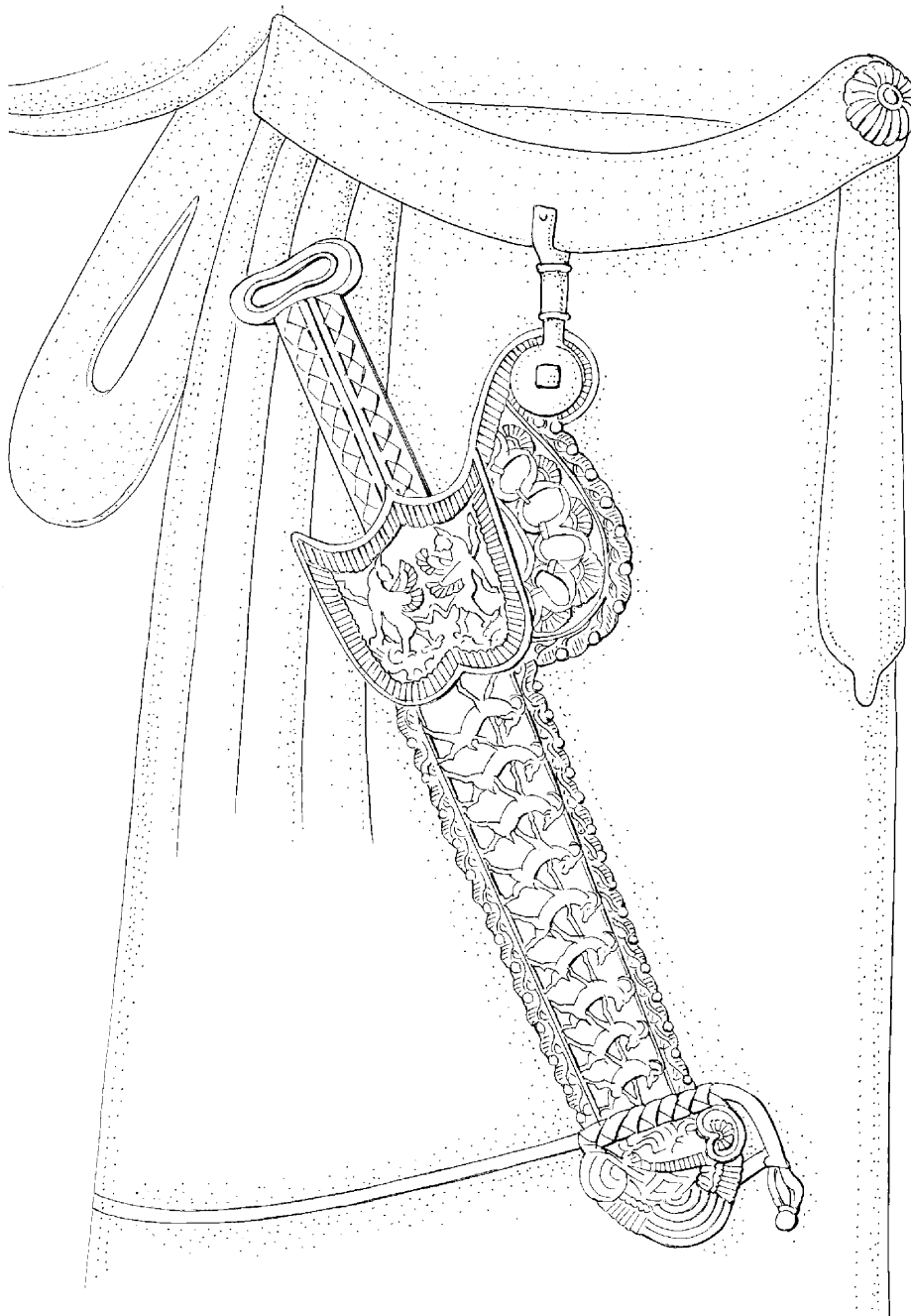


Figure 11.26 Detail of the *akinakes* suspended from the belt of the royal weapon-bearer on the audience relief, Persepolis (see **fig. 11.29**). Note the fine decoration of rampant goats, griffins and lotus blossoms. See **figs. 11.27–11.28**, for actual examples of *akinakes* sheaths with different elaborate decorations. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

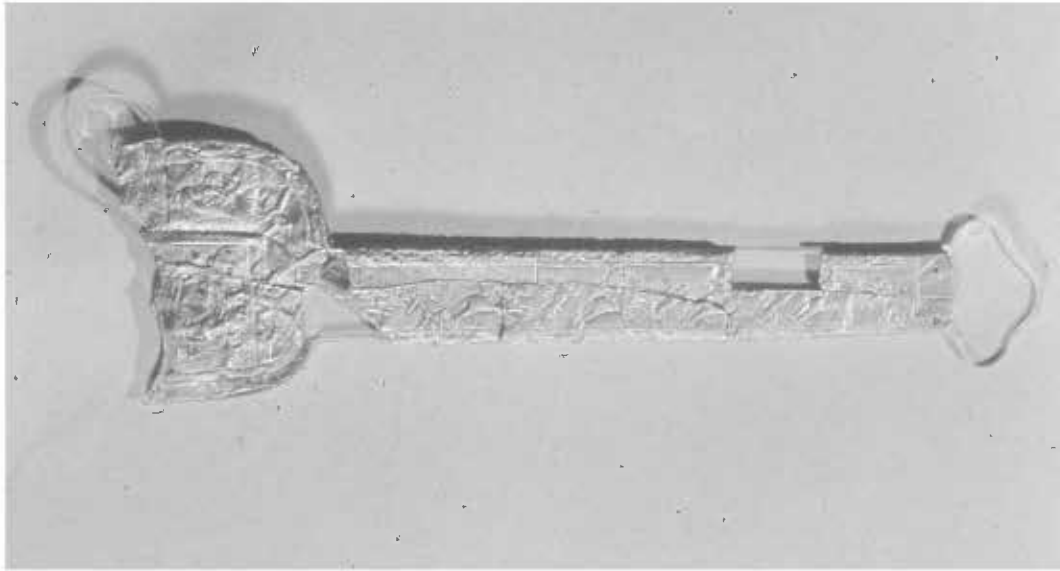


Figure 11.27 Gold overlay from an *akinakes* sheath (27.6 cm), embossed with a royal lion hunt, comparable to the seventh-century one depicted on Assyrian reliefs (cf. **fig.11.17**). It is part of the 'Oxus Treasure', thought to have been deposited at Takht-i Kuwad, Tajikistan, on the north bank of the Amu Darya (ancient Oxus) river (Curtis 2000: 16–18). The damage may have been inflicted when the treasure was found (Dalton 1964: xiii–xv; 9–11). (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

3. Two *akinakes* scabbards have been found, both in Central Asia: one is of embossed gold, perhaps originally overlaid on wood (Dalton 1964, no.22 & pl.IX; **fig.11.27**); the other is of carved ivory, which must originally have been decorated, possibly with goldleaf, see **fig.11.28**.
4. See **11, no.22, n.11**.
5. Xenophon, too, mentions a diadem around the royal headdress (see **11, no.22**), yet the preserved reliefs give no hint of such a decoration.

29. The royal audience

(i) Paying homage to the king

Plutarch, *Themistocles* 27.4–5; 28.1.¹

Out of all the excellent laws we possess, we take most pride in honouring the king and prostrating ourselves before him as the image of the god who rules the universe.² So, if you approve our customs and will make obeisance to him, you may see and speak to the king. But if you do not accept this, you will need to use other intermediaries to communicate with him; because it is against our customs for the king to grant audience to a man who refuses to pay him obeisance. (. . .)

(28) When Themistocles was led into the king's presence, he kissed the ground in front of him and waited in silence.

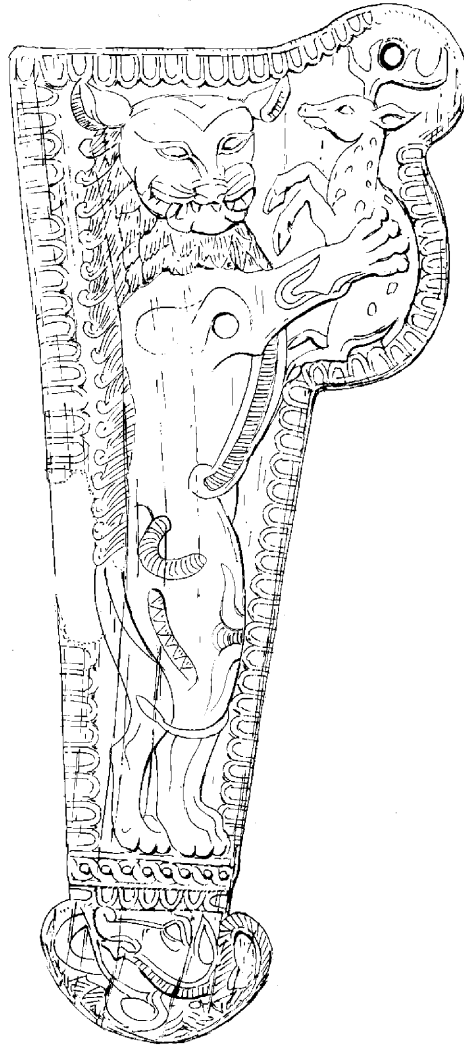


Figure 11.28 Ivory *akinakes* sheath from the site of Takht-i Sangin, Tajikistan, some 5–6 km north of Takht-i Kuwad (see 11, fig.27, caption). The shape is directly comparable to those in figs.11.26–11.27. The nature of the building in which it was found (together with other objects mainly hellenistic in date) is unclear (see Pitschikjan 1992; Briant 1996a: 942 [2002b: 916]; 2001a: 74). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

(ii) A Greek quandary

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 22.8.

The Theban Ismenias and Pelopidas, who had already won the victory at Leuctra,³ went up to the king. Pelopidas did nothing of which he might be ashamed; but when Ismenias was ordered to do obeisance before the king, he took off his ring, dropped it on the floor

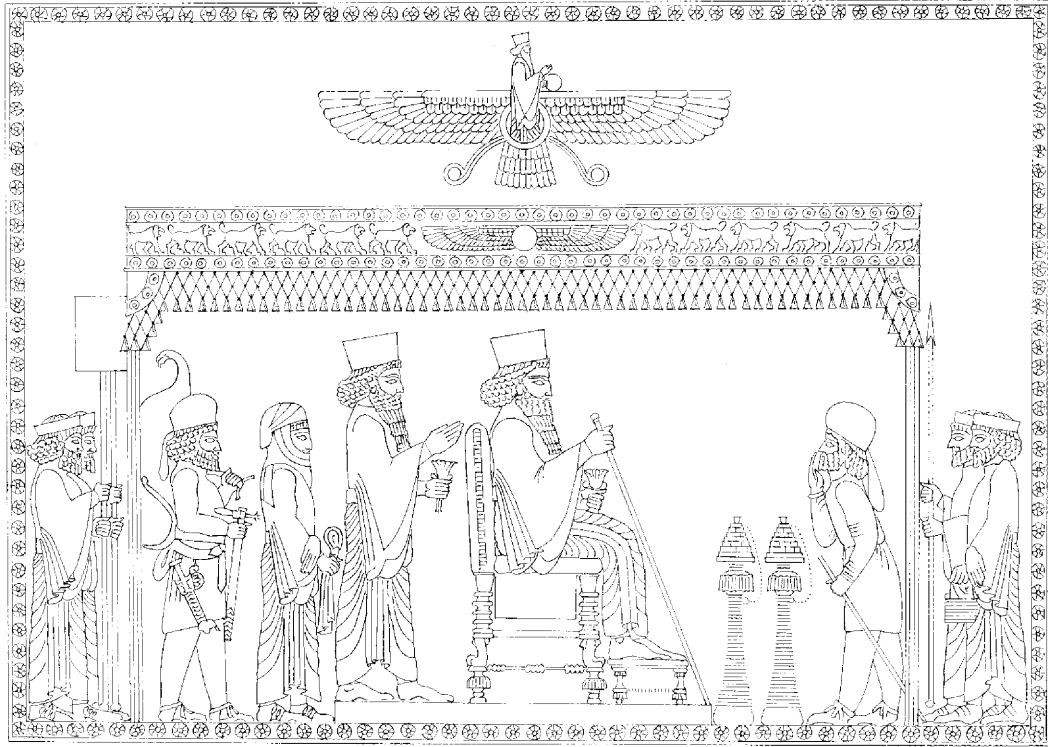


Figure 11.29 One of two relief panels (6.27×3.15 m) from the Treasury, Persepolis (original position in the centre of the northern and eastern Apadana staircases, see [fig.11.22](#), cf. Shahbazi 1976: 32–4). The king is seated on an elaborately carved, high-backed throne with his feet on a footstool (for details of dress, see [fig.11.25](#)). Behind him stands his crown-prince, recognisable by the similarity of his depiction to the king, the fact that he shares the royal podium and that he, like the king, is slightly taller than the attendants. Behind the royal figures stands a servant with a towel, hands folded in the standard gesture of respectful attendance (cf. the figure on the extreme right). Behind the servant stands a noble in military dress, *akinakes* at belt, bow-case on shoulder and battle-axe in hand (cf. [fig.11.14](#), where his title indicates that he was the king's chamberlain). To the left and beyond the baldachin stand two figures in Persian court-dress bearing standards (see Nylander 1983). Facing the king, and separated from him by two incense altars, a Persian dignitary greets the king with the formal gesture of respect appropriate to someone of high, yet not equal, standing (cf. [13, no.1\(iii\)](#)) and the ceremonial kiss offered to the king. The staff he holds in his hand and the fact that behind him (originally) the subject embassies were waiting to be ushered into the royal presence (cf. [figs.11.22–11.23](#)) suggest that he was the chiliarch, in charge of managing access to the king. Beyond stands a spear-bearer and another official. (Note that all the non-royal figures have buttoned strap shoes, cf. [figs.11.20; 11.25](#)). The baldachin is decorated with elaborate fringing and a row of lions either side of a winged disc, with a larger winged disc containing a figure floating above. The figure in the disc holds a ring, perhaps symbolising the royal investiture, see [fig.11.14](#). The identity of the two royal figures is not certain; both Darius with Xerxes, and Xerxes with his son Darius, who was later implicated in his murder and executed ([7, no.92](#)), have been suggested. If the latter is correct, it would be possible to understand the move of the panels to the treasury as the relegating of a dishonoured figure to obscurity. However, the panels were carefully installed and positioned inside the great Treasury building, not destroyed (Cahill 1985). It is also possible, and perhaps more likely, that the panels were generic representations of king and designated successor. Versions of this 'audience scene' circulated widely in the empire, as shown by its use on a royal seal, see [fig.11.30](#) (cf. [fig.11.31](#)). For discussion of the scene, its circulation and adaptations, see Kaptan 2002: 31–41; Allen 2005. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

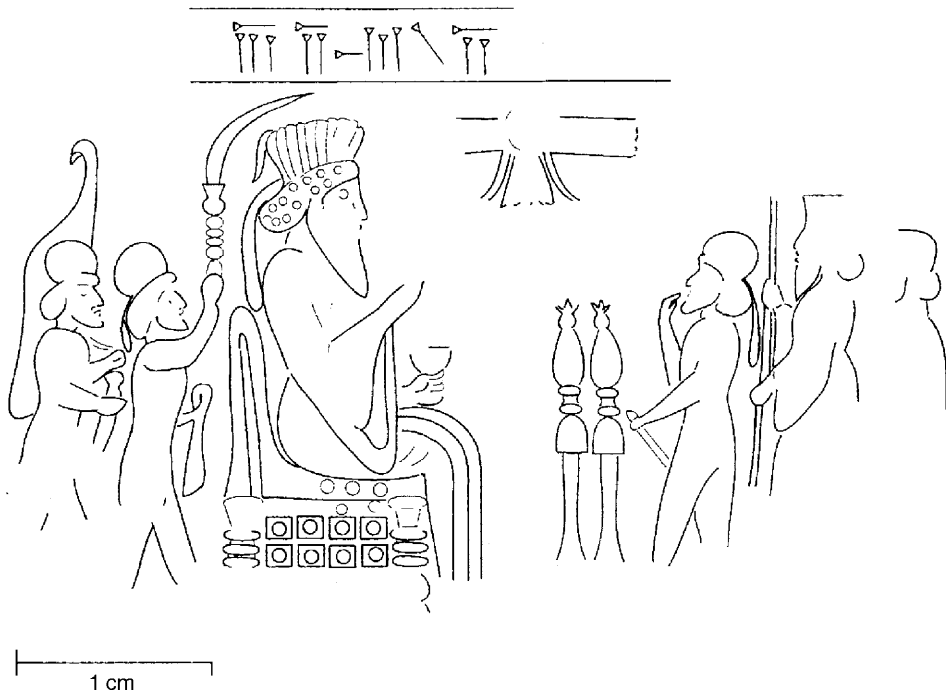


Figure 11.30 Seal impression from Dascylium, Hellespontine Phrygia (Kaptan 2002, DS 4, pls.47–8; cf. **7, no.81; fig.7.5**). Preserved height: 2.8 cm. The image on the cylinder seal (of which twelve impressions survive) is very close to the audience scene from Persepolis (**fig.11.29**): royal figure, throne, chiliarch, spear-bearer and associated figure (to the right), servant with towel and bow-bearer with battle-axe, winged disc, incense altars, are all here. The differences – such as the absence of the crown-prince, baldachin and the fan held by a differently dressed servant – are minimal. The seal is inscribed with the name of Artaxerxes in Old Persian. So far, no such audience scene has been found among the seal impressions in the Persepolis Fortification archive. (After Kaptan 2002.)

before him and, bowing down to retrieve it, giving the impression that he was making obeisance.⁴

(iii) Datames honours a royal order

Polyaenus VII, 21.5.

After laying siege to Sinope,⁵ Datames⁶ received a letter from the king, giving orders to raise the siege immediately. He obeyed the orders as soon as he had read the letter, paid homage⁷ to the letter and made the sacrifice normally offered for good news, as though having received from the king a singular favour, embarked and left the enterprise.



Figure 11.31 Another version of the audience scene, painted on the inner surface of a Persian soldier's shield. It survives on a finely sculpted sarcophagus from Sidon dating to the late fourth century, and known as the 'Alexander Sarcophagus' (Istanbul Museum; Von Graeve 1970). It shows a battle between Greeks and Persians, with motifs comparable to other images of Alexander's victory over Darius III (Briant 2003a: 226–44). The fact that such a totally Greek-style work incorporates an example of Persian imperial iconography indicates how widely disseminated this image of the Persian king must have been (Miller 1997: 122). (Istanbul Museum. Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Notes

1. Artabanus, the chiliarch, is explaining court etiquette to Themistocles, who is about to have his first audience with Artaxerxes I.
2. The Persian king was never a god, and this is Plutarch's gloss on the practice of honouring the king by offering the ceremonial kiss (Gr. *proskynesis*), which was regarded by Greeks as only appropriate in the worship of gods, cf. Hdt. VII, 136. Depending on the rank of the person being received, the gesture preceding this varied (**13, no.1(iii)**); Frye 1972; Briant 1996a: 234–5 [2002b: 222–3]; cf. **figs.11.29–11.30**). Foreigners, petitioning for help and favours (like Themistocles here), will have been expected to behave with particular respect, as he does, by humbly bowing and making obeisance. What is important to remember is that *proskynesis* itself does not mean physical prostration. For a recent discussion, with references, see Wiesehöfer 2003a.
3. 371 BC.
4. The same anecdote is found in Aelian VH 1.21, where he seems to conflate elements of both the Plutarch stories. One can see how such a tale may have been tailored to meet criticisms in Greece that Ismenias had, by this act, acknowledged his subject status. The fact remains that he (and Pelopidas, surely, too) was, of course, obliged to behave thus.
5. On the Black Sea coast of Turkey, see **fig.6.1**.
6. Persian general; see further **13, no.36**.
7. Gr. *proskynesis*; see **11, no.29(i)–(ii)** and above, n.2.

30. The king's jewelled bower

(i) Pythius' gift to Darius I

Herodotus VII, 27.

When Pythius made the offer of money,¹ Xerxes asked the Persians with him who on earth this Pythius might be and what wealth he possessed that he should make such an offer. They replied: 'Oh king, he is the man who presented your father Darius with the golden plane-tree and vine.'

(ii) A Greek belittles the king's golden plane-tree

Xenophon, *Hellenica* VII, 1.38.

'What was more', he (sc. Antiochus of Arcadia) said,² 'the vast wealth (of the king) was all vain boasting, because even the golden plane-tree, always being harped upon, was not big enough to provide shade for a grasshopper.'³

(iii) The golden vine in the Susa treasury

Diodorus Siculus XIX, 48.6–7.

He (sc. Antigonos)⁴ received him (sc. Xenophilus, in charge of the Susa treasury) and pretended to honour him among his closest friends, careful in case he changed his mind and shut him out again.⁵ When he had personally taken over the Susa citadel, he found in it the golden climbing vine and a wealth of other finely crafted objects, to a total of fifteen thousand talents.⁶

(iv) The decoration of the golden vine

Athenaeus XII, 514f.

And in the bedroom (sc. of the Persian king), a golden vine, gem-encrusted, extended over the bed.⁷ Now Amyntas in his *Itinerary*⁸ says that this vine had clusters made up of the costliest jewels.⁹ Not far from it was a gold mixing goblet, crafted by Theodorus of Samos.¹⁰

Notes

1. Pythius was a wealthy Lydian, who offered to defray the cost of hosting Xerxes and his army at Sardis in 480, as well as contributing financially to the expenses of the campaign (see further, **13, no.29(i)**).
2. The occasion is the report by Greek ambassadors returning from negotiations for yet another peace treaty at the Persian court in 367. The terms were only accepted by some of the Greek cities.
3. This suggests that the plane-tree (and vine?) would be seen by embassies (cf. **11, no.30(iv)**). But it is unclear whether the king sat under it or it was displayed as one of the royal treasures (note Heracleides (ap. Athen. XII, 8 p.514b–c), who says the king's golden throne had jewel-encrusted columns supporting a baldachin). In general, the reader is reminded of the famous Assyrian 'sacred tree' (Porter 2003: 11–37; Giovino 2004), a version of which is depicted on the seal of Xerxes, see **fig.7.1**; further **11, Introduction**. We should also remember the importance of sacred groves in traditional Elamite religion (see commentary to Harper et al. 1992 (= Caubet 1994), no.87). Note the three trees, which form part of the sacred space on the Middle Elamite bronze plaque representing the 'sunrise' ceremony (see **11, no.53, n.4**).
4. Alexander's general, Antigonus the One-Eyed, in 316 was campaigning in western Iran against Eumenes, who was defending Alexander's empire on behalf of the Macedonian royal house.
5. As had happened the previous year when, on Eumenes' orders, Xenophilus had refused Antigonus entry to Susa and been besieged (D.S. XIX, 17.3; 18.1).
6. Getting on for 450,000 kg.
7. This information is said to have come from Chares of Mytilene in Book 5 of his *Histories of Alexander*. Chares was one of Alexander's chamberlains, from whom later writers took many romantic and exotic incidents.
8. One of the minor Alexander historians, see Pearson 1960.
9. Cf. Athen. XII, 539d, where the vine is described as having 'clusters of emeralds, Indian rubies and other precious stones of all kinds'. For the possible significance of these items, see **11, Introduction**.
10. A renowned architect, sculptor and metalworker, active in the late sixth century. The OCD entry attributes the creation of the golden plane tree to Theodorus, which is geographically and chronologically possible (see **11, no.30(i)**), but the Athenaeus passage is not absolutely unambiguous.

31. The king dismounts

Athenaeus XII, 514a.

Whenever the king left his chariot, says Deinon,¹ he never leaped down, even when the distance to the ground was short, nor did he ever lean on anyone's arm. Rather, a golden stool was always put in place for him, and he placed his foot upon it as he descended. The bearer of the royal stool always accompanied him for this purpose.²

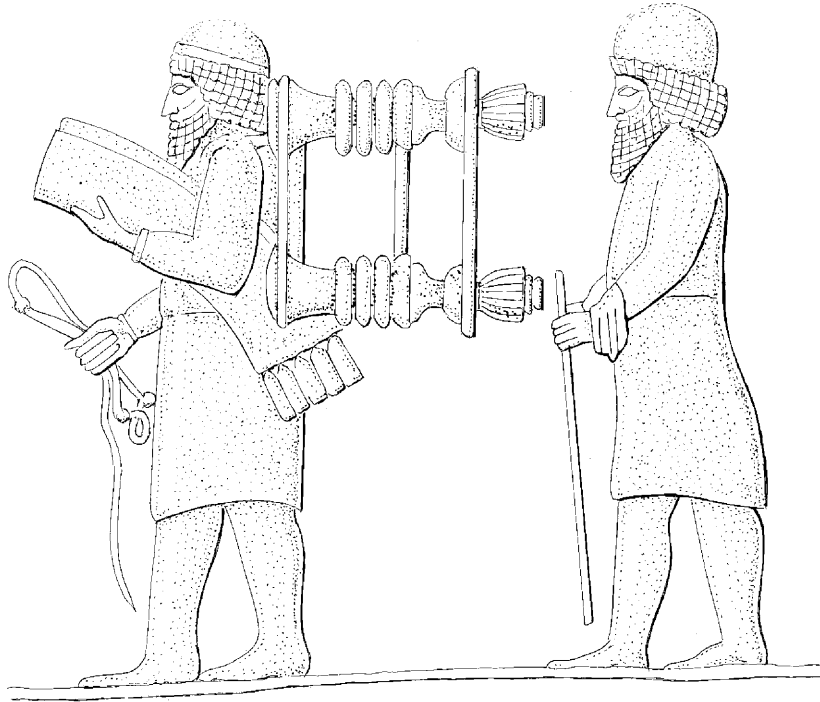


Figure 11.32 Detail from the north section of the eastern staircase of the Apadana, Persepolis. A Persian courtier is shown bearing the royal seat or footstool (see 11, no.31). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Notes

1. For this fourth-century author of *Persica*, see **Chapter 1**.
2. See **fig.11.32**. The title, Gr. *diphrophoros* is the same as El. *kadukabarra*, as attested by PF 830. For his prominent position, suggesting a court-rank rather than the humble task of physically carrying the stool about, see Henkelman 2003a: 120–1.

G. The royal hero

32. The king meets his enemies face to face

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 11.1–3.

After Cyrus had killed Artagereses,¹ he directed his horse towards the king himself, and the latter turned his towards him, both in silence. Ariaeus, Cyrus' friend, struck the king first, but did not wound him. The king hurled his spear at Cyrus, but missed him, striking and killing Satiphernes, a noble and loyal supporter of Cyrus. Then Cyrus struck him with his javelin, wounding him through his breastplate in the chest to a depth of two fingers. The blow caused the king to fall from his horse.

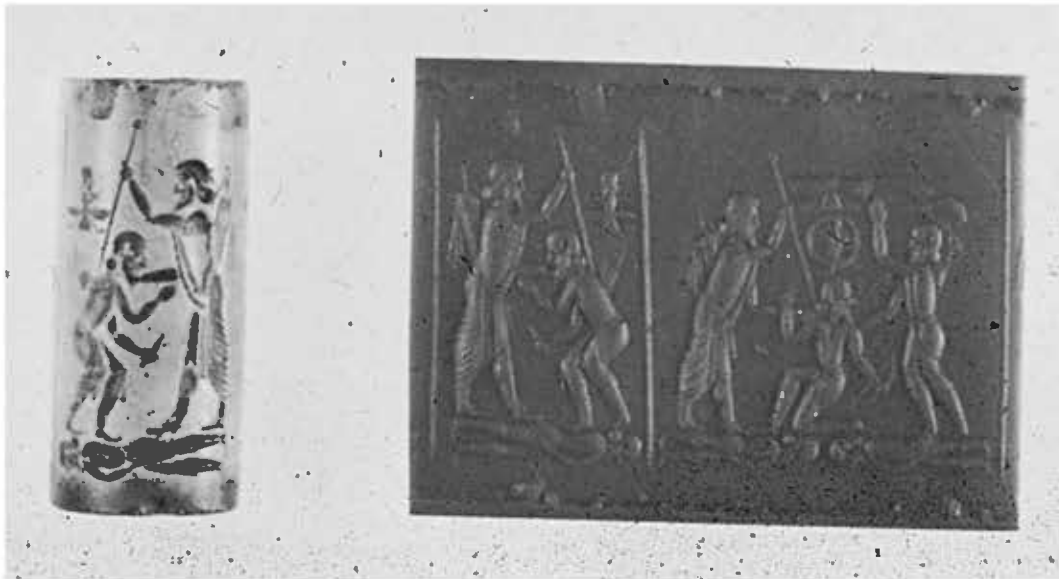


Figure 11.33 Chalcedony cylinder seal and impression (3.7 cm high) from the Oxus Treasure. It shows a Persian royal figure, twice, killing and defeating enemies (note the corpses set beneath). (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

Note

1. The setting is the Battle of Cunaxa in 401, where Cyrus the Younger challenged Artaxerxes II's tenure of the throne (see **9, Section A**). Artagereses was a Cadusian, leading a regiment of his countrymen in support of the king (see **8, no.37**). The account comes from Ctesias, whose version of events Plutarch sets next to those of Xenophon and Deinon (see **11, no.33(i)**, for the latter).

33. The royal victor

(i) Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 10.1–3.

Now Deinon¹ says that when Artagereses had fallen, Cyrus violently charged those drawn up in front of the king, wounding his horse, and he fell. While Tiribazus² quickly had him mount another horse and said: 'King, remember this day; it is not good that it be forgotten',³ Cyrus, seated again upon his horse, attacked Artaxerxes. At the third charge, the king could bear no more and said to those near him, 'It is better not to live!' Then he charged Cyrus, who was hurriedly moving to the frontline, not paying attention. So he himself

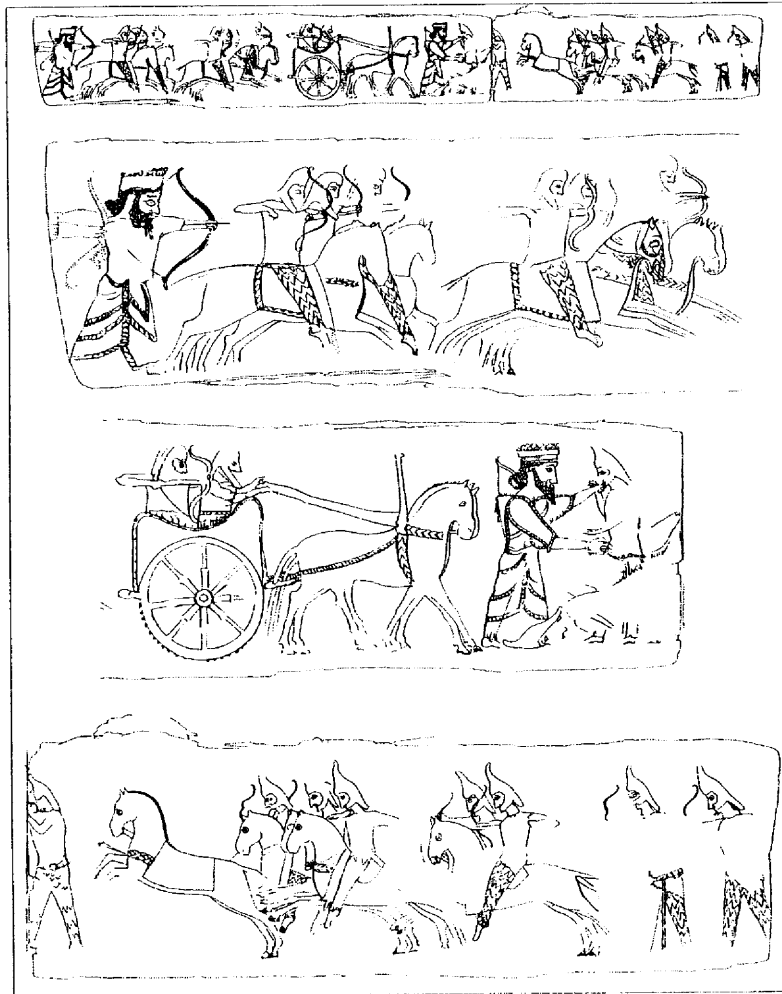


Figure 11.34 Drawing of battle scenes painted on wooden beams, dating to the fifth century, from western Asia Minor (now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich). The date and place are established on the basis of radiocarbon dating (the wood was cut between 477 and 430) and stylistic comparisons (Calmeyer 1992). Current research suggests strongly that the beams come from a built tomb chamber for a Persian noble in the vicinity of Celaenae (see 7, no.77, n.2). They show a Persian royal figure, much larger than the others, twice: shooting in the midst of a cavalry charge (extreme left), and killing an opponent followed by a chariot (centre). From the right an army of Pointed Hat Scythians advances on horse and foot; their leader is the opponent being despatched by the king (but note Calmeyer 1992: 14, who points out that the monarch's shoe is 'non-royal', see caption to fig.11.25). The scene is unique in the Achaemenid iconographic repertoire. It is possible, but not certain, that it represents a specific war, possibly the Scythian war of Darius I (see 6, Section B). (Drawing M.-F. Clergeau.)

struck him with his javelin, as well as those around him. Cyrus fell – according to some, under the blows delivered by the king, while others say that a Carian man struck him, to whom the king gave, as a reward for that action, the privilege of always bearing a golden cockerel on his spear at the front of the army on campaign. In fact, the Persians call the Carians cockerels because of the feathers with which they adorn their helmets.⁴

(ii) Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 16.1–2.

Then the eunuch told Parysatis of the incident,⁵ who told the king. The king was furious at having been exposed, and so deprived of what was best and most pleasing in his victory. For he wanted to convince all the barbarians and the Greeks that, while in the mêlée and struggle of battle he had given and received a blow and had himself been wounded, he had nevertheless killed Cyrus. So he ordered that Mithridates be executed by the ‘trough torture’.⁶

Notes

1. See **Chapter 1**.
2. See **13, no. 31**.
3. I.e. Tiribazus is reminding the king that he expects to be rewarded for this signal service (see further **13, Section B(b)**).
4. The version crediting the king with inflicting the mortal blow on his rebellious brother is widely regarded as the official one relayed by Deinon (Stevenson 1997: 90–3).
5. Mithridates, a Persian noble, had spread the story that he, not the king, had inflicted the mortal blow which killed Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa in 401; see Plut. *Artox.* 13.5; 15. Parysatis was Artaxerxes II’s mother.
6. According to Plutarch’s account (*Artox.* 16.3–7), almost certainly based on Ctesias, the torture consisted of enclosing the victim’s torso between two bowls, force feeding him, spreading a mix of milk and honey on his face, and having him gradually consumed by maggots.

34. The hardy soldier

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 24.1–3, 10–11.

He (sc. Artaxerxes II) campaigned personally against the Cadusians¹ with three hundred thousand foot soldiers and ten thousand horsemen. He invaded a savage, harsh and mist-shrouded land, unsuited to cultivation, whose warlike and high-spirited inhabitants fed on pears and apples and other wild fruits. Unaware of this, the king found himself facing great problems and dangers. Nothing could be found to eat and no provisions brought in from outside; only the pack animals were available for slaughter, so that the head of a donkey could be just about bought for sixty drachmas. Even the king’s dinner table was empty, and just a few horses remained – the others had been consumed for survival. (. . .)

(After a pact had been agreed with the Cadusians, the Persians left, and)² the king demonstrated on this occasion that cowardice and effeminacy are not, as many think, the result of luxury and extravagance, but of a bad and ignoble nature which is swayed by wicked ideas.³ For neither gold nor the royal robe⁴ nor the ornaments of ten and twenty thousand talents⁵ which always covered the king’s body prevented him from undergoing hardship and distress like anyone else. With his quiver upon him and shield in hand, he himself walked on foot



Figure 11.35 The king as warrior, always with bow and arrow, sometimes also with spear and dagger, is the standard image on the Persian royal coinage – the gold daric (8, no.28, n.5) – from its introduction to the end of the Achaemenid empire. However, there are changes in the details of representation over time, as shown here (see Stronach 1989). (After Stronach 1989.)



Figure 11.36 West door of 'Harem' at Persepolis, showing relief of a Persian stabbing a rampant lion. Although the figure is not royal in the usual sense (note the shoes), it is argued that this stands for the 'Persian man', of whom the ideal representative was the king (cf. 11, nos. 2; 6; 8; 16; 35 & n.5). The image is very similar to that found on the Assyrian 'royal/state seals' (Millard 1965; Winter 2000: 54–60), where the figure stabbing the lion is definitely royal (cf. fig. 11.17). Similar scenes, with the figure mastering mythical monsters, appear elsewhere in Persepolis. The message projected here, as in fig. 11.37, is of a hero/king overcoming the forces of chaos, blocking their invasion of royal space. (Photograph courtesy of M.C. Root.)

leading the way along paths mountainous and steep, leaving his horse, so that the others, when they beheld his eagerness and vigour, were simultaneously lightened as though winged⁶ – for each day they covered a stretch of more than two hundred stadia.⁷

Notes

1. For the Cadusians, see **8, no.37** & n.4; for a possible date for this campaign, see **9, no.67**.
2. The situation, according to Plutarch, was saved by a subterfuge devised by Tiribazus, which allowed the Persians to reach an agreement with the Cadusian chieftains and escape the hostile terrain. See **13, no.31**, for the ‘saga’ of Tiribazus.
3. Plutarch is here trying explain a paradox. How was it possible for a king used to every comfort to bear the physical hardships he suffered on this campaign? His answer is that Artaxerxes had a weak character, clay in the hands of stronger personalities, such as Tiribazus here, so that he displayed surprising hardiness.
4. Gr. *kandys*; see **11, no.28**; **fig.11.25**, for the royal dress.
5. Presumably this is meant to describe value rather than the weight of the ornaments (about 300,000 and 600,000 kg respectively).
6. The lyrical description closely resembles passages in Assyrian royal annals, describing the campaigning king overcoming physical obstacles and not discouraged by the extreme demands these made on his person (see, for example, Grayson 1991, A.O.101.1; TCL 3, ll.18–27).
7. Around 38 km – a quite incredible distance.

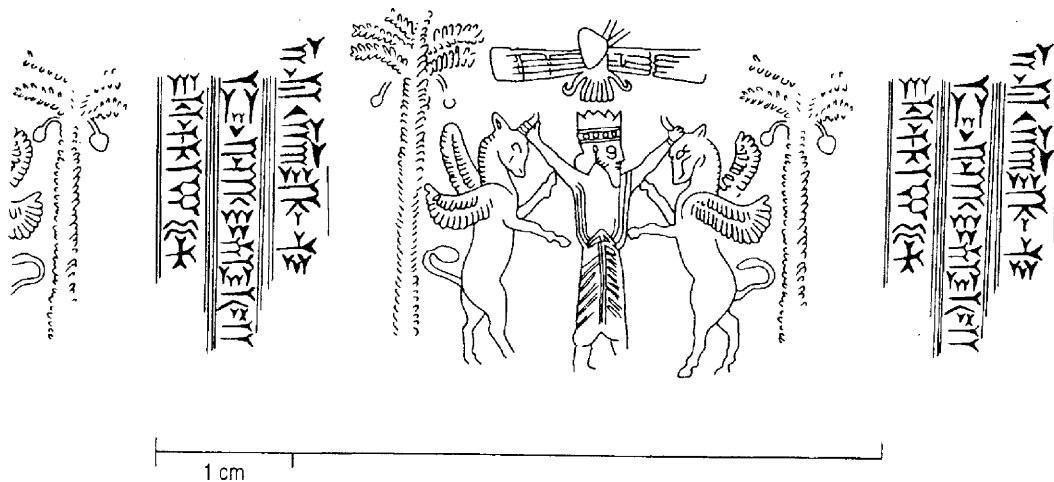


Figure 11.37 The royal hero masters two rampant winged bulls, beneath a winged disc and flanked by date palms. Composite drawing of cylinder seal impression from the Persepolis Fortification archive (PFS 7*; Garrison and Root I, no.4); trilingual inscription: 'I (am) Darius [...]'; the preserved height of the image is 2.6 cm. (Note that it is also impressed on a Susa tablet, see **16, no.57**.) The motif is a frequent one, with this a particularly fine example, carved in the Court Style (Garrison and Root I, 18–19). (After Garrison and Root I.)

H. The king between gods and men

(a) Greek perceptions of Persian religion

35. A contemporary Greek impression of Persian beliefs and cult

Herodotus I, 131–2.

As for the habits and customs of the Persians, I know the following: statues of the gods, temples and altars are not customary among them and they even think that people who have them are foolish, because, as I see it, they do not imagine gods in human form the way Greeks do.¹ They have the custom of climbing the highest mountain tops and sacrificing there to Zeus, as they call the whole circle of the heavens Zeus. They sacrifice also to the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water and the winds.² These only they have worshipped from old, but now they have learnt also to bring sacrifice to Ourania in imitation of the Assyrians and the Arabs. The Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta, the Arabs Alilat and the Persians Mithras.³

(132) As to the sacrifice to the gods mentioned above, it has the following character among the Persians. They do not erect altars whenever they intend to sacrifice and do not kindle a fire. There is no libation, no flute music, no cakes, no grains of barley.⁴ If someone wants to sacrifice to a particular deity, he brings the victim to an open place, invokes the god, after putting a spray of leaves around his head-dress, usually myrtle leaves. Whoever brings sacrifice is not allowed to pray for any personal blessing, but prays that it may go well for all the Persians, including the king, since he himself is one of the Persians.⁵ When he has cut the victim into pieces and has cooked it, he spreads the softest herbs that he can find, preferably clover, and puts the meat on it. Then comes a magus and sings a theogony, as they call the prayer.⁶ Without the intervention of a magus no sacrifice is supposed to take place.⁷ After having waited for a while the sacrificer removes the meat and does what he pleases.

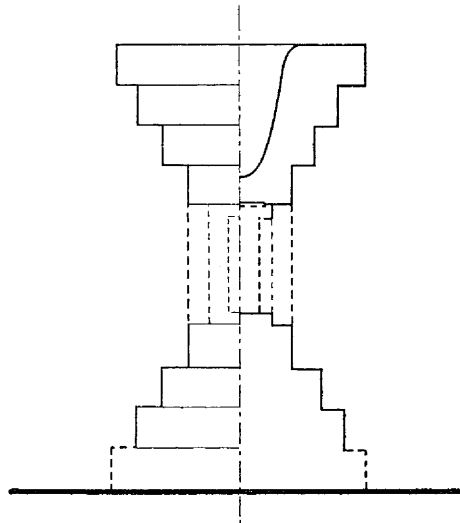


Figure 11.38 Partly restored elevation and section of a stone fire altar (over 1 m high) from Pasargadae (cf. fig.11.19). (After Stronach 1978.)



Figure 11.39 (a) Composite drawing of cylinder seal impression (PFS 68, Modelled Style, Garrison and Root I, 16–17), from the Persepolis Fortification archive. It shows winged genii in an act of purification (similar to those known from Assyrian palace reliefs, see J.M. Russell 1998: 674–82; 687–96) on either side of a figure surrounded by a nimbus, indicating that this is a god, possibly a cult-statue (Garrison 2000: 143). (After Garrison 2000.)
 (b) Composite drawing of cylinder seal impression (PFS 706*, Modelled Style), from the Persepolis Fortification archive. The partly preserved Elamite inscription reads: '[. . .]pi, son of Tin[. . .]'. A human figure in a long robe, dagger at the waist, stands with hands raised in prayer before a bird-headed figure, with a winged human upper body joined to a winged lion's body with a scorpion tail; he holds a vessel and raises a hand. (After Garrison 2000.)

Notes

1. This is reiterated by ancient (as well as modern) writers as the defining feature of Persian religion (see **11, nos. 36; 59**). It is contradicted by, first, the representation and excavated remains of fire altars (**figs. 11.14; 11.19; 11.38**), and, secondly, seal designs of the Persepolis Fortification archive, showing scenes of worship before divine statues; see Garrison 2000: 143 with n. 64 (cf. **fig. 11.39**). But it remains the case that no certainly identifiable Achaemenid shrine has so far been found. For a possible exception, see **fig. 11.40**, and note the 'sacred precinct' at Pasargadae, **fig. 11.19**. There is further the reference to (some kind of) shrines restored by Darius I (*OP ayadana*, see **5, no. 1**, para. 14), and the mention of a sanctuary in the Persepolis district in one of the unpublished Persepolis texts (Henkelman 2003a: 112 ad. ll. 3–4).
2. This suggests very strongly that when Greeks refer to the Persian Zeus, they mean Auramazda, the wise lord, located in, and co-extensive with, the heavenly sphere (Malandra 1983: 19; 44–7; *EncIr*, s.v. Auramazda; **11, no. 22** & n. 6). The cults of sun, fire, earth and water also appear in other classical writers, see **11, nos. 22; 36; 53; 54**; Q.C. III, 8–9. While the sun-cult could be that of Mithra (see **11, Section H(f)**), the sacrifice 'to' fire and water should perhaps be amended to sacrifice 'with' fire and water (see **11, no. 36** & n. 3). The winds feature in early Iranian religion (Malandra 1983: 9; 10; 81), but do not appear elsewhere in classical authors' accounts of Persian

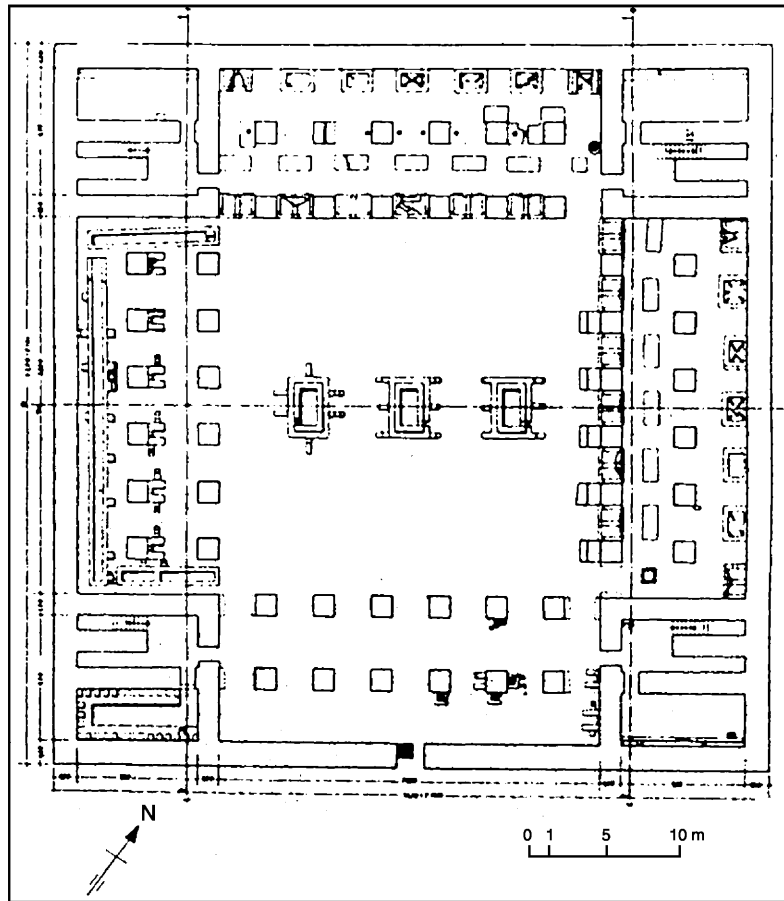


Figure 11.40 Plan of Building 3, Dahan-i Gulaman, in the Zabol Oasis, Seistan (Eastern Iran), close to the Afghan border. The substantial Achaemenid period city may be Zarin, capital of Drangiana (Ctesias, FGrH 688 F15(56); Isidore, *Parthian Stations* 17). Twenty-seven buildings were revealed in the Italian excavations, including private houses and a possible storehouse. The virtually square Building 3 (53.20 × 54.30 m) was of mud-brick, with one entrance on the south, porticoes and corner rooms with staircases. Three large rectangular structures, thought to be altars, stand on pedestals in the centre of the courtyard. They were mounted by steps and hollow, which suggests they could have been fire altars (cf. **figs.11.19; 11.38**). Rows of hearths stand in the porticoes, with sacrificial tables(?) set before some. Fragments of burnt animal bone have also been found. It has been suggested that the three large central altars could have been dedicated to Auramazda, Anahita and Mithra. (After Scerrato 1966.)

religion. For worship of the earth, cf. the offerings made 'to Earth' in the Persepolis Fortification texts (PF 1956, ll.1–2) and the possible Elamite connections, Henkelman 2006, 4.1.2.

3. Note that Herodotus is here casting the exclusive worship of natural features into the past, and indicating that Persian religion has evolved as a result of contact with neighbouring peoples. Mylitta/Alilat is the great Mesopotamian mother goddess Ninlil, whose name in Akkadian is Muliltu, which becomes Neo-Assyrian Mulissu and Aramaic MLŠ (see Dalley 1979; RLA IX,

- s.v. Ninlil). Mithra, god of covenants, is a male deity in the Iranian pantheon, so this must be a mistake.
4. Herodotus describes the act of sacrifice negatively, in the first instance: all the features typical of Greek sacrifice are absent. Very curious is his reference to the absence of fire, which is central to ancient Iranian worship and sacrifice, see Malandra 1983: altars, too, are widely depicted, see above, n.1.
 5. This interesting observation takes on a special resonance in the light of the royal stress on the Persian nature of the empire and the elision of the 'Persian man' with the king, see Root 1979: 183; 310; Garrison and Root I, 57–8; cf. **11, nos.2**, para.2; **6; 8; 16; fig.11.36**. Note also Darius' injunction in Ezra 6 for regular worship in the Jerusalem temple: 'so that they may offer soothing sacrifices to the god of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and his sons'.
 6. The theogony performed by a magus, i.e. a specialist learned in Persia's sacred and ancient lore, suggests the recitation of an appropriate *yasht*, a hymn honouring one of the various Iranian gods, and inviting her/him to partake in the act of sacrifice (for the act of sacrifice, see Malandra 1983: 14–16).
 7. See **11, Section H(d)** for the magi.

36. A later writer's view of Persian religion

Strabo XV, 3.13–14.¹

But the Persian customs are the same as those of these peoples and the Medes and several others; and while several writers have made statements about all these peoples, I, too, should tell what is appropriate for my purpose.²

Now the Persians do not erect statues or altars, but offer sacrifice in a high place, considering the heavens as Zeus; and they also worship Helios (i.e. the sun), whom they call Mithras, and Selene (i.e. the moon) and Aphrodite, and fire and earth and water.³ And with earnest prayer they offer sacrifice in a purified place, presenting the victim crowned. And when the magus, who directs the sacrifice, has divided the meat, the people go away with their shares, without setting apart a portion for the gods, for they say the gods require only the soul of the victim and nothing else – but still, according to some writers, they place a small portion of the caul upon the fire.

With fire and water they offer sacrifice;⁴ for with fire they offer sacrifice by adding dry wood without the bark and by placing fat on top of it. Then they pour oil upon it and light it below, not blowing with their breath, but fanning it; and those who blow the fire with their breath or put anything dead or filthy on it are put to death.⁵ And with water they offer sacrifice by going to a lake or river or spring, where, having dug a trench leading to it, they slaughter a victim, being very careful lest any of the water become bloody, because they believe that the blood will pollute the water. Then, placing pieces of meat on myrtle or laurel branches, the magi touch them with slender wands⁶ and make incantations,⁷ pouring oil mixed with both milk and honey,⁸ though not into fire or water, but on the ground. And they continue their incantations for a long time, holding in their hands a bundle of slender myrtle wands.⁹

Notes

1. Strabo was writing under Augustus, so well after the demise of the Achaemenid empire. However, his home was Amaseia (modern Amasya) in the kingdom of Pontus/Cappadocia (northern Turkey), which had been part of the Persian realm and where aspects of Iranian culture survived (see, most recently, Bosworth and Wheatley 1998 (but note the reservations of Briant 2001a: 83 & n.143; 149–50); S. Mitchell 2002: 50–9). It is, therefore, arguable that Strabo is here describing a

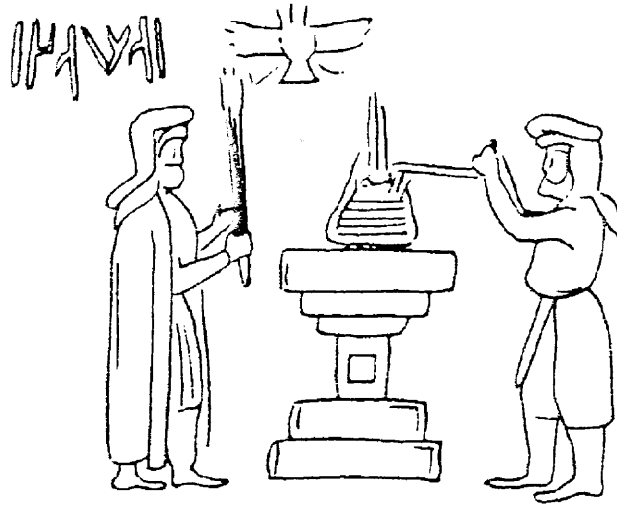


Figure 11.41 Achaemenid seal in a private collection, showing two figures in Persian dress, with their mouths covered, either side of a fire altar, which one is tending with a wand (see 11, no.36). (After CAH IV (plates).)

form of Persian cult as practised in his homeland during his lifetime, rather than Achaemenid period practices. The close similarity of the first part of his characterisation of Persian beliefs to that of Herodotus (11, no.35) makes one suspect that he is dependent on the latter for that part of his information.

2. Strabo has been describing the peoples of Susiana and Paraetacene under Parthian rule. The implication of his statement here seems to be that these are the practices of Iranians.
3. See 11, no.35, nn.2–3. Strabo's list of gods is almost identical with that of Herodotus, save for the identification of the sun with Mithra, god of covenants, hence his association, certainly later, with the all-seeing sun (cf. Malandra 1983: 9). Which Iranian deity is meant by Aphrodite is uncertain, although note Herodotus (11, no.35) who associates her with Mylitta (see 11, no.35, n.3) and Berossus (11, no.59 & n.5; cf. 11, no.60), who appears to have linked her with Anahita (cf. Boyce 1982: 217). Given Aphrodite's association here with the worship of celestial bodies, it is possible that the planet Venus (= Mesopotamian Ishtar, hence Anahita(?), Boyce 1982: 29–30; Malandra 1983: 117–20) is intended here. The cult 'of' fire and water is a misunderstanding, see Briant 1997a: 72 & nn.172–3. Note that Strabo specifies the sites for cult acts as either a 'high' place or, later, a river bank. This accords with the frequent references to specific offerings to, i.e. on/at, mountains and rivers in the Persepolis Fortification texts, see Henkelman 2006, ch.3, as well as 7.15 & 7.16; cf. 11, nos.41; 44.
4. For the role of fire in Persian/Iranian cult, see further 11, Section H(e).
5. See fig.11.41. For the central role of fire in Iranian sacrifice, see Malandra 1983: 15.
6. See fig.11.42.
7. See 11, no.35, n.6.
8. Could this be a form of *hauma* (cf. 11, no.4, n.2)? Note the reference in the Derveni papyrus (a late fourth-century Greek copy of a text thought to have been written c.500, found north of Salonica) to magi making libations with water and milk, while chanting in order to drive away *daimones* obstructing the soul's journey after death, see J.J. Russell 2001.
9. See fig.11.43.



Figure 11.42 Fragment of fifth-century stone relief from Dascylium (67 cm high). Two figures in Persian dress, head-dresses drawn up to cover their mouths, stand with hands raised in a gesture of worship. In the other hand, they hold scroll-like objects, perhaps representing the Iranian barsom, which some think symbolised the grass originally used in sacrifice (see **11, no.35** & n.6; but cf. Curtis and Searight 2003: 233). On a wooden structure are the heads of a ram and a bull, perhaps parts of sacrificial animals. The ceremony appears to be taking place in front of a tomb door. (Istanbul Museum. Drawing David Saxon.)

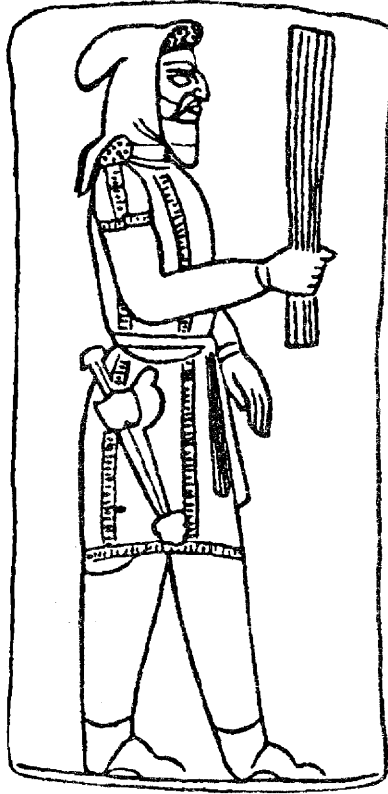


Figure 11.43 Gold embossed plaque from the Oxus Treasure (15 cm high), one of a 'set' of fifty-two, possibly votive dedications (Curtis and Searight 2003: 239–40). A figure in Persian military dress (note the *akinakes*, see **figs.11.26–11.28**) holds the barsom. (After Dalton 1964.)

(b) The king and his gods

37. Divine protection invoked for a royal building

A²Ha. Trilingual inscription on black diorite column base¹ said to be from Hamadan (anc. Ecbatana);² the Elamite version is very fragmentary: Kent, A²Ha (cf. Knapton et al. 2001: 102–3).

Translation: Lecoq 1997: 269.

§1 Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king on this earth, son of Darius the king, Darius son of Artaxerxes the king, Artaxerxes son of Xerxes the king, Xerxes son of Darius the king, Darius son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid.³

§2 By the favour of Auramazda, Anahita and Mithra,⁴ I built this apadana.⁵ Me may Auramazda, Anahita and Mithra protect from all evil and that which I have built may they not destroy nor harm.

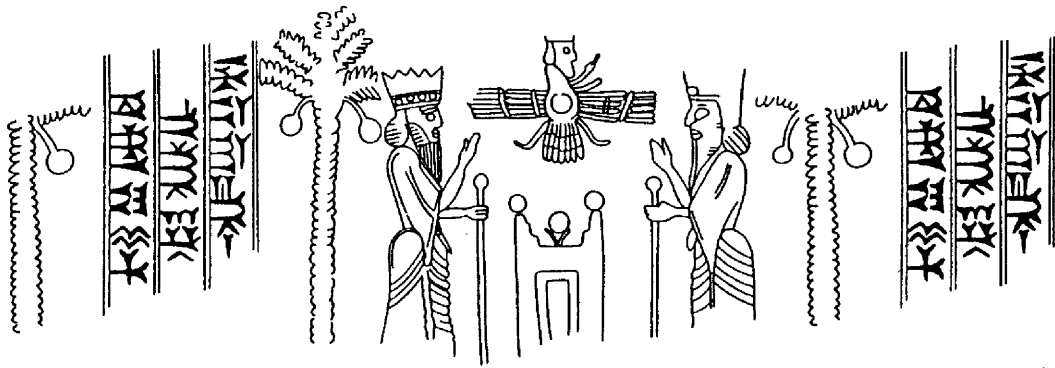


Figure 11.44 Impression of cylinder seal (PFS 11*; Court Style; 3.5 cm high) from the Persepolis Fortification archive. It shows two kings, either side of an altar, hands raised in a gesture of worship or salutation. The gesture is mirrored by the figure in the winged disc above, as on the tomb façades (see [fig.11.14](#)). As is typical of the 'Court Style' seals, the scene is framed by date palms (Garrison and Root I, 18–19). The seal carries a trilingual inscription: 'I, Darius [. . .]', and was used by the high-level official, Zishshawish, in the Persepolis administration (see [16, no.12](#), n.7). (After Garrison 1998.)

Notes

1. See [fig.11.13](#).
2. For Artaxerxes II's possible building at Ecbatana, see [11, no.14](#); see [fig.11.13](#) for the inscribed column base itself. The text is extremely close to Artaxerxes II's Susa texts, particularly A²Sa ([9, no.22](#)). Given the problem of confirming finds said to be from Hamadan (Gunter and Root 1998: 3–8), this raises questions as to its actual findspot. Note also the possibility that Anahita may have been particularly associated with Susa (see [11, no.14](#), n.4).
3. For the significance of the long genealogy, see [9, no.22](#), n.1.
4. Only the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II (so far) invoke these gods, see [9, nos.22; 71](#). Artaxerxes III calls on Auramazda and Mithra, but omits Anahita, see [9, no.73](#). The reasons are not known, but may be connected to Artaxerxes II's connection with promoting the cult of Anahita, see [11, no.59](#).
5. See [11, nos.1](#), n.1; [14](#).

38. God and king entwined

DSk. OP inscription on baked mud-brick from Susa: Kent, DSk.

Translation: Lecoq 1997: 238–9.

- §1 I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid.
- §2 King Darius proclaims: Auramazda is mine; I am Auramazda's; I worshipped Auramazda; may Auramazda bear me aid.

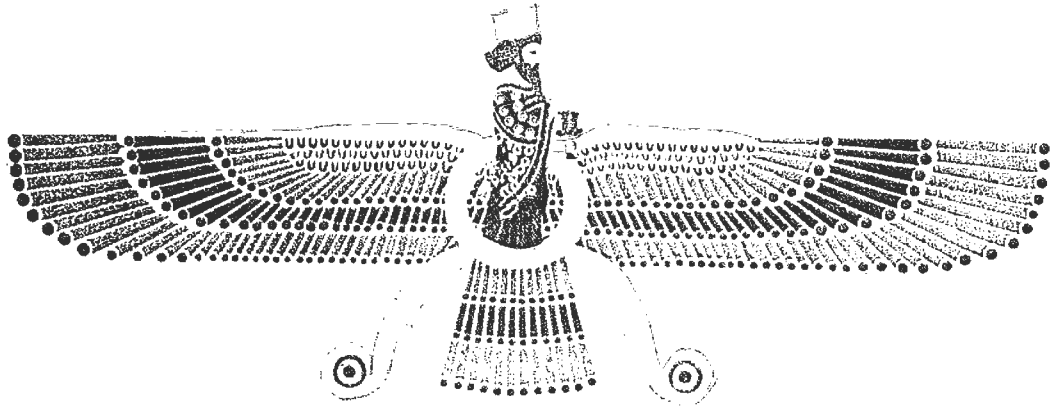


Figure 11.45 Reconstruction of the winged disc in the Hundred Column Hall, Persepolis. Stylistically the winged disc is close to Egyptian winged sun-discs, while the addition of a figure recalls Assyrian iconography. The pendant elements are peculiar to Achaemenid art. Surviving traces indicate that red, green, white and blue paint was used to pick out details. The motif appears repeatedly, usually in close association with the Persian king. The figure's dress, hair, beard, tiara and the lotus held in the hand are identical to those of the king on, for example, the audience scene (see **fig.11.29**, cf. **fig.11.25**). Frequently, the figure mirrors gestures made by the king, see, for example, **fig.11.44**. Can we identify it? Here opinions diverge. Many see it as a representation of Auramazda, given the close interconnection between the king and this god (see **11, no.38**). However, Shahbazi (1974; 1980) has argued forcefully that it represents an aspect of the king, the 'god given fortune'. (After G. Tilia in Shahbazi 1976.)

(c) Cults within Fars

39. Grain for Auramazda

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 337. Reign of Darius I; PFS 48 & 587.

80 (BAR¹ of) grain supplied by Bakamira, Bakabana the 'priest'² received (as/for) the (feast) belonging to the offering for a god:³ 40 for the god Auramazda, 40 for the god Mishdushi,⁴ he used.

Notes

1. 1 BAR = approx 10 litres, dry measure.
2. El. *šatin* is the regularly used word, although precisely what function he performed or how he was linked to the divine sphere is unclear, so 'cultic specialist' may be a more appropriate translation. Both supplier and priest have Iranian names, Bagavira and Bagapana (Gr. Megapanus), see Mayrhofer 8.200; 8.188.
3. El. *dašīyam* = OP **daŋa-*, 'offering', see Henkelman 2006, 3.2.1.
4. This deity is only attested in the Persepolis archive (see also PF 336). Hallock, in the glossary, cites a suggestion made by Gershevitch that the name could be an epithet of the Iranian goddess Ashi, whose nature is itself debated (cf. *EncIr*, s.v.).

40. Wine for Auramazda and two other gods

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 338. –/–/20, Darius I (501/0); PFS 588* & 589.

16 *marriš*¹ wine, supplied by Sharukba, Appirka² the ‘priest’ received and used for the god Auramazda, (god) Mišēbaka³ and the god Shimut.⁴ Year 21.

Notes

1. 1 *marriš* = approx. 10 litres, fluid measure.
2. The etymology of both names is uncertain (Mayrhofer, s.v.)
3. Hallock (PFT, 19, n.11) cites Gershevitch’s suggestion that this could be a rendering of the name Mithra. However, it is almost certainly a rendering of OP *Visaibaga, ‘All Gods’, which may indicate a particular type of offering; see Henkelman 2006, 4.1, n.356 (with references).
4. An old Elamite deity, already attested in a treaty dating c.2200, see Potts 1999: 111.

41. Supplies for Auramazda and Humban

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 339. Reign of Darius I; PFS 17 (= Garrison and Root I, no.235) & 590.

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.192.

5 *marriš* 7 QA¹ wine, supplied by Ushaya, Turkama² the ‘priest’ received: 7 QA for the god Auramazda, 2 *marriš* for the god Humban,³ 1 *marriš* for/at the river Huputish, 1 *marriš* for/at the river Rannakarra, 1 *marriš* for/at the river Shaushanush.⁴ He has used it for the gods.

Notes

1. 1 QA = approx. 1 litre.
2. See Mayrhofer (8.1787; 8.365) for possible etymologies.
3. Humban was the chief god of the Elamite pantheon (RLA IV, s.v.; *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Suse, G.1). He is mentioned as the recipient of offerings from government offices in fourteen of the published texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive (PF 340–51, 2029), more frequently than all the other named gods combined. Note that he receives almost three times the quantity of wine assigned to Auramazda; the same is true of the relative quantities of grain assigned to him (see further Henkelman 2006, 4.2).
4. Hallock translates the text to suggest that the remaining 3 *marriš* of wine were used as part of an act of worship, the deities honoured being three local rivers. However, given that the river names lack the divine prefix, it is more likely that the wine was being used for cults performed in the vicinity of these watercourses. Even when they (and other physical features, such as mountains) do have the divine determinative, it is by no means necessary to assume that they are being considered as gods (in some instances it could mean ‘the mountain of DN’). Rather we should see the places where (such specific?) cults are being performed as temporarily sacralised through those very acts (see Henkelman 2006, ch.3).

42. Beer for Adad and Napirisha

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 353. –/–/24, Darius I (498/7); PFS 601 & 602.

4 *marriš* beer: 2 were used for Adad,¹ 2 Napirisha² received, total 4 *marriš* beer, supplied by Irkanda,³ Gobryas received and used for the gods. Year 24.

Notes

1. This is the name of the old Mesopotamian and Syrian storm-god, who had been absorbed into the Elamite pantheon by the early second millennium, and was now part of the Persian roster of gods (see **11, Introduction**, n.6).
2. Translated as ‘the great god’ by Hallock, but clearly the great old Elamite deity, Napirisha, see RLA IX, s.v.; Koch 1977: 105–8; *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Suse (G).
3. See Mayrhofer 8.628, for the uncertain PN.

43. The lan-oblotion

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 767. I/–/25—XII/–/25 (mid-April 497 to mid-March 496); PFS 891 & 892.

36 BAR grain, supplied by Bakadda, Irdamassana¹ received (as an) offering gift for lan.² Year 25, from the first to the twelfth month.

Notes

1. The first PN is clearly Old Iranian formed with the OP element *baga-* ‘god’ (Mayrhofer, s.v. Bakada); Irdamassana is etymologically more problematical, see Mayrhofer 8.588.
2. The lan-offering is the most frequently mentioned in the Persepolis Fortification archive. What it involved precisely is unknown, although it seems to have been regulated on a monthly basis and was probably a daily act of oblotion. Koch (1977) argued that, as Auramazda figures so suprisingly little in the archive, this was the state-sponsored ritual performed in his honour. More recently, Handley-Schachler (1998) has suggested that it was a specifically Median sacrifice performed by the magi. Razmjou (2004b), using some of the unpublished Persepolis tablets, makes the case that the lan-offering was Elamite, and when performed in honour of a god this was the great Elamite deity Humban; it involved a variety of cultic personnel, including magi. A text in the Persepolis Fortification archive (the ‘Religious Journal’, NN 2259, ll.5–6, published by Henkelman 2006, ch.5) shows clearly that sheep and goats (numbering 118 in that text) were sacrificed on this occasion, and that the locus was the *paradeisos* at Persepolis. Razmjou (2004b: 110) suggests that **fig.11.42** may show part of a lan-ritual and argues strongly in favour of seeing the ‘servant’ figures at Persepolis (**fig.12.6**) as officiants in a religious ceremony of that kind (Razmjou 2004b: 111–14). Another religious ceremony (El. *šip*) involved feasting (NN 2259, ll.1–2; further Henkelman 2006, ch.4). For an excellent and clear overview of the issues, see Henkelman 2005a; for detailed analysis with full references, see id. 2006, ch.3.

44. Record of grain dispensed for cult in 499/8

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1960, ll.3–4. –/–/23, Darius I (499/8); PFS 27*.¹

7 (irtiba) Upish received;² 3 for lan;³ 2 for/at the Mountain Shirumandana;⁴ 2 for the god Narishanka.⁵

Notes

1. Extract from a ‘journal text’ totalling expenditures for one year at a single location.
2. I.e., approx. 210 litres (dry measure).
3. See **11, no.43**, n.2. The etymology of the PN is very uncertain, Mayrhofer 8.1751.
4. See **11, no.41**, n.4.

5. This may be a rendering of Naryasanga, the ‘messenger’, who (like fire) communicates between mankind and the gods in Iranian religion, see PFT, 19, cf. Briant 1996a: 260–1 [2002b: 249].

(d) Magi

45. A magus receives material for a cult ceremony

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 769. –/–/24, Darius I (498/7); PFS 893 & 894.

12 (BAR of) figs, supplied by Narezza, Pirshamarda the magus¹ received as offering gift (for) lan² (at) Narezzash.³ Year 24.

Notes

1. El. *makiš*. The linguistic affiliation of the magus’ name is debated (Mayrhofer 8.1346). While some magi have personal names that are clearly Old Persian, others are Elamite or etymologically uncertain. For further occurrences of *magi* in the published Persepolis Fortification archive, see PF 757–9; 772; 1798; 1951; 1955; 1957; 2036. (The name of the supplier is etymologically unclear, Mayrhofer 8.1242.)
2. See **11, no.43** & n.2.
3. See PFT, Glossary, s.v., for the suggestion that this be identified with modern Niriz, in south-eastern Fars, on the road from Shiraz to Kirman. Note that there is evidence which suggests, very strongly, that there were at least three important tombs located at Narezzash: of Cambyses, Phaedyme and someone called Zishundush (not otherwise known). All were supplied with offerings from the royal storehouses. There is a good likelihood that the magus, here supplied with 120 litres of figs (elsewhere with the same quantity of wine), was involved in performing the monthly funerary cult at one of these tombs (Henkelman 2003a: 147; cf. **11, no.68(ii)**).

46. Magi interpret a solar eclipse

Herodotus VII, 37.2–3.

As they set off,¹ the sun left its place in the sky and was invisible; although there were no clouds and it was exceptionally clear, day turned to night.² When Xerxes saw this and noted it, he became anxious and asked the magi what such a sign presaged. They replied that the god was foretelling the eclipse of their cities to the Greeks, because, they said, the sun was the prophet of the Greeks, while theirs was the moon.³ When Xerxes heard this he was happy and continued the march.⁴

Notes

1. The scene is of Xerxes and the Persian army leaving Sardis for Abydos in 480.
2. This eclipse seems to be ahistorical, see Rollinger 2000: 69, n.34 for references to modern (failed) attempts to calculate the date. The image fits into the picture drawn by Herodotus of Xerxes’ war against Greece as doomed from the start.
3. There is no evidence for this, which seems to be a purely Herodotean notion.
4. The anecdote is intended to emphasise the blindness of the despotic ruler and his advisers, who misinterpret an obvious divine warning, just as Xerxes ignores the wise advice of councillors at other points (see, e.g., Hdt. VII, 10; 12–14; 235). It is also a major theme of Aeschylus’ *Persians*.

47. The magi seek a favourable omen

Herodotus VII, 113.2.

Into this (sc. the Strymon river),¹ the magi, in quest of a favourable sign, sacrificed white horses.²

Notes

1. The occasion is Xerxes' march through Thrace in 480.
2. For horse sacrifices, see **3, no.29; 11, no.22**. Note also **3, no.28**(189) for the king's sacred white horses, and the white horse drawing a sacred chariot at **11, nos.22; 55**.

48. The magi assuage a tempest with offerings to local deities

Herodotus VII, 191.2.

Finally,¹ the magi offered victims and cast spells on the winds with cries. Further, they offered to Thetis and the Nereids² and stopped the storm on the fourth day, or else it stopped of its own accord. They sacrificed to Thetis after hearing from the Ionians the story that she had been snatched from the region by Peleus,³ so that the whole headland of Sepias was hers and that of the other Nereids.

Notes

1. The Persian fleet, moving south along the Greek coast in 480, had encountered a devastating storm, see **7, no.26**.
2. Thetis was one of the fifty sea-nymphs and the mother of Achilles.
3. The mortal hero and father of Achilles, who was granted the privilege of marrying the divine Thetis.

49. Cyrus institutes the magi

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 1.23.

He (sc. Cyrus) recognised this¹ and so, first, he showed himself more perfect in attention to the gods, as he was now more fortunate. And then, for the first time, the magi were established² . . .³ and always sang hymns at daybreak to the gods and to sacrifice each day to whichever gods the magi told him so to do.

Notes

1. I.e. that the good ruler sets an example to his subjects.
2. This contrasts with Herodotus' stories of Cyrus' birth, where his grandfather Astyages consults the magi, see **3, no.30**.
3. Lacuna in the manuscript; see the possible restoration 'and in consequence of this he himself began . . .' (Loeb edn, *Cyropaedia* II: 316, n.2).

50. Magi select shares of booty for the gods

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VII, 3.1.

Next day,¹ Cyrus called his friends and the commanders of the army together. He appointed some of them to take the treasures in charge, and ordered others first to select from the goods handed over by Croesus² an amount for the gods, as the magi might stipulate.

Notes

1. The scene is Cyrus' capture of Sardis.
2. The defeated Lydian ruler.

(e) The place of fire in Persian cults

51. 'Guardians of the fire' in Fars

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 741. X & XI/14, Darius I (c.mid-Jan. to c.mid-March 507); PFS 864, 865 & 866.

6 (BAR of) flour supplied by Mannuya, Da'urisa the *haturmakša*¹ received: rations for *lan*,² at Matezzish.³ The tenth (and) eleventh(?) months, of a total of 2 (months), year 14.

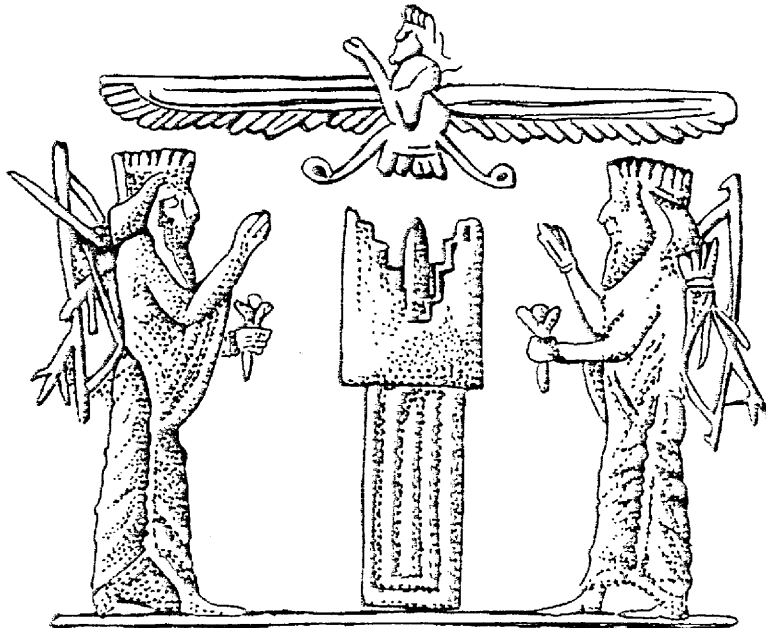


Figure 11.46 Impression of a cylinder seal (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) showing two kings, bows and quivers on their shoulders, each holding a lotus, hands raised in worship/salutation gesture, on either side of a fire altar. The winged disc with a figure, hand raised, above. (After Houtkamp 1991.)

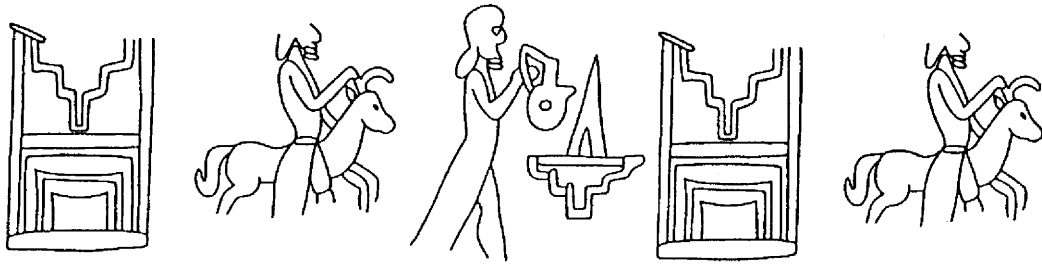


Figure 11.47 Composite drawing of cylinder seal impression (PFS 75, Mixed Styles I, see Garrison and Root I, 19), from the Persepolis Fortification archive. In the centre a figure pours a libation before a fire on an altar, followed by a figure bringing an animal, probably for sacrifice (cf. the reliefs of Persians bringing animals at Persepolis, **fig.12.6; 11, no.43**, n.2). To the right is a structure, which may be a palace or temple door. (After Garrison 2000.)

Notes

1. It is possible to relate this to OP *atr-vaxša- and translate it as 'guardian (better "fanner") of the fire', as argued by Koch 1977: 159–70, despite doubts, see PFT, 25–6; Boyce 1982: 136–7; Henkelman 2006, ch.3; cf. Briant 1996a: 942 [2002b: 916]. The title (in cult) appears also in PF 761–2; 1953; Fort.3126, cf. **16, no. 1**. We might assume that, if **11, no.65** was an Achaemenid practice, the places where these officiants appear were the locations of shrines in which the sacred fire was tended. The only place so far attested is Matezzish, near Persepolis. Another title related to fire, El. atrubattiš = 'fire chief', appears more frequently in the published Persepolis texts, but never in a ritual context (see PF 1171–2; 1154; 1219; 1986). The etymology of neither PN is certain, although Da'urisa may be identical with the hellenised form 'Daurises' (Hdt. V, 116), Mayrhofer, s.v.
2. See **11, no.43**, n.2, for the ceremony.
3. See **11, no.10**, n.3.

52. The sacred fire in procession¹

Quintus Curtius Rufus, III, 3.9.

The order of the line of march was this:² in front, on silver altars, was carried the fire, which the Persians called sacred and eternal. Next came the magi, singing the traditional hymns.

Notes

1. Cf. Xenophon's description of the altar with a fire borne in Cyrus' procession, **11, no.22**.
2. The setting is Darius III's army setting out from Babylon to Gaugamela in 331.

(f) The sun and Mithra

53. Xerxes at the Hellespont

Herodotus VII, 54.

So on that day¹ they got everything ready for the crossing, and the next day they waited because they wanted to see the sun rising. They burnt all sorts of incense on the bridges and



Figure 11.48 The Kabah-i Zardusht at Naqsh-i Rustam (see **fig.11.15**). The building is virtually identical with the Zendan-i Suleiman at Pasargadae (**fig.11.50**). It is 12.50 m high, the outer surface decorated with a blind window pattern, and the masonry technique indicates a construction date of c.500. Apart from a small room with stone doors, located at something over 6 m height from which steps led downwards, it is a solid mass of masonry. The only hint as to its function is a Sassanian inscription, calling it a 'foundation house'. But what that means is not clear, nor need it indicate its original function. Several hypotheses have been proposed: a repository for royal regalia and/or sacred documents, a burial place for members of the royal family, a fire temple where the king's sacred fire was tended. This last suggestion is rejected by most people, as there are no ventilation arrangements (see OEANE, s.v. Naqsh-i Rustam). For another suggestion, see caption to **fig.11.50**. (Photograph courtesy M.S. Drower.)

scattered myrtle branches along the path. When the sun rose, Xerxes poured a libation from a gold phiale² into the sea and prayed to the sun that no chance should befall that might hinder the conquest of Europe before he had reached its limits. After praying, he threw the phiale into the Hellespont together with a gold mixing bowl and a Persian sword, which they call *akinakes*.³ I cannot decide for certain whether he threw these things into the sea in honour of the sun or whether he regretted his whipping of the Hellespont and was giving them to the sea to make up for that.⁴

Notes

1. Following Xerxes' speech exhorting the Persian nobility for the war in Greece.
2. A typical Persian bowl, see **fig.8.1**.
3. The standard Persian dagger worn at the belt, see **figs.11.26–11.28**.
4. See **7, no.12**. It is, indeed, hard to know how to understand this act precisely. The prayer to the sun(rise) is almost certainly a Persian practice, as suggested by the importance of the sunrise in Elamite religion, illustrated by the famous Middle Elamite bronze model of the Sunrise Ceremony (Akk. *sit šamši*) now in the Louvre; see Harper et al. 1992 (= Caubet 1994), no.87; Potts 1999: 239–40 & pl. 7.8, as well as the deity Marirash, rendering OP *(H)uvarīra (Sunrise), who figures in the Fortification texts. Offerings made to the sea, however, are widely attested in time and space, e.g. to mark the limit of a campaign, or to assuage or thank deities on the occasion of a crossing. Note, for example, Alexander at the Hellespont in 334 (Arr. *Anab.* I, 11.6) and at the mouth of the Indus in 325 (Arr. *Anab.* VI, 19.5). Over 1,500 years earlier, Yahdunlim of Mari marked the limit of his campaign to the Mediterranean by offering to the sea (see RLA VIII, s.v. Meer, para.2, for reference). It is, therefore, likely that here (as elsewhere **7, no.19**), Xerxes' libation and gifts to the sea were offered to the local marine deities (cf. Briant 1996a: 565 [2002b: 548]).

54. The king worships the sun

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 29.11–12.

But some say that the judgement was made in the presence of the king,¹ and that Darius, overwhelmed by the disgrace, fell upon his face, pleading and imploring him. But the king rose in fury, drew his dagger² and struck him until he died. Then he moved out into the court of the palace to worship the sun and said: 'Return in joy, Persians, and tell others that the great Oromasdes³ has punished those who planned a criminal and wicked deed.'

Notes

1. Plutarch is describing the sentencing and execution of Artaxerxes II's son, Darius, for plotting against him.
2. Gr. *akinakes*, see **figs.11.26–11.28**.
3. Hellenised form of Auramazda.

55. An image of the sun

Quintus Curtius Rufus III, 3.8, 11.

It is customary for the Persians not to set out on a march until after sunrise,¹ and the day was already well advanced when the signal was given by a trumpet from the king's tent. Above the tent, so that it would be visible to all, a representation of the sun gleamed in a crystal case.

Then came the chariot consecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses,² followed by a horse of remarkable size, which the Persians called ‘the horse of the sun’.

Notes

1. Cf. **11, no.53**. The occasion is Darius III’s army setting out from Babylon to Gaugamela in 331.
2. Almost certainly the chariot of Auramazda, cf. **11, nos.22; 24**.

56. Cyrus the Great and the sun

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 1.3.

Now Cyrus¹ was named after Cyrus the Elder,² who, they say, got his from the sun, because the Persians call the sun Cyrus.³

Notes

1. Plutarch is enumerating the sons of Darius II and Parysatis, so this is Cyrus the Younger.
2. I.e. Cyrus (II) the Great.
3. The etymology of Cyrus is unknown; the name may, in fact, be Elamite rather than Persian, see **3, Introduction**, and no suggestions contain links with the sun. So Plutarch’s statement is rather enigmatic, but could relate to the special place occupied by Cyrus the Great in Persia’s vision of the past, with Cyrus’ heroic persona merged with that of a major deity. Note also that a horse was sacrificed monthly at Cyrus’ tomb and the recurring association of the sun with horses (see **11, no.57, n.3**).

57. Horses for Mithra’s festival

Strabo XI, 14.9.

The country (sc. Armenia) is so good for pasturing horses,¹ and not inferior to Media, so that even the Nesaean horses, used by the Persian kings,² are bred here. The satrap of Armenia sent to the Persian king each year twenty thousand foals for the Mithrakana.³

Notes

1. For the rearing of horses for the Persian king here, see also Xen. *Anab.* IV, 5.24, 35.
2. See **11, no.24** & n.3.
3. Festival in honour of Mithra, who certainly came to be identified with the sun. Note that Xenophon mentions that horses were sacrificed to the sun (**11, no.22**). Given Plutarch’s association of Cyrus the Great with the sun (**11, no.56**), one is tempted to connect the horses sacrificed at his tomb (**3, no.29**) also with a cult of Mithra and/or the sun.

58. The Persian king at the festival of Mithra

Athenaeus X, 434e.

Ctesias says that in India the king is not allowed to get drunk.¹ But among the Persians he may get drunk on one day, the one on which they sacrifice to Mithra. About this, Duris,² in

the seventh book of his Histories, writes this: ‘Only in one of the festivals celebrated by the Persians, the one to Mithra, the king gets drunk and dances the *persica*.³ No one else in the whole of Asia does this, all refrain from the dance on this day. For the Persians learn to dance just as they learn to ride; and they think the movement related to the practice is very suitable for getting exercise suitable for developing physical strength.’

Notes

1. The reference here is to Ctesias’ *Indica*, the first surviving Graeco-Roman treatise of the region (Lenfant, CXXXVII–CXLVI).
2. Tyrant of Samos (c.340–c.260), possibly in succession to his father. His brother was a comic poet and he himself a historian, who wrote a history from c.370 to some point beyond 281 (Battle of Corupedium). Its title is uncertain, but may have been *Macedonica*. Two further works were a history of Samos and a biography of the Sicilian tyrant, Agathocles. He mostly survives in citations in Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, a work which concentrates on learned anecdotes of excess and exotic habits.
3. Note the reference in Xenophon (3, no.36(7.1)) to Cyrus leading the Persians in the national dance. The *persica* is described by Xenophon (*Anab.* VI, 1.10), where it is clearly a war dance, and note the subsequent passage where the dance is explicitly linked to developing the physique; see further, Briant 1996a: 264 [2002b: 252–3]. Note also the ‘Graeco-Persian’ tomb relief from the Paphlagonian region (now in the Corum Museum, Durugönül 1994), which shows armed men performing a dance, see Summerer 2003: 20–1 & n.4 (correcting Durugönül’s interpretation of the scene).

(g) Anahita

59. Artaxerxes II and the cult of Anahita

Berosus, FGrH 680 F11.¹

The Persians, the Medes and the magi did not believe in wooden or stone images of the gods but in fire and water like the philosophers.² Later, however, after many years they began to worship statues in human form as Berosus reports in the third book of his Chaldaean history.³ Artaxerxes, the son of Darius, the son of Ochus,⁴ introduced this practice. He was the first to set up an image of Aphrodite Anaitis⁵ in Babylon and to require such worship from the Susians, Ecbatanians, Persians and Bactrians and from Damascus and Sardis.⁶

Notes

1. The citation comes from the Christian writer Clemens of Alexandria’s *Protrepticus* (V, 65.2–3), who lived between c.150 and 211/216 AD.
2. This echoes the statements of Herodotus and Strabo (11, nos.35–6). Clemens’ writings were spiked with learned allusions to Greek literature.
3. Berosus’ history was more probably called *Babyloniaca*, see Burstein 1978; Kuhrt 1987a, cf. Verbrugghe and Wickersham 1996.
4. This renders (clumsily) ‘Artaxerxes, son of Darius Ochus’ and thus indicates Artaxerxes II (see 8, no.19, n.7 for Darius II’s personal name).
5. The old Iranian goddess, Anahita, was variously identified with Artemis, Athena and Aphrodite by classical writers, although she is also found hellenised as Anaitis, or defined as the Persian Artemis (for a different view, see Brosius 1998). It seems that she had over time absorbed aspects of the Mesopotamian goddess of erotic love and battle, Ishtar, and the related goddess, Nanaya (Boyce 1982: 29–31; Malandra 1983: 118–19; note also fig.11.49).

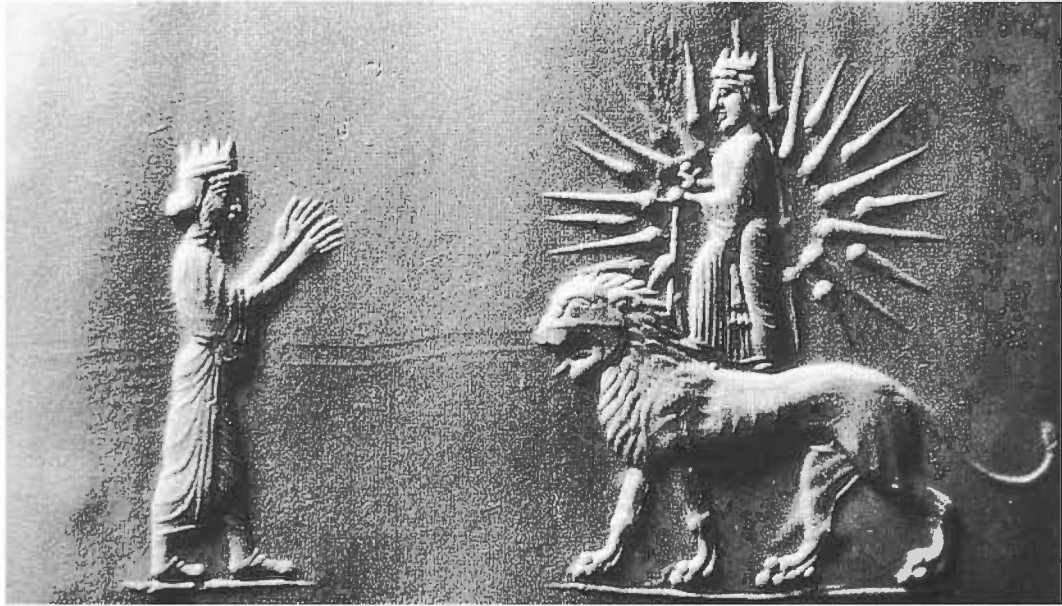


Figure 11.49 Blue chalcedony seal, dated to the fourth century, from a grave at Anapa, south Russia (2.9 cm high). A female deity, in a nimbus, stands on a lion, with a Persian king standing in worship before her. The divinity is generally taken to be Anahita, given her absorption of features of the Mesopotamian Ishtar, whose beast was a lion (cf. 11, no.60). (Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg; copyright reserved.)

6. The meaning of this is quite uncertain. It is possible, given the differences in wording, that it could refer to an edict issued to the inhabitants of greater Iran (Susiana, Media, Persia, Bactria) to render a cult in this form to this popular goddess, whose worship was widespread. Simultaneously, the king ordered the establishment of Anahita shrines in the chief satrapal centres of Babylonia, Beyond-the-River and Asia Minor (Egypt was not under Persian control at this time, see 9, Section C(b)), where they would serve as a focus for the Persians of the imperial diaspora (see Briant 1996a: 698–9 [2002b: 678–9]). This is, of course, no more than a hypothesis, and how it relates to Artaxerxes II's unique invocations of Anahita in some of his inscriptions (9, nos.22; 71; 11, no.37) remains opaque. One possibly significant point is that the Avestan Yasht invoking Anahita contains a section (stanzas 126–9) describing her appearance and dress in some detail, which suggests the existence of cult statues. Note that Plutarch *Artax.* 27.4 implies the presence of an Anahita shrine in Ecbatana, and that Isidore, *Parthian Stations* 1 (reign of Augustus?), refers to an Artemis (i.e. Anahita) temple founded by Darius in northern Mesopotamia.

60. The lions of Anahita's shrine

Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 12.23.¹

In the land of Elymais² is a shrine of Anaitis, and in it are tame lions,³ which greet and wag their tails at those entering the shrine. If, while entering, you call them, they come like invited guests and, after accepting whatever food is offered, they depart modestly and politely.

Notes

1. The source for this is likely to have been Ctesias, see Henkelman forthcoming.
2. Elymais is the hellenised name of Elam; for its precise extent in the hellenistic period, see the discussion by Potts 1999: 375–406.
3. This again suggests Anahita's close links with Ishtar (see **11, no.59**, n.5), whose animal associate was the lion (see **fig.11.49**).

I. Royal rituals

61. Proclamation of the crown-prince

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 26.4–5.

(Artaxerxes II) proclaimed Darius, then twenty-five years old, his successor, and gave him leave to wear the tiara upright,¹ as they say. It was a rule and a custom in Persia, that the crown-prince should ask for a favour, and that he who had appointed him to his position should grant whatever he asked, provided it was within his power.²

Notes

1. See **11, no.22**, n.11; **fig.11.25**.
2. It is clear from what follows that this was part of the public ceremony where the selected successor was presented to court and people.

62. Special water reserved for king and crown-prince

Athenaeus XII, 515a.

Agathocles, in the third book of his work *On Cyzicus*,¹ says that in Persia there is also water called 'golden'. This water consists of seventy bubbling pools, and none may drink of it save only the king,² and his eldest son.³ If anyone else drinks of it, the penalty is death.⁴

Notes

1. The only known work of this local historian of the fifth or fourth century.
2. For the king's drinking water, see **12, no.10**.
3. In this context that must mean the king's heir, i.e. the crown-prince.
4. Contravention of the rule was, of course, tantamount to rebellion, see further Wiesehöfer 2004b: 153–4.

63. The king-to-be undergoes a rite de passage

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 3.1–2.

A little after Darius' death, the king¹ went to Pasargadae to be initiated into the royal rite by the Persian priests.² It takes place in the sanctuary of a warrior goddess, whom one might compare to Athena.³ The one who is to be initiated must enter it, take off his own dress, and put on that worn by Cyrus the Elder before he became king, eat a cake of figs, swallow

terebinth,⁴ and down a bowl of sour milk. If there are other rituals than these they are not known to others.⁵

Notes

1. Darius II died in 405; see **9, no.1**, n.1 for the date and the accession of Artaxerxes II.
2. It is extremely likely that these were magi. Note that, following this section, Plutarch recounts the story of a magus, who observed Cyrus' reported attempt to kill Artaxerxes in the course of the ceremony, see **9, no.5**.
3. This must be Anahita, whose martial traits emerge clearly in Yasht 5. For the suggestion that the place where the ritual (or part of it) was enacted was the Zendan, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983b; **fig.11.50**, with perhaps an annual renewal ceremony in the Kaba-i Zardusht at Naqsh-e Rostam (see **figs.11.15; 11.48**).
4. Terebinth and cardamum were the stereotypical foods of the Persians, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995b. Note that it was also one of the foods on which Persian boys were taught to survive in the course of their education (see **13, no.8(ii)**). For the identification of the plant, see *ibid.*: 287–9.
5. What precisely the various acts described by Plutarch signify remains unknown. The simple food may symbolise the hardy training undergone by the Persian nobility, which turned each into a Persian man, the most perfect representative of which ideal was the king himself (see **11, nos.2; 16; 35** & n.5). Another possibility is that it evoked the (ahistorical) idyll of the simple life of the Persians before the empire, or perhaps specifically that of Cyrus before his rise to power. Yet another suggestion is that it might have induced a trance to help the transformation of man into king (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983b). Certainly significant is that the king-to-be divested himself of his own robes and donned those of Cyrus before his accession, so that he re-enacted, symbolically, the founder's path to greatness.

64. The king's birthday

Herodotus IX, 110.2–111.1.

So she (sc. Amestris)¹ bided her time until Xerxes, her husband, would be holding the royal banquet. (This banquet is held just once a year on the day of the king's birth.² The name of this feast in Persian is *tuktā*, which in the Greek language means 'perfection'.³ Then, and only then, the king anoints his head and presents the Persians with gifts.)⁴ So Amestris waited for this day and asked Xerxes to give her Masistes' wife. (. . .) (111) Eventually, because of her persistence and the demands imposed by the law, that no request made on the occasion of the banquet be refused, he reluctantly gave in.⁵

Notes

1. Xerxes' wife, who was planning revenge on her brother-in-law, Masistes, by torturing and executing his wife. See Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983a for analysis of the story.
2. This should be understood as the official ceremony to celebrate the ruler's birthday, rather than the date of his birth, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989: 132–3.
3. There is some disagreement as to whether *tuktā* is, or is not, an Old Persian word. For discussion, and the suggestion that it designated a public occasion for the king to absolve his 'debts', see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989: 132.
4. Cf. **11, no.17**, para.2c.
5. Cf. **11, no.61**.

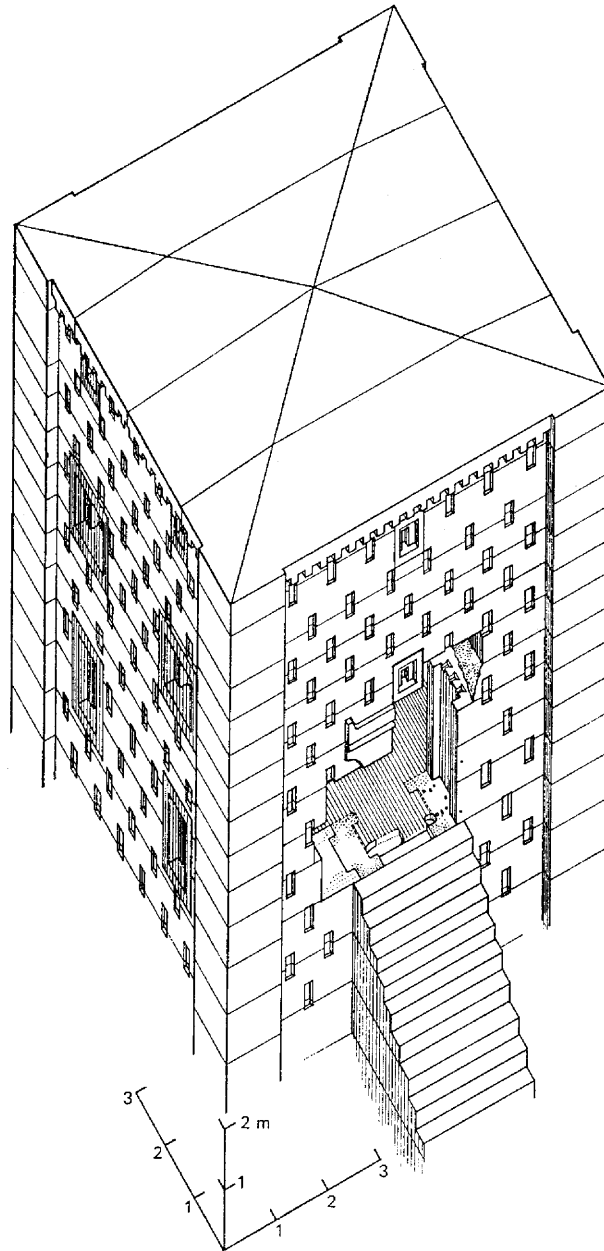


Figure 11.50 Reconstruction of the upper part of the Zendan, Pasargadae. It is of almost the same height as the Kabah-i Zardusht at Naqsh-i Rostam (**fig. 11.48**). Only one side of it now survives, but it was clearly virtually identical to the structure near Persepolis, although slightly earlier in date. Magnetic survey carried out in 1999 by Iranian and French archaeologists has revealed that the structure was associated with other buildings (Boucharlat 2003b). As indicated in **11, no. 63, n. 3**, it may have played a role in Achaemenid coronation ceremonies. (After Stronach 1978.)

65. The king and the sacred fire

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 114.4–5.

So the king,¹ preparing for the funeral, ordered the neighbouring cities to contribute to the best of their ability to the splendour of the funeral. He also ordered all the inhabitants of Asia to take care to extinguish what the Persians call the sacred fire, until the funeral was over. The Persians were accustomed to do this on the death of kings. So the people thought the order was a bad omen, and the deities were foretelling the king's own death.²

Notes

1. I.e. Alexander, after the death of Hephaestion at Ecbatana in 325/4, whose body was conveyed to Babylon for burial (D.S. XVII, 110.7–8).
2. Given that Diodorus is writing around three hundred years after the events and cites no sources, it is conceivable that this practice may not be contemporary with the Achaemenid period, but reflects later usage. However, it is possible (and several scholars think it likely, see, e.g. Welles 1963, addendum to p.457) that the information came from the pamphleteer Ephippus of Olynthus, active shortly after Alexander, and author of a tract called *On the funeral of Alexander and Hephaestion* (cf. also, 11, no.51 & n.1).

66. Mourning for the king

(i) Quintus Curtius Rufus X, 5.17.

(At Alexander's death) the Persians shaved their heads according to their custom¹ and put on garments of mourning, together with their wives and children, to grieve for their king, not as their conqueror and recent enemy, but with genuine longing as their own most just ruler. Accustomed as they were to live under a king, they confessed that none had been more worthy to rule. And their grief was not confined within the walls of the city, but the report of this great disaster had spread through the region around Babylon,² and then through a great part of Asia this side of the Euphrates. The news was quickly brought also to the mother of Darius. She rent the garments she was wearing, put on mourning garb and, tearing her hair, threw herself on the ground.

(ii) Plutarch, *Alexander* 72.2.

Alexander (at Hephaestion's death) had all the horses and mules clipped as a sign of mourning.³

Notes

1. Cf. 3, no.1, iii, 24, where public mourning for the death of Cyrus' wife took the form of people either shaving or baring their heads.
2. The place of Alexander's death in 323.
3. This seems to have been a Persian practice as indicated by the mourning for the death of Masistius at Plataea, 7, no.57(24). Although Hephaestion was not the king, Alexander's arrangements for his funeral (see, for example, 11, no.65) show that he was treated as royal.

67. Alexander's funeral cortège: an impression of Persian royal obsequies¹

Diodorus Siculus XVIII, 26.1–28.2.

In that year² Arrhidaeus,³ who had been placed in charge of transporting the body of Alexander, completed the carriage⁴ on which the king was to be borne and prepared for the journey. The completed vehicle was worthy of Alexander's glory and exceeded others, not only in cost (many talents had gone into the preparation), but also in terms of surpassing craftsmanship. And so I think it is worthwhile describing it.⁵

First, they made a hammered gold sarcophagus to fit the body, and the space around it they filled with spices to make the body sweet smelling and incorruptible. On this casket was placed a cover of gold, matching it perfectly and fitting about its upper rim. Over this a magnificent purple robe embroidered with gold was laid; next to it they placed the dead man's weapons, because they wanted the whole design to match his achievements. Then they placed it next to the carriage that would transport it. It was covered with a golden vault, eight cubits wide and twelve long,⁶ decorated with overlapping scales set with jewels. Underneath the roof and running along the whole structure was a rectangular cornice of gold, from which projected busts of goat-stags⁷ in high relief. From these hung gold rings two palms broad.⁸ Through them went a festive garland beautifully decorated in all kinds of bright colours. At the end were network tassels holding large bells, so that anyone approaching heard the sound a long way off. At each corner of the vault, on each side, was a golden Victory holding a trophy.

The colonnade supporting the vault was of gold with Ionic capitals. Inside the colonnade was a gold net, made of cord one finger thick,⁹ bearing four long painted panels, ends adjoining and each equivalent in length to the wall. (27) On the first of these was a chariot with relief decoration, with Alexander seated in it and holding a magnificent sceptre in his hands. Surrounding the king were his attendants: on one side armed Macedonians, on the other Persian 'apple-bearers',¹⁰ with soldiers in front. The second one had elephants arrayed for war, following the attendants. They carried Indians in front, with Macedonians in their full customary armour behind. The third showed cavalry detachments as though about to attack, and the fourth ships ready for a sea-battle. Next to the entrance to the chamber were gold lions, eyes turned towards any who might enter. Up the middle of each column a gold acanthus stretched, little by little, up to the capitals. Above the chamber, in the centre of the roof and under the open sky, was a purple banner emblazoned with a huge gold olive wreath. As the sun cast its rays upon it, it sent forth such a bright and brilliant beam that from a long way off it seemed like a lightning flash.

The platform underneath the chamber had two axles, on which turned four Persian wheels; their naves and spokes were gilded, but the part where it met the ground was iron. The hubs of the wheels were made of gold in the shape of lionheads, each holding a spear in its teeth. Each axle had a central bearing, cleverly fitted to the centre of the chamber so that, thanks to it, the chamber was cushioned against shocks caused by rough ground. There were four poles, to each of which were fastened four teams, with four harnessed mules in each team, so that there was a total of sixty-four mules, picked for their strength and size.¹¹ Each was crowned with a gilded crown and had a golden bell hanging by either cheek, with costly jewelled collars around their necks.¹²

(28) That, then, is the way the carriage was made and decorated. Its appearance was much more impressive to the beholder than the description conveys, and because its

marvels were known far and wide it attracted many spectators. And so, from every city to which it came, all the people went to meet it and escorted it out again, unable to get enough of the pleasure of beholding it. In keeping with its magnificence, a crowd of roadmenders and engineers accompanied it, as well as soldiers sent as an escort.¹³

Notes

1. Unfortunately, this is the sole description of the great funeral processions, which we know were organised by each successor to transport the corpse of the Persian king to Fars for burial in the royal tombs, see **4, no.2; 5, no.8; 8, no.20**. See further Briant 1991b; Henkelman 2003a. For discussion of the Persian, Macedonian and Greek features of Alexander's hearse and a reconstruction, see Stewart 1993: 216–24 & text fig.9.
2. 322.
3. Not Alexander's brother, but the Arrhidaeus who was later selected as one of the regents (D.S. XVIII, 36.7).
4. Gr. *harmamaxa*, the four-wheeled Persian covered carriage.
5. D.S. XVIII–XIX is based closely on the contemporary historian Hieronymus of Cardia (J. Hornblower 1981).
6. I.e. approx. 4 × 6 m.
7. Gr. *tragelaphoi*, describes the fantastic animals considered a typical feature of eastern art; see Miller 1997: 56. Note the bull and griffin protomes typical of Achaemenid capitals (cf. **figs.11.12; 11.22**).
8. Roughly 7.5 cm.
9. About 1.5 cm.
10. I.e. the Persian bodyguard, see **11, no.24**.
11. Mules were also used to draw the Persian royal hearses (**8, no.20**).
12. The elaborate trappings described, including bells, are reminiscent of the magnificent gear worn by Assyrian horses, depicted on the Nineveh reliefs (**fig.11.51**). Note that a number of bronze horse bells have been found in the North-West Palace at Nimrud (Curtis and Reade 1995, nos.159–65).



Figure 11.51 King Ashurbanipal (669–630?) hunting onagers on horseback. Note the magnificent horse-trappings and the bell on the horse's neck. Lowest part of three-register relief from the North Palace at Nineveh, now in the British Museum. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

13. Note the teams of people sent to clear the roads ahead of the Persian king's approach, **14, no.22(ii)** (although in that anecdote it was to clear the royal path of scorpions!).

68. Cults at the tombs of royalty

(i) Rations for the staff at Hystaspes' tomb in Persepolis

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF-NN 1700. –/–/23, Darius I (499/8): Henkelman 2003a: 103–7.¹

To Shiyatizza speak, Zishshawish² speaks as follows:

‘Issue 60 BAR³ of grain (to) the men who are keepers of the šumar⁴ of Hystaspes⁵ (at) Persepolis, to them (as) rations for their servants.⁶ Second, third and fourth months, during a total of 3 months in the 23rd year.⁷ 2 [persons] each 30 l; 7 [persons] each 20 l, total: 9 workmen.’

Hintamukka wrote, Kamezza delivered the instruction; he (sc. Hintamukka) received the copy from Hitibel.⁸

(ii) Supplies for offerings at the tombs of Cambyzes and Phaidyme

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF-NN 2174. Years 19 & 20, Darius I (503/2 & 502/1): Henkelman 2003a: 110–13.⁹

To Harrena, the cattle-chief, speak, Parnaka speaks as follows:¹⁰

‘Issue 24 head of small cattle to them, Bakabadda¹¹ and his companions, who are making . . . (at) the šumar of Cambyzes and (the woman) Upandush¹² at Narezzash.¹³

The seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth months, a total of 6 months in the 19th year, and the first, second, third, fourth, fifth (and) sixth months, a total of 6 months in the 20th year: during a total of 12 months.¹⁴ The šumar that (are) of Cambyzes and (the woman) Upandush, for those each monthly 1 head of small cattle.’

Kamezza wrote; he received the copy from Nanitin.¹⁵

Notes

1. Previously unpublished text from the Persepolis Fortification archive, part of the ‘Hallock Nachlass’, i.e. a manuscript containing transliterations of 2,553 tablets (cf. Henkelman 2003a: 101, n.1). I am grateful to Dr. W. Henkelman for permission to use his translations.
2. Zishshawish is well attested as the ‘deputy’ of Parnaka (Pharnaces), Darius I’s uncle and chief of the Persepolis administrative hierarchy (**16, no.12**; see **16, no.11**, for Parnaka). His importance is underlined by the fact that he (and/or his office) used a royal-name seal (PFS 11*, **fig. 11.44**). See Mayrhofer 8.1564 for the addressee’s name.
3. I.e. approx. 600 l.
4. For compelling arguments in favour of a meaning ‘tomb’, ‘burial mound’, instead of ‘sheepfold’, see Henkelman 2003a.
5. See Henkelman 2003a: 148–9 for the strong likelihood that this is Darius I’s father.
6. El. *libap*, almost certainly indicates here a taskforce of elite servants, i.e. part of the retinue of a high-status courtier, see Henkelman 2003a: 129–37. Note that the word is used in the Elamite version of DB to designate Darius’ generals (Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt and Malbran-Labat 1993: 47, n.132).
7. Hystaspes is attested by other PF texts to have been still alive in 501/0. See Henkelman 2003a: 149, n.95 for a tentative reconstruction of his last years; cf. **16, no.52**.

8. All three are attested as members of Zishshawish's staff; see **16, no.12** for the first two, **16, no.45** for the last.
9. See n.1, above.
10. Harrena belonged to the top rank of the Persepolis administration, and appears several times in the archive, see Henkelman 2003a: 111 ad ll.1–2 (cf. **16, no.3**). See n.2, above, for Parnaka.
11. Several different individuals with this name appear in the archive (Henkelman 2003a: 112 ad ll.3–4). It is tempting, given Bakabadda's obviously important role in relation to a royal burial, to identify him with the 'eunuch' Bagapates, who is said to have acted in relation to Cyrus' and Darius I's tombs (**4, no.2; 6, no.60**, cf. Henkelman 2003a: 156).
12. For arguments (linguistic and contextual) in favour of identifying her as Phaidym(i)e, daughter of Otanes and wife of Bardiya (**5, no.7**), see Henkelman 2003a: 147–8.
13. See **11, no.45**, n.3. Note also wine issued for the 'offering table (El. *bašur*) of Cambyses' at Niriz/Narezzash, PF 302.
14. Suggesting one head of small cattle to be offered in honour of each dead individual per month (Henkelman 2003a: 145–7); cf. also **11, no.45**.
15. See n.8, above, for Kamezza. Nanitin, too, is attested as a member of Parnaka's staff (see further, **16, Section A(c)**).

THE ORGANISATION OF THE COURT

Introduction

Much of the evidence for understanding the organisation of the royal household is referred to very fleetingly in accounts of historical events, and will be found (through cross-references) in the relevant chapters. Other aspects are embedded in a range of anecdotes and court stories retailed by Graeco-Roman and Jewish writers,¹ with a variety of interests – drawing moral lessons, displaying learned antiquarianism, or illustrating aspects of political theory. In the case of the Graeco-Roman writers, much of this is related to musings about the rise and fall of empires: the great wealth and power consequent on the acquisition of empire inexorably leads to soft living and indulgence (particularly in the domains of eating and sex), which turns the formerly hardy conquerors into decadent weaklings, who might be easily overcome. But notions about the effects of conspicuous consumption differed. The fourth century philosopher, Heracleides of Pontus, for one, argued that pleasure ennobled human nature, and that

all who give themselves up to pleasure and choose a life of luxury are noble and generous; for example, the Persians and Medes. For, more than any people in the world, they devote themselves to pleasure and luxury, and yet at the same time they are the noblest and the bravest of the barbarians. In fact, enjoyment of pleasure and luxury is the mark of free men; it liberates and elevates the spirit. Conversely, to live a life of hard labour is the mark of slaves and men of low birth.

(Athen. XII, 512a–b)

Given these internal debates, the focus of the tales and notices we have tends to be on exotic aspects of the Persian palace and the extraordinary luxury surrounding the king,² the multitude of servants and officials, their rich dress and equipment, peculiar food and eating habits, and the strange, sinister or scandalous behaviour of royal women and eunuchs. The story structures serve to make particular political and moral points, which often leave us with an image of Persian decadence and kingly weakness. But, inside such dramatically spun webs, it is possible to discern some of the basic institutions of Persian court-life. By setting documentary material from Persepolis and Babylonia, as well as archaeological finds, alongside this, it can sometimes be possible to grasp elements of the palatial system and/or gain a different perspective.

What picture can we glean from this limited and problematical material? Although the lay-outs of some of the palaces are known (**figs.3.5; 6.2; 7.6; 8.3; 9.7; 11.10**), we only gain

an impression of their interiors and how things may have worked from some classical descriptions of the splendours found in captured royal tents (**12, nos.1–2**). The one instance where we can match (to some extent) physical remains to description is a (late) evocation of the king enclosed within a series of walls and gates, news communicated to him through his guards and watchers (**12, no.3**). This echoes graphically the impression of majestic remoteness created by the enormous and elaborate gate buildings at Pasargadae (**fig.3.5(b)**), Susa (**fig.11.3**) and Persepolis (**fig.12.1**), through which petitioners and visitors were filtered into the inner sanctum of the court, after waiting days or months, even years.

The bodyguard, as numerous sources agree, consisted of the legendary ten thousand spear-bearers, of whom one thousand formed an inner élite corps. These were almost certainly commanded by the chiliarch, who figures prominently in several classical stories, and is often presented as a kind of royal ‘prime minister’, regulating access to the king. His Old Persian title (**hazarapatiš*) appears in the form *azabarites* in Ctesias (**8, no.20**(49) & n.7). But trying to define court titles and duties precisely is futile. Tasks could be assigned as the ruler saw fit and titles proliferated (Briant 1996a: 269–70 [2002b: 258–9]). The complexities of, and numbers involved in, court service emerge only dimly: the bodyguard is also described as in charge of the royal wardrobe (**12, no.5(ii)**); a host of sceptre-bearers appears mediating access to the king (**11, no.22**); a royal treasurer (**13, no.36**(5)), chief secretary (Plut. Alex. 18.8) and keepers of royal furniture (Q.C. IV, 7.4) are mentioned in passing. Note that the prominent noble Aspathines’ title on Darius’ tomb is ‘garment-bearer’ (probably to be interpreted as ‘chamberlain’, **fig.11.14**, caption), indicating that the literal meaning of a title need not be a key to function. Many courtly institutions and structures were naturally determined by the need to ensure the king’s safety and well-being. In Persia, as elsewhere, the king was vulnerable to poison, so that those in charge of where and what he ate and drank were particularly trusted officials (**12, nos.6–11**), while the delicate task of treating royal illnesses provided opportunities for gaining (or losing!) royal favour (**12, no.12**).

One element of the Persian court that has intrigued and repelled, in equal measure, writers and readers over the centuries is the deployment of eunuchs within the palace. Given their anomalous sexual status, they have generally attracted suspicion and mistrust.³ So it is not surprising that the classical literature abounds with stories of treacherous and depraved eunuchs, wielding a sinister influence at court (**10, nos.3–4(i)**; **12, nos.13–15**). That negative stereotype is balanced to some degree by a positive one. This view stresses their devotion, the natural result of their isolated (supposedly) social status as they lack family ties (**6, no.60**; **12, nos.16–18**). The realities seem to have been slightly different. Some of the eunuchs holding very high positions appear to be members of prominent Persian families – definitely attested in one case (**7, no.92(ii)** & n.1), and possible in other instances where these high-level ‘eunuchs’ have Persian names (see, e.g., **8, nos.9; 20**). There is a further problem as to whether the term translated ‘eunuch’ should always be understood to mean a castrated man, or whether it is a more general term defining royal body servants generally, only some of whom were castrati.⁴ Further, a distinction needs to be drawn between eunuchs in leading positions and the hordes of run-of-the-mill domestic staff, who performed the myriad tasks of the royal household (**12, nos.19; 21**, n.1). Such humble eunuchs came to court by several routes. We hear of a regular tribute of boys for castration from the imperial territories (**14, no.2**(92)), castration as a punishment meted out to prisoners-of-war (**6, no.47**), and slave traders specialising in the supply of eunuchs (**12, no.20**). Some of the individuals reaching the court by such routes might, if lucky, rise to occupy relatively privileged positions, such as the care of royal children (**12, no.21**); most did not.

The role and position of royal women was another source of fascination. Many stories circulated about the bloodthirstiness of queen-mothers (e.g. **12, no.12(iii)**) and king's wives, as well as their influential position as 'powers behind the throne',⁵ and a shocked emphasis on stories of kings marrying very close relatives. But if we look closely at, for example, the murderous actions imputed to the notorious Parysatis – wife of Darius II and mother of Artaxerxes II – we can begin to understand her behaviour as dictated not by wanton cruelty and female jealousy, but by the need to protect the integrity of the Achaemenid royal line and consolidate its grip on power after Darius II's struggle for the throne (**12, no.38**).

While, on the one hand, we have stories dwelling on royal female power and retailing prurient titbits of princesses' sexual appetites (e.g. **7, no.92(i)**), they are, on the other, described as hidden away in the innermost chambers of the palace, closely guarded and heavily shrouded when travelling (**12, nos.28; 30**). Separating fantasy from reality is not always easy, although the administrative documents from Persepolis, in particular, help to balance the picture. They show us female members of the royal family on long journeys, in control of large estates and workforces, served by extensive retinues and using personal seals finely carved with heroic and warlike motifs (**12, nos.29; 32; 37; figs.12.4–12.5**). Some classical references and Babylonian material bear out this more positive image of the life of royal women (**12, nos.31; 35; 36**), including the hint that they may have been trained in riding and basic weapons-handling (**12, nos.33–4**).

Wherever the evidence is available, it is clear, first, that – as far as possible – the Achaemenid kings practised endogamy (see further, Brosius 1996, ch.3), in order to restrict access to the throne, and, secondly, that the kings had several wives. Ideally, the king selected his successor from among the sons born of these unions. But the crucial factor in eligibility for the throne was paternal descent,⁶ so that sons born by concubines could accede in the absence of 'legitimate' offspring (**8, no.20**). Concubines, clearly distinguished from the king's wives (**12, nos.22–3**), were selected from women who arrived at court from the subject territories, either as tribute or as prisoners-of-war (**9, no.76; 12, nos.24–5**). Although we have repeated statements that the king had 300 (or 360) concubines (**12, no.27**), it seems likely (on the analogy of other courts) that only some of these were picked for the king's bed (**12, no.26**), with the rest functioning as maids and entertainers (**12, nos.27; 43**).

Sumptuous meals and magnificent table settings (**12, no.44; fig.12.7**) were a defining feature of royal luxury. How were such repasts supplied and served? What was actually eaten? The Persepolis archive provides precious, albeit partial, information (**12, no.40**), which matches some of the information contained in classical writers. First, we gain a valuable insight into the pattern of Persian eating, which consisted of a series of courses (**12, no.41**). The specialised staff required to prepare the food and create new confections were largely unfamiliar to Greek cuisine (**12, no.43**, see also **fig.12.6**). Secondly, a late text, probably derived from a contemporary Greek writer (**12, no.39**), lists huge quantities of foods served daily to the king. Important here is that, just as a fourth-century Greek writer says (**12, no.42**), the items were distributed by the king to his retinue who, in turn, used it to feed their own families and retinues. Moreover, the ingredients of the meals were not particularly exotic or expensive,⁷ and were put together in accordance with ideas about maintaining health (**12, nos.39, nn.1 & 10; 42**). A final important insight to be gained is the ranking of guests. The occasion of the royal meal provided an opportunity for the king to indicate who enjoyed royal favour, reflected in the seating arrangements and invitations to join the king in after-dinner drinking (**12, nos.6 & 42**).

Although the evidence is not as full as one might wish, there are several pieces of evidence showing that the royal court system was reproduced in the provinces. The satrapal residences were luxuriously fitted out (**12, nos.47(i); 48; fig.12.9**) and equipped with the requisite staff (**12, no.47(ii)**), implementing an etiquette mirroring that of the king. Several satrapal parks, too, are described with their game reserves, lakes and fisheries (**11, no.21(iv); 12, no.46**, cf. **fig.12.8**). The physical appearance of the satrapal palaces is not known in detail. However, a small apadana, built in the late fifth century inside Nebuchadnezzar II's great castle at Babylon with decoration similar to that at Susa, shows that the satrapal residence was a vehicle for transmitting regal imagery (**fig.12.10**).

Only a few glimpses of the rich pageantry that constituted Achaemenid court life are touched on in this chapter.⁸ The royal hunt, which was certainly another regular and important activity, emerges most clearly in anecdotes about the Persian nobility, which figure in the next chapter, e.g. **13, nos.30; 31**; cf. **11, no.18** (9.6)).

Notes

1. Note, in addition to Esther, the 'court stories' of Daniel 1–6, and the 'Stories from the Persian court' (all, of course, with a Jew as protagonist) among the Dead Sea Scrolls (Eisenman and Wise 1992: 99–105).
2. But note **12, no.42**, where Heracleides of Cumae argues that, contrary to the impression one might have, the royal meal was actually a very economical affair.
3. See Hopkins 1978: 173; 174, comparing their position to the Court Jews in early modern Europe.
4. The problems are very clearly presented by Yamauchi (1990: 260–4) and Briant (1996a: 279–88 [2002b: 268–77]), including the confusion created by the closeness of Gr. *eunouchos*, 'eunuch', and Gr. *oinochoos*, 'wine-pourer', 'cup-bearer'. Note also the debate as to whether every palace servant depicted without a beard automatically signals a eunuch (**fig.12.3**). The Ottoman court provides a revealing example that should serve as a warning against automatically equating beardlessness with eunuchism: 'Even men in the palace who were fully adult under Islamic law – the most advanced pages in training and some princes of the dynasty – were kept in a state symbolic of adolescent dependence, for they were forbidden to grow beards or to father children' (Peirce 1993: 11). For the ambiguous Neo-Assyrian terminology, see CAD, R, 296.
5. On these, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983a; 1989/2002; cf. Briant 1996a: 606–7 [2002b: 589–90], cf. **8, no.9**, n.2.
6. See the genealogical recitations, **8, no.23; 9, nos.22; 73**.
7. But note the Babylonian text (YOS 7, 86) showing that the Eanna temple in Uruk was obliged to spend 1.5 minas of silver (= approx. 750 gr) in 531/0 in order to purchase a spice (Akk. *tabīlu*) for supplying the king (*ana šušuttu ša šarri*); see San Nicolò 1949: 324.
8. Only one text, for example, provides a vignette of public court entertainment (**12, no.45(i)**). References to singers, musicians and dancers (male and female) appear sporadically, see **12, nos.42; 43; 45; 13, no.11** & n.4.

A. The king's residence

(a) Royal apartments

1. The furnishings of the royal tent

Herodotus IX, 82.1–2.

When Xerxes fled from Greece, his equipment was left for Mardonius.¹ When Pausanias² beheld the tent furnished with gold and silver and richly coloured hangings, he ordered the

bakers and cooks to prepare a meal exactly as they had done for Mardonius. They did as he ordered. And when Pausanias saw the gold and silver couches, so beautifully covered, and the gold and silver tables³ and magnificent preparation of the meal, he was amazed at the good things spread before him.⁴

Notes

1. For Xerxes' withdrawal from Greece, see **7, nos.46–7**; for Mardonius' subsequent command of the Persian forces in Greece, see **7, nos.44–5; 55–9**.
2. The Spartan commander and victor in the battle of Plataea, during which Mardonius was killed (**7, no.59**).
3. Note also the bronze manger for Mardonius' horses, mentioned earlier by Herodotus (IX, 70).
4. The episode ends with a didactic point: Pausanias orders a Spartan meal to be prepared, then calls the Greek commanders in to compare the two repasts and marvel at the fact that someone who enjoys such luxury would yet desire the poor Greek resources. The lesson is that hard circumstances produce tough, freedom-loving men, capable of defeating a foe, apparently stronger but enfeebled by luxurious living. Note, in this connection, the warning placed in Cyrus' mouth at the very end of Herodotus' *Histories*: 'From soft countries come soft men. It is not possible that the same land should bring forth a growth of marvellous fruit and men who are good soldiers' (IX, 122). The idea fits to some extent with the Hippocratic concept of the influence of climate and physical environment, but see Thomas 2000: 103–14, for Herodotus' refinement of such 'environmental determinism'.

2. The royal bathroom

Plutarch, *Alexander* 20.12–13.¹

Darius' tent, which was full of many treasures, luxurious furniture and lavishly dressed servants had been set aside for Alexander himself. As soon as he arrived, he unbuckled his armour and went to the bath, saying 'Let us wash off the sweat of battle in Darius' bath.' 'No, in Alexander's bath, now', remarked one of his Companions,² 'the conqueror takes over the possessions of the conquered and they should be called his.' When Alexander entered the bathroom, he saw that the basin, jugs, the baths themselves and the caskets containing unguents were all made of gold and elaborately carved. He noticed, too, that the whole room was marvellously fragrant with spices and perfumes, and then passing from this into a spacious and lofty tent, he observed the magnificence of the couches, the tables and the banquet which had been set out for him. He turned to his Companions and said: 'So this, it appears, is what it is to be a king!'³

Notes

1. The occasion is the aftermath of Darius III's defeat at Issus in 333, see **10, Introduction**.
2. The Companions (Gr. *hetairoi*) were an élite body at the Macedonian court, who constituted the cavalry; see Bosworth 1988: 7; 261–2.
3. Probably intended to serve as an ironic comment on the hollow trappings of royalty.

3. The king in his palace

[Aristotle], *De Mundo* 398a.¹

The king himself, so the story goes, established himself at Susa or Ecbatana, invisible to all, dwelling in a wondrous palace inside a fence gleaming with gold and amber and ivory. And it had many gateways, one after another, and porches many furlongs apart from one another, secured by bronze doors and mighty walls.² Outside them, the foremost and most distinguished had their appointed place. Some were the king's bodyguard and attendants; others were the guardians of each enclosing wall, the so-called doorkeepers and listeners,³ so that the king himself, called their lord and god,⁴ might thus see and hear all things.

Notes

1. This pseudo-Aristotelian work is generally thought to have been written in the first century AD, although there is a possibility that it dates to the late fourth century BC, see RE II.1, 1046.
2. For the enormous and complex gatehouses flanked by huge statues (of kings or protective creatures), with benches for guards and those waiting for admission, and set at some distance from the royal reception rooms, see **figs.11.3; 12.1**. For an example of 'bronze doors', see the famous ninth-century Balawat gate (Assyria) bound with bands of bronze with chased, figured decoration in the British Museum (see Curtis and Reade 1995: 98–9).
3. Gr. *pulouroi*, literally means 'gate/door-watchers', with *otakoustai* having the sense of 'listening out (for danger)'. This explains the subsequent clause.
4. The Persian king was never a god, see **11, Introduction; 11, no.29(i)**, n.2, although classical writers repeatedly dub him thus.

4. The 'Gateway of All Lands' at Persepolis

XPa. Trilingual inscription (four copies survive) on the northern and southern inner jambs of the western and eastern entrance of Xerxes' gate at Persepolis, above the colossal winged human-headed bulls (see **fig.12.1(b)**): Kent, XPa; Schmitt 2000, XPa.¹
Translations: Lecoq 1997: 251–2; Stolper 1998b, XPa; Brosius 2000, no.63.

- §1 A great god (is) Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness² for man, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Darius the king, an Achaemenid.
- §3 King Xerxes proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda I have built this Gateway of All Lands.³ Much else (that is) good (was) built throughout this Persepolis,⁴ which I have built and which my father has built. But whatever work appears (to be) good, all that we have done by the favour of Auramazda.
- §4 King Xerxes proclaims: Me may Auramazda protect and my kingdom. And what (has been) built by my father, that too may Auramazda protect.

Notes

1. See **fig.12.1** for plan of the gatehouse and photograph of the gateway figures.
2. See **7, no.87**, n.3.
3. OP *duvarthim visadahyum*.
4. OP *Parsa*; cf. Arrian, who refers to Persepolis as *Persai* (**10, no.30(iv)**, n.10).

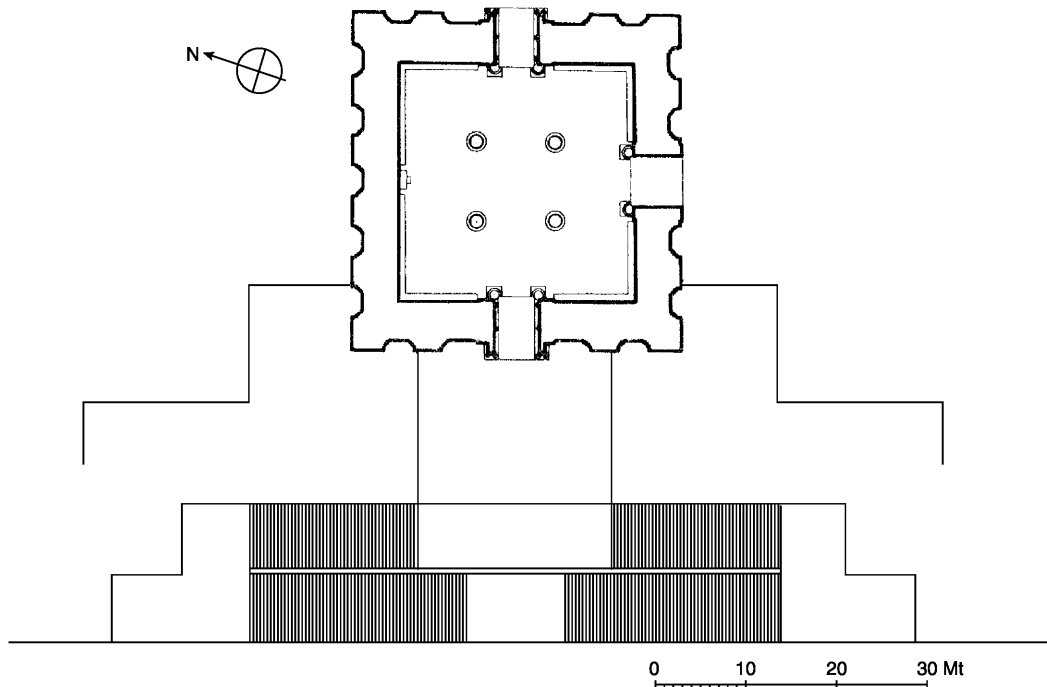


Figure 12.1 (a) Plan of the Gateway of All Lands, above the double staircase providing access to the palace platform at Persepolis (cf. 12, no.4). It consists of a square hall (24.75 m × 24.75 m), containing four columns, surmounted by adorsed bull-capitals. The roof was 18 m above the floor. The mud-brick walls were faced with glazed, coloured tiles and pierced by three stone doors; the southern one, giving onto the apadana courtyard, was the tallest (see fig.7.6 for plans of the terrace in Xerxes' reign). Note the stone bench running around the inside of the room, and the stepped platform in the centre of the north wall, which may have supported a seat for an important member of the court. (After Shahbazi 1976.)

(b) Care of the royal person and court etiquette

5. The royal bodyguard

(i) Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VII, 5.66–8.

But he thought this guard not enough¹ because of the many people who were hostile, so he cast about as to who, among the rest, might be the most trustworthy guards in the palace. (67) Now he knew that the Persians, because of poverty, lived lives of great hardship at home and were used to a life of tough work given that the country was very harsh and they had to work it with their own hands; for that very reason, he thought that they would particularly like being with him. (68) So he took ten thousand spear-men² from among them, who stayed around the palace night and day, whenever he was in the country. Whenever he went anywhere, they went along drawn up on either side of him.³



Figure 12.1 (b) Colossal winged human-headed bulls, wearing high crowns, set at the eastern doorway of the Gateway. Another, heavily eroded, pair survives at the western doorway. They resemble the gateway guardian figures found in Assyrian palaces, although there are some differences (see Shahbazi 1976: 12–13; 14). (Photograph courtesy M.S. Drower.)

(ii) Quintus Curtius Rufus, III, 3.15.

The column next to them⁴ consisted of the so-called Doryphorae, the men who usually looked after the king's garments;⁵ they preceded the royal chariot on which the king himself was riding, high above the others.

Notes

1. The passage follows Xenophon's description of Cyrus' selection of eunuchs for his personal service; see **12, no.16**.
2. Gr. *doryphoroi*, used in some contexts simply to indicate the royal bodyguard, clearly here indicating the famous 'Immortals', see **11, nos.24; 25**(83). The equivalent OP term is *rs̄tībārā-*, while El. (GIS) *šukurrām kutīrā* in the Persepolis texts has recently been shown to be its Elamite equivalent (Henkelman 2002). It is probable that the official called chiliarch in Greek sources was the commander of the inner picked corps of a thousand (cf. **11, no.24**), which would explain his title, probably a translation of OP **hazarapatis̄*; see Briant 1996a: 269–70 [2002b: 258–9]; **12, Introduction**.

3. Note their closeness to the king in war: **11, no.23**; Arr. *Anab.* III, 13.1, 16.1; Q.C. III, 3.13.
4. The occasion is Darius III's procession setting out from Babylon for Gaugamela in 331 (**10, no.27**). The preceding group was made up of the (Lat.) *cognati*, the king's kinsmen, a high court rank, rather than blood relatives, who seem to be distinguished as the (Lat.) *propinqui* (cf. Gr. *sungeneis*), see Briant 1996a: 321–2; 801–2 [2002b: 309–10; 781–2]; **13, no.14**.
5. See Henkelman 2003a: 120, n.19, and note that Aspathines, who holds the king's bow-and-arrow case on Darius I's tomb, is entitled 'garment-bearer' (cf. **fig.11.14**, caption).

6. Seating protocols

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 4.3–5.

When those invited came to dinner, he (sc. Gadatas)¹ did not seat them just at random. The one he esteemed most he placed on (Cyrus') left hand, as being the one more exposed to treachery than the right; the second in honour on the right, the third again on the left, the fourth on the right; and, if there were more, so on. It seemed to him a good idea to show publicly how he esteemed each one, because where people think that someone who deserves much will receive neither public praise nor rewards, they will not compete with each other for advantage. But where the most deserving is clearly seen to gain, there all can be seen to strive most eagerly. Cyrus thus publicly recognised those who excelled with him, starting even with where they sat or stood in his presence. He did not, however, assign the appointed place for ever, but made it a rule that one might advance to a more honoured seat by worthy deeds and, if someone acted badly, he should move down to a less honoured one. And he considered it contemptible if the one in the foremost seat was not seen to receive the greatest and best things from him. Moreover, we note that this practice which came in under Cyrus continues like this until now.²

Notes

1. Chief sceptre-bearer, according to Xenophon, but not a historically attested figure. For his role in Cyrus' great procession, see **11, no.22** & n.15.
2. See further on the king's eating arrangements and banquets, **12, Section D**.

7. The royal cup-bearer

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* I, 3.8–9.¹

So then the kings' cup-bearers, when they present the drinking bowl, draw off some with the ladle, pour it into the left hand and swallow it – so that should they have added poison it will not profit them.²

Notes

1. Xenophon has set the scene at the court of the Median king, Astyages, the grandfather of his Cyrus (see **2, no.19(ii)**). It is more than likely that he is here (as elsewhere) retrojecting contemporary Achaemenid court practices into the past.
2. This explains, of course, the very high and trusted position accorded cup-bearers at court; see, e.g., **4, no.21**; Nehemiah 1.11. Cf. also the story of Bagoas' attempt to poison Darius, **10, no.3**. For the Elamite title *battišmarnabara*, now definitely to be translated 'cup-bearer', which is twice attested in the Persepolis archive (as well as perhaps *pad(d)arakkaš*), see Henkelman 2003a: 121 & n.23.

8. The king's cup

Athenaeus XI, 503f.

Deinon in Book 3 of the *Persica*¹ says this:

There is also the *potibazis*² – bread baked of barley and wheat and a cypress wreath and mixed wine in a golden egg,³ from which the king himself drinks.

Notes

1. See **Chapter 1**.
2. The word is related to Ar. PTP, 'rations' and Akk. *pitibaga*, 'distributor of rations', which reflects OP **pithwabaga*, see Eilers 1940: 59–81; Stolper 1985: 57–8. Note also Wiseman 1985: 85, referring to Daniel 1.5, where the youths selected for court service are given food rations (Heb. *patbag*) from the king's table. The precise import of the term here is not certain; it is translated by the Loeb editor as 'delicacies', which seems rather an inappropriate way to describe barley and wheat bread, although it is possible that, by including the crown and wine, it indicates the table setting.
3. I.e. a cup shaped like an egg.

9. The punishment for poisoners

Plutarch, *Artoxerxes* 19.9.

Poisoners among the Persians are executed like this: placing their head on a flat stone, they beat and press it with another stone until the face and head are crushed.

10. The king's drinking water

Herodotus I, 188.

When the great king goes on campaign, he is well supplied with food from home and cattle, also, with water from the Choaspes river, which flows by Susa.¹ The king only drinks the water from this river and from no other.² This Choaspes water is boiled, and many four-wheeled wagons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, whenever he goes on a journey.³

Notes

1. Mod. Karkheh-Karun, the hellenistic Eulaeus.
2. There are certainly instances of the king drinking other water. It seems that the Choaspes water was thought to be particularly healthful, especially when boiled as here (Briant 1996a: 274–5 [2002b: 263–4]; Wiesehöfer 2004b). This was probably the water which the heir to the throne, once appointed, shared with his father (**11, no.62**).
3. An interesting parallel comes in a letter to *The Independent* newspaper, London, 23 February 1991 (I thank Alan Griffiths for this): 'In 1902 the Maharajah of Jaipur visited London. He brought with him two silver jars weighing 345 kg apiece, which he had had made especially for the visit. They were each to carry 9,000 litres of pure and holy Ganges water, since he could drink no other.'

11. The king dines apart

Plutarch, Artaxerxes 5.5.

Nobody shared his (sc. the king's) table, save the king's mother and his wedded wife, who sat below him, while the mother sat above him. Artaxerxes also invited his younger brothers, Ostanes and Oxathres,¹ to his table.²

Notes

1. See **8, no.21**, for Darius' offspring, giving slightly different names for Artaxerxes II's two youngest brothers.
2. Plutarch uses this to illustrate Artaxerxes' kindly nature. Since the arrangement must have served to ensure the king's safety, Artaxerxes here displays unusual trust in having his brothers dine with him.

12. Royal doctors and Persian medicine

(i) Cyrus gathers doctors and medicaments

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 2.24.

So he (sc. Cyrus) decided to sort these matters out.¹ To achieve this, he gathered the very best doctors about him,² and whatever implements they said would be useful, as well as drugs and foods and potions; not one of these items was not procured and stored in the palace.

(ii) A Persian medical treatment

Herodotus VII, 181.³

When his (sc. the Aeginetan soldier Pytheas') ship was captured, he continued to fight until he was practically no more than mincemeat. Then he fell, but he did not die and was still breathing. The Persians, who manned the ships, did their utmost for him because of his bravery. They treated the wounds with myrrh and bound them up with strips of the finest linen.⁴

(iii) The princess and the doctor

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F14(44); Lenfant, 133–4.

When Amytis fell ill – even though it was benignant and not serious – Apollonides, the doctor from Cos⁵ – because he had fallen in love with her – told her that she would recover if she had intercourse with men, as it was a disease of the uterus.⁶ But once his purpose was achieved and he had had intercourse with her, even though she was wasting away, he stopped. As she lay dying, she told her mother to take vengeance on Apollonides. The latter revealed all to King Artaxerxes: the intercourse, how he had left after this outrage and how her daughter demanded vengeance on Apollonides. The king turned the matter over to his mother to do as she thought fit. She seized and tied up Apollonides and tortured him for a period of two months, after which she buried him alive when Amytis died.



Figure 12.2 A Scythian soldier binds the wounds of his companion. Detail from an electrum vessel found in the Kul-Oba barrow, Crimea, now in The Hermitage, St Petersburg; 13 cm high; fourth century. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

Notes

1. Xenophon has described Cyrus noting that people were not making provisions for cases of ill-health.
2. Our one-sided information ascribes a prominent place to Greek doctors at the Persian court: Democedes of Croton (**13, no.38**), Apollonides of Cos (**(iii)**, below; **13, no.30**(34); Polycritus of Mendes (Plut. Artox. 21.3), Ctesias of Cnidus (FGrH 688 T1). Beyond that we hear of Egyptian doctors at the Persian court (**4, nos.3; 11(c)**; Hdt. III, 129–30; **9, no.78**, n.13; **10, no.38**; see also Burkard 1994). Persian medical expertise was clearly not absent, as illustrated by passage (**ii**) here, which indicates that physicians accompanied armies to tend the wounded. It is extremely likely that the magi, with their extensive knowledge of plants, were the chief court doctors (see Briant 1996a: [2002b: 266–8]).
3. See **7, no.25** for the context.
4. Gr. *sinon bussinos*. Sinton is the word used to describe something like muslin, while byssos was initially very fine linen, with the meaning extended to fine cotton cloth and even floss-silk. So the precise materials envisaged here by Herodotus are not completely certain. The scene described evokes the famous depiction on a Scythian electrum vessel (see **fig.12.2**).
5. Amytis was Artaxerxes I's sister and wife of Megabyzus; Apollonides had previously saved Megabyzus' life, see **7, no.92(i)**.
6. See Lenfant, 269, n.575, for this Hippocratic doctrine.

B. Eunuchs

(a) Stereotypes

13. The treacherous servant

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F9a; Lenfant, 113.¹

Cyrus sent Petesacas to Astyages,² so that he would see Astyages with Amytis³ on his arrival. When Amytis, Astyages' daughter, discovered that the miserable Petesacas, the head eunuch, had set a trap for Astyages, she tore out his eyes and had him flayed alive. She put him to the torture of the stake and left him for the birds.

Notes

1. Cf. **3, no.10**, a fuller version of the story, with Astyages abandoned in the desert.
2. Astyages is the Median king defeated by Cyrus II (see **3, Section C**); Petesacas, a high-ranking eunuch.
3. Astyages' daughter and, according to Ctesias, married to Cyrus after her father's defeat.

14. The sinister plotter

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F15(54); Lenfant, 139.

The eunuch Artoxares,¹ who had great influence with the king, conspired against the king as he wanted the throne for himself. He asked his wife² to fashion him a beard and moustache, so that he would seem to be a man, but he is denounced by her. And he is arrested and handed over to Parysatis³ and executed.

Notes

1. He was one of Darius II's supporters in his bid for the throne; see **8, no.20**.
2. Note that this is the likely meaning of the Greek (*hautoi gunaiki*).
3. Darius II's wife, cf. RLA X, 350–1, s.v. Parysatis; cf. **12, no.38**.

15. Effeminate creatures

(i) Quintus Curtius Rufus VI, 5.22–3.

(Alexander), arriving at the city in Hyrcania where the palace of Darius stood, was met by Nabarzanes,¹ who had been given a safe conduct, and now brought Alexander lavish gifts, including Bagoas, an exceptionally good-looking eunuch in the very flower of his youth. Darius had had a sexual relationship with him and presently Alexander did too. It was Bagoas' pleas that did most to influence Alexander to pardon Nabarzanes.²

(ii) Quintus Curtius Rufus VI, 6.8.

The royal quarters had a complement of 365 concubines,³ the number Darius had possessed, and along with them were hordes of eunuchs adept in playing the woman's part.⁴

Notes

1. With Bessus, he had plotted the murder of Darius III, see **10, nos. 34–5**.
2. This Bagoas is the central, and profoundly sympathetic, protagonist of Mary Renault's Alexander novel *The Persian Boy* (London, 1972).
3. There is some variation in the number of royal concubines at the Persian court; a popular idea among classical writers was that the number equalled the days of the year (**12, no. 27**, n. 2).
4. This is one of the rare explicit references to eunuchs being particularly associated with the women's quarters. Note that Xenophon's disquisition on the advantage of eunuchs as servants (**12, no. 16**) does not associate them with women.

16. Naturally loyal and able servants

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VII, 5.59–65.

As he (sc. Cyrus) realised that men are nowhere more subject to attack than when eating or drinking, in the bath or in bed or sleeping, he looked about as to who would be the most trustworthy to have around him in these situations. And he felt that no man was ever to be trusted who loved anyone else more than the one in need of his protection. So those who had children or agreeable wives or sweethearts were naturally compelled to love them most. But he noticed that eunuchs lacked all this¹ and thought that they would do their best for those in the best position to enrich them, help them should they be harmed and bestow honours on them. And no one, he thought, was in a position to outdo him in such benefactions. Moreover, as eunuchs are despised by the rest of mankind, they are in need of a master to be their ally. Because there is not a single man who would not consider it right to take advantage of a eunuch whenever possible, unless there is someone in a stronger position to prevent them. And in terms of faithfulness to a master, there is nothing to prevent a eunuch being the best. But what many generally think – namely, that eunuchs are weaklings – this did not seem to him to be the case. He deduced this also from other animals. Thus, when savage horses are castrated they stop biting and snorting, but become no less useful in war; and castrated bulls become less high-spirited and unmanageable but are not deprived of their strength and capacity to work. Similarly dogs, too, when castrated, stop running away from their masters, but are no worse as guard- and hunt-dogs. And, in the same way, men become gentler when deprived of this desire, while no more careless in matters entrusted to them – no worse as horsemen, no worse as lancers, no less ambitious. It was quite plain that they preserved in their souls the desire to excel both in war and in the hunt. And they gave particular proof of their loyalty when their masters were ruined; for no one ever displayed greater loyalty at the fall of his master than eunuchs.² And if it should be thought that their bodily strength is less, steel makes the weak equal to the strong in war. He recognised these things and, from gate-keepers up, he picked eunuchs for all positions of personal service to himself.

Notes

1. But note that Mithridates (eunuch and chamberlain), rumoured to have been involved in the plot to murder Xerxes, was the relative and friend of Artabanus, commander of the royal bodyguard (**7, no. 92 (ii)**).
2. See, e.g., **12, no. 17**, and note that Darius III's eunuchs were said to have stayed with him to the very end (Q.C. V, 12.9–14).

17. *The deposed master's devoted slave*

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 66.3–4.¹

Alexander now sat himself upon the royal throne, which was larger than his physical frame. When one of the pages noticed that his feet were a long way from the footstool set below the throne, he picked up Darius' table and placed it under the dangling legs. This fitted well and the king was pleased with the boy's swift action. But a eunuch standing near the throne was upset in his soul by the change of fortune and wept. When Alexander saw him, he asked, 'What wrong have you seen that you cry?' The eunuch replied, 'Now I am your slave, as previously I was the slave of Darius. As by nature I am devoted to my masters, I was grieved when I saw that which had been most esteemed by him now turned into a worthless item of furniture.'

Notes

1. The same story is found at Q.C. V, 2.13–14.

18. *Faithful beyond death*

Plutarch, Artaxerxes 12.1.

Just after Cyrus died¹ Artasyras, the king's eye,² happened by on his horse. He recognised the eunuchs who were lamenting³ and asked the most devoted of them, 'For whom are you weeping, seated by the body, Pariscas?' And he responded, 'Do you not see, Artasyras, that Cyrus is dead?'

Notes

1. Cyrus the Younger, killed in the Battle of Cunaxa in 401 (see **9, Section A**).
2. This office features repeatedly in classical writers on the Persian empire, but there is no supporting evidence for its existence; see **13, no.27**; Briant 1996a: [2002b: 343–4].
3. Note also Bagapates, who guarded Darius I's tomb until he died (**6, no.60**).

(b) Realities

19. *Eunuchs in lowly positions*

Plutarch, Artaxerxes 17.5–6.

One day, she (sc. Parysatis) saw Artaxerxes bored and at a loose end and suggested they play dice for 1000 darics.¹ She let him win the game and handed over the gold. Then she pretended to be put out and desirous of winning and demanded that they dice again for a eunuch; he consented. They agreed that they would except their five most loyal ones, but that, from among the rest, the one who lost would hand over whichever one the winner picked;² then they diced.

Notes

1. See **8, no.28**, n.5.
2. This suggests that each had a substantial number of eunuchs on his/her domestic staff (note the 'hordes' in **12, no.15(ii)**). Such eunuchs need to be distinguished from those described as occupying highly influential positions in relation to kings; see, for example, **4, no.2**; **7, no.4**; **10, no.3**; **12, no.14**.

20. Specialist slave traders¹

Herodotus VIII, 105.

He (sc. Hermotimus)² was captured by enemies and sold. He was bought by Panionius,³ a Chian, who made his living from the most unholy of acts. For he would get hold of beautiful boys, castrate them and take and sell them in Sardis and Ephesus for substantial sums; because among the barbarians eunuchs are more highly valued than whole men because they are totally trusted. Panionius castrated many others, including this Hermotimus, in the course of making his living from the practice. However, Hermotimus was not completely unfortunate, because from Sardis he arrived at the royal court along with other gifts and, in time, he was honoured most by Xerxes among all the eunuchs.

Notes

1. See **6, no.47** for castration as a punishment that could be inflicted on prisoners-of-war; **14, no.2(92)** for boys for castration given as part of the tribute of Babylonia. Note also **14, no.2(97)**: Nubia sent five boys every other year and Colchis 500 boys and 500 young girls every five years. The passage does not indicate whether the boys were (or were to be) castrated. For the arrival at court of 'boys' trained as valets from the east, see Giovinazzo 1995: 151–6; **12, no.37(ii)**.
2. Originally from Pedasa in Caria. For an interesting analysis of the full story as a reflection of Greek–Carian–Persian interaction, see Hornblower 2003.
3. See Hornblower 2003: 50–2 for discussion of this unique personal name.

21. The care of royal children¹

Plato, Alcibiades 121d.

Then the boy is brought up, not by some lowly nurse, but by the most highly respected eunuchs in the royal household.² They attend to all the needs of the infant, and are particularly careful to make him very handsome, shaping and straightening his small limbs; and, for this, they are highly honoured.

Notes

1. Many of the duties performed by eunuchs are mentioned only in passing and show that most served in the inner, domestic section of the palace, caring for the immediate physical needs of the king and his family. See, for example, **5, no.9**; Hdt. III, 130; Plut. *Alex.* 30; Q.C. IV, 10.25–34; Ael. VH 2.17; **11, no.20(iii)**; see also, generally, **12, no.16(59)**.
2. Note that although Xerxes put Artemisia in charge of taking his bastard children back to Ephesus, the guard accompanying them was the eunuch Hermotimus (**12, no.20**). This suggests that he was their regular tutor.



Figure 12.3 Beardless attendant holding alabastron and towel (or scarf). Door jambs of northern apartments, Palace of Darius, Persepolis; for locations, see Root 1979: 78; 80. (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

C. Queens, princesses, concubines and female attendants

(a) The distinction between royal wives and concubines

22. Royal wives withdraw from the dining room

Plutarch, *Moralia* 140b.

When the Persian kings have their dinner, their lawful wives sit beside them during the dinner and eat with them.¹ But when the kings want to divert themselves and indulge in drinking, they send them away and have music-girls and concubines² come. And they are quite right to do so, as, in this way, they do not involve their wedded wives in their debaucheries and drunkenness.

Notes

1. See **12, no.11**, for a description of the king dining separately in the company of his wife and mother.
2. Gr. *pallakai*, distinguished from courtesans (*hetairai*), see Dem. *Against Neaira* 122.

23. Royal wives versus concubines

Athenaeus XIII, 556b.

Among the Persians, the queen¹ puts up with a large number of concubines because the king rules his wedded wife like a master, but also for another reason, as told by Deinon in his *Persica*:² the queen is treated with respect by the concubines; in fact, they have to do obeisance³ before her.

Notes

1. Gr. *basileia*. In this case, clearly the king's wife is meant. It is not known what title(s), if any, was (were) borne by the Persian king's wife/wives. For discussion of the problem, see Brosius 1996: 18–20; 24–2.
2. See **Chapter 1**.
3. Gr. *proskunesis*; see **11, no.29** & n.2.

(b) Concubines

24. From courtesan to royal concubine

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 26.5–9.¹

Darius² asked for Aspasia, who had been most prized by Cyrus³ and was now the king's concubine. She was a Phocaean, born in Ionia of free parents and modestly brought up. On one occasion, when Cyrus was dining, she was brought in with other women. These sat by him and let him flirt with them, fondling and joking, not at all unwilling to accept his caresses. But she remained silent near the couch and did not respond when Cyrus called her. When the valets wanted to move her towards him, she said, 'Whoever of them lays

a hand on me will rue it!’ She struck those present as ungracious and rude. But Cyrus was charmed; he laughed and said to those who had brought the women, ‘Don’t you see that, of all the ones who have been brought here, this is the only one who is free and uncorrupted?’ From then on, he began to interest himself in her; he loved her best of all and called her the wise one. She became a prisoner when Cyrus fell in the battle and his camp was pillaged.⁴

Notes

1. The source of the story is thought to be Deinon (Stevenson 1997: 47–56).
2. Artaxerxes II’s son had just been proclaimed his successor, on which occasion the king was obliged to grant him whatever he wished (see **11, no.61**).
3. I.e. Cyrus the Younger.
4. For the longer romance of Aspasia, see Aelian VH 12.1; cf. also Athen. XIII, 576d.

25. Young girls as tribute

Esther 2.2–3.¹

Let beautiful young maidens be selected for the king!² And let the king appoint officers in all the provinces of the kingdom to bring all these beautiful young maidens³ into the citadel of the city of Susa. Let them be given into the care of Hegai, the king’s official⁴ in charge of women, and let cosmetics be provided for them.

Notes

1. The setting is the Persian court where the king had banished his wife for disobedience.
2. Cf. the four-yearly tribute of 500 young girls from Colchis (**12, no.20**, n.1). For comparable practices in China, see Van Gulik 1961: 184 (Tang period); Warner 1972: 15–18 (Qing period). Note also Assyrian notices of the presentation of adolescent girls to the king, see, e.g., Grayson, 1991, A.O.101.1, iii, 67 (Ashurnasirpal II’s tribute from Carchemish of 200 maidens). Particularly interesting are Ashurbanipal’s references to receiving royal daughters with dowries as gifts from client-kings in the Levant (Streck 1916, II: 16–19).
3. Heb. *b’ṭulā*, generally translated ‘young virgins’, in fact means a girl of marriagable age.
4. Heb./Ar. *saris* is a loanword from Akk. *ša reši* (*ša šarri*), lit. ‘one (who is) at the head (of the king)’. The Greek version of Esther regularly translates it as ‘eunuch’. On the problem of the precise meaning of the title in various contexts, see Briant 1996a: 288; 945 [2002b: 276–8; 919–20] (cf. **8, no.8**, n.3).

26. The life of the concubine

Esther 2.12–14.

The full period of preparation prescribed for the women was twelve months, six months with oil and myrrh and six months with perfumes and cosmetics. When the period was over, each girl’s turn came to go to King Ahasuerus,¹ and she was allowed to take with her whatever she demanded, when she went from the women’s quarters to the king’s palace. She went into the palace in the evening and returned in the morning to another part of the women’s quarters, to be under the care of Shashgaz, the king’s official in charge of

concubines. She did not again go to the king unless he expressed a wish for her; then she was summoned by name.²

Notes

1. I.e. Xerxes, although the Greek translation gives him as Artaxerxes.
2. Cf. the process of inspection of concubines for physical blemishes, astrological suitability and reasonable level of learning at the Chinese imperial court, as well as the not uncommon fate of never being called to the emperor's bed (Warner 1972: 17–18); note also the system for summoning concubines (Warner 1972: 29).

27. Palace women entertain the king at night

Athenaeus XII, 514b.¹

300 women guard him.² (. . .) They sleep all day in order to be awake at night; then they sing and play the harp continuously while the lamps burn. And the king takes his pleasure with them often(?).³

Notes

1. Athenaeus refers to Heracleides (**Chapter 1**) as his source.
2. The number 300, alternatively 360 (365), for royal concubines recurs in many writers (e.g., **12, no.15(ii)**). For its possible ritual significance, relating to the Persian calendar and the king's sacrality, see Briant 1996a: 292–3 [2002b: 280–1].
3. Gr. *pollakis* appears in some mss., while others have *pallakides* = 'concubines'.

28. Keeping one's distance from royal concubines

Plutarch, Artaxerxes 27.1.

The barbarians are terribly jealous, especially about anything unchaste, so that not merely someone approaching and touching a royal concubine, but even when somebody, during a journey, overtakes or crosses the path of the carriages¹ in which they are transported, he is punished with death.

Note

1. Gr. *harmamaxa*, the covered travelling wagon, cf. **9, no.38; 11, nos.24**, n.6; **67**; cf. **12, nos.30–1**.

(c) The king's female kin: individuals, journeys, activities, retinues, property

29. Women of the royal family

(i) Artystone

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1795. I/–/19, Darius I (March–April 503); PFS 9* (Garrison and Root I, no.288; **fig.16.3(a)**).

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.159.

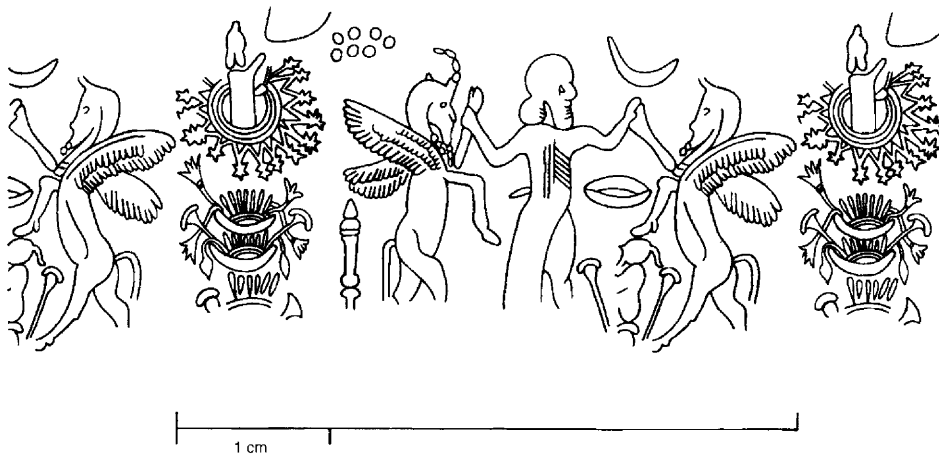


Figure 12.4 Composite drawing of impressions of Artystone's cylinder seal in the Persepolis Fortification archive (PFS 38 = Garrison and Root I, no.16) – a fine example of the 'royal hero' type. Preserved height: 2.4 cm; Modelled Style (see Garrison and Root I, 16–17). The seal is uninscribed, but impressed on seven tablets bearing orders issued personally by her; see further Root 2003: 28–30. (After Garrison and Root I.)

Tell Yamakshedda,¹ the wine-bearer, Parnaka² spoke thus:
 200 marriš³ wine issue to Princess Irtashduna.⁴ It was ordered by the king.
 Month 1, year 19.
 Anusukka wrote (the text). Maraza communicated the message.⁵

(ii) Irdabama

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 27. Reign of Darius I; PFS 51 (**fig.12.5**).
 Translation: Brosius 2000, no.166.

Tell the accountants of (place)Shullake,⁶ (woman)Irdabama⁷ spoke thus:
 I ordered for Pirmaksha(?) the 'official',⁸ 150(?) kurrima⁹ grain from my estate.¹⁰
 And a parchment document¹¹ [. . .], concerning (the place?) Raku . . . (?), he will make the report. You look at the sealed document,¹² and do the accounting.

(iii) Ishtin

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 823. Reign of Darius I; no seal.
 Translation: Brosius 2000, no.161.

2 sheep Bagiya,¹³ together with the Princess Ishtin, received.¹⁴

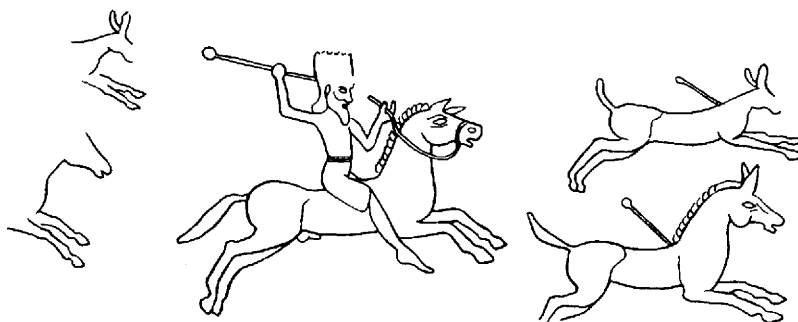


Figure 12.5 Drawing of impressions of PFS 51, Irdabama's cylinder seal, in the Persepolis Fortification archive; uninscribed; preserved height, 2.25 cm. The Late Elamite style and composition of the hunting scene is directly comparable to the seal of Cyrus I (fig.3.2). PFS 51 is impressed on eight published texts, several (such as this one, 12, no.29(ii)) direct orders issued personally by Irdabama. (After Garrison 1992.)

Notes

1. See Mayrhofer 8.1794 for the wine-bearer's name, suggesting Ir. 'Jamshid'.
2. Parnaka appears as the most important executive in the Persepolis region (see 16, no.11). One of his seals (PFS 16* = Garrison and Root I, no.22, see fig.16.3b) names his father as Arshama (Arsames), thus making him (almost certainly) Darius I's uncle. The hellenised form of his name is Pharnaces, who figures as the father of one of Xerxes' generals, Artabazus, in the Greek campaign (see 7, no.49(ii) & n.2 for references).
3. Approx. 2,000 litres.
4. I.e. Artystone, daughter of Cyrus and one of Darius I's wives; see 5, no.14. She figures in at least twenty Persepolis documents. Her El. title is *duksiš*; see Brosius 1996: 27–8, presenting the arguments for *duksiš* as the term which defines the king's female relatives, as opposed to earlier ideas that it meant 'king's daughter'.
5. The letter-order had been dictated and sealed by Parnaka to Ansukka, and then carried (and read out?) by Maraza. Only Maraza has a possible Iranian etymology (Mayrhofer, s.v.).
6. Not located.
7. Because of her evidently very high position and use of a fine seal (PFS 51: fig.12.5; see Garrison 1992), she must have been a member of the royal family, although she is not called *duksiš*. Brosius (1996: 139–41) has argued that she is often called *abbamuš/abbaki/abbaukiš*, which might be a title, but could be her second name, reflecting OP Apame (id.: 185–6). Note that an Apame, entitled (Akk.) *ša ekalli* ('queen', 'king's wife'), appears twice in Babylonian documents of Darius I's reign, which Zadok suggests was the name of Gobryas' daughter, whom Darius married before he became king (5, no.14, n.1). This then raises the interesting possibility that Irdabama was none other than Darius I's oldest wife. See also 12, no.37(ii), and Mayrhofer (s.v.) for the name.
8. El. *maršaparra*. The translation is based on the assumption that it renders OP **varša-bara* (cf. PFT, 39), also thought to lie behind Ar. WRŠBR (AD 1; 14, no.37, n.3). However, note that this is translated as 'groom' by Grelot (DAE, 302–3, n.g) and given neutrally as 'official' by Whitehead 1974: 35; 36; see also Briant 1996a: 455 [2002b: 441].
9. Dry measure equivalent to BAR.
10. El. *ulhi*, see further 16, nos.50–2.
11. El. *tuppi KUS*, lit. 'tablet of leather'. It is well known from the Persepolis Aramaic documents (not yet published) and Aramaic glosses on the Elamite texts that the administration in Fars was multilingual, and references such as this indicate that much business was recorded in Aramaic (and other languages) on perishable material (cf. 16, nos.13–14; cf. 16, no.26).

12. El. *halmi*, the official authorisation required for making withdrawals, which occurs regularly in the Persepolis archive; cf. Giovino (1995), who translates it 'letter of credit'. For an example of a surviving *halmi* (written in Aramaic), see **15, no.4**.
13. OP *Bagaya-, Gr. Bagaeus. Lewis (1984: 600) has argued that this is the man who was entrusted with the task of removing Oroites, governor of Sardis, early in Darius I's reign (**5, no.15**), and possibly the father of Mardontes, commander in Xerxes' army. The fact that he receives the sheep together with Princess Ishtin suggests that he is her husband, while her designation indicates that she is a member of the royal family, perhaps even a daughter of Darius (cf. Brosius 1996: 72). For Bagiya's receipt of ten 'valets' from Kirman (PF 1377), confirming his high court position, see Giovino 1995: 151–2. He also appears in the 'Religious Journal' (PF-NN 2259, ll.27–8), see Henkelman 2006, ch.5, ad loc.
14. No convincing etymology for the name has yet been suggested; for her title, *duksiš*, see above, n.4.

30. A classical image of cloistered royal women

Plutarch, *Themistocles* 26.5.

Most barbarians, and especially the Persians, are extremely jealous, strict and suspicious in the treatment of their women. Not only their wedded wives, but even those they have bought for money and those taken as concubines are closely guarded, so that they are never seen by outsiders. They live at home in total seclusion and, when they travel, they are transported in carriages shut in on all sides by curtains.¹

Notes

1. See **12, no.28**, n.1.

31. Artaxerxes II's wife in public

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 5.6.

What most pleased the Persians was to see his wife Stateira always being carried about in a wagon not closed in by curtains,¹ which allowed the women of the people to greet and approach her; as a result, the queen was loved by everyone.²

Notes

1. See **12, no.28**, n.1.
2. This is presented by Plutarch as contrary to the usual pattern of enclosed royal women (as in **12, no.30**), for which there is little evidence (see Brosius 1996: 83–94). The virtual absence of female representations in surviving Persian art has been used to bolster the view that women were shut away, but note that, according to Herodotus, Darius I had a golden statue made of his favourite wife (see **11, no.25**(69)).

32. Princesses receive provisions for travel

(i) The daughter of Darius I¹

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 5. XII/–/23 (March, 498), Darius I; 2 seals (no numbers).
Translation: Brosius 2000, no.168.

36 (BAR of)² of flour, the wife of Mardonius,³ daughter of the king,⁴ received (as) rations.

Daily 9 BAR was received: (one at) Kurdushum, (one at) Bessitme and 2 rations at Liduma⁵ she received.

She carried a sealed document of the king.⁶ Year 23, month 12.⁷

(ii) Darius I's sisters

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 31 (13–15). Reign of Darius I; PFS 27 & PFS N–26.⁸

21 (māriš of wine) Hihudamana received,⁹ and gave (it) to the princesses, to the girls, daughters of Hystaspes,¹⁰ he gave (it).¹¹ They went from Media to Persepolis. He¹² carried a sealed document of the king.

Notes

1. See also the discussion in Brosius 1996: 92–3.
2. Approx. 360 litres.
3. One of the, to us, best-known Persian generals given his prominent role in the north-west under Darius I and Xerxes, see **6, no.49**, n.4; **7, Section C**.
4. According to Herodotus (**6, no.49**), he was married to Darius' daughter Artozostre. Clearly she must be the unnamed princess receiving supplies on a journey here. For discussion of El. *sunki pakri*, 'king's daughter', see Brosius 1996: 29–31.
5. Places along the route between Susa and Persepolis; the rations suggest they are one day's journey from each other, while the distance from Liduma to the next stopping place may be further. All should perhaps be located in Elymais (see Koch 1990: 310, and the schematic plan on p.307). Bessitme, may be mod. Basht(?), possibly even the first road station after leaving Susa towards Persepolis according to Koch 1990: 190; cf. Vallat 1993, s.v.; Liduma is suggested to be the 14th stage along the Persepolis–Susa route (Koch 1990: 202–6; Vallat 1993, s.v.).
6. El. *halmi sunki*, the royal authorisation to draw on provisions at the posting stations; see further **12, no.29(ii)**, n.12.
7. Three further documents record issues made to Gobryas, Mardonius' father, and (possibly) his wife (Darius' sister) on the same route and the same day, indicating that Artozostre was travelling, as was normal practice, in a group (cf. Brosius 1996: 92–3). So, on this occasion, she was in the company of her parents-in-law.
8. Cf. discussion by Brosius (1996: 93). The extract is from a 'Journal Text' (Category V), which records disbursements made in one year (see PFT, 55–7).
9. Approx. 210 litres; see Mayrhofer 8.508 for the name.
10. El. *īduksišbe . . . īpuhu m.Mišdašba īpakbe*. See **12, no.29**, n.4, for *duksiš*. Precisely how the further characterisation of Darius I's sisters as 'girls' (in 498) is to be understood is unclear (perhaps simply a convention? Cf. Hallock 1978: 115).
11. On the basis of other texts, Hallock (1978: 115) suggests that the quantity of wine indicates there were three princesses, each receiving 70 litres of wine.
12. I.e. Hihudamana, who was in charge of receiving and dispensing the supplies. See **12, no.29**, n.12, for the sealed document.

33. A Persian lady archer

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F15(55); Lenfant, 139.

Asaces, the king's son, whose name was later changed to Artaxerxes,¹ married Stateira, the daughter of Hydarnes,² while his (sc. Hydarnes') son married the king's daughter. This was Amestris, and her bridegroom's name was Teritouchmes, who became satrap

in his father's stead, when the latter died. He had a sister Roxane, born of the same father, who was beautiful to behold and extremely expert in handling the bow and javelin.³

Notes

1. See **8, no.21**, n.4.
2. Hydarnes was obviously an important noble, and it is generally thought that he was a descendant of the family of Darius I's co-conspirators, who had supported Darius II in his struggle for the throne (Briant 1996a: 606–7 [2002b: 589–90]; **8, Introduction**, n.5; uncertain: Brosius 1996: 66).
3. Although this is the only (surviving) mention of a Persian woman equipped with military and hunting skills, it is quite likely that the education of royal and noble women included this more generally. Note the detachment of mounted women attending Darius III's mother and wife in 331 (see **12, no.34**), and the relief from Ergili (Hellespontine Phrygia) showing three Persian women on horseback (late fifth century, possibly part of a sarcophagus; IAM 2358; cf. Sekunda 1988: 189). According to Heracleides (ap. Athen. XII, 8 p.514bc), the royal concubines accompanied the king on hunts.

34. Royal women on campaign

Quintus Curtius Rufus III, 3.22–5.¹

Next, at a distance of one stadium,² came Sisigambis, Darius' mother, drawn in a carriage, and in another came his wife. A troop of women attended the queens on horseback.³ Then came the fifteen so-called *armamaxae*,⁴ in which rode the king's children, their governesses⁵ and a herd of eunuchs (who are not at all despised by these people). Next came the carriages of the 360 royal concubines,⁶ also dressed in royal finery, and behind them six hundred mules and three hundred camels carried the king's money, with a guard of archers in attendance. After this column rode the wives of the king's relatives and friends,⁷ and hordes of camp-followers and servants. At the end, closing up the rear, were the light-armed troops with their commanders.

Notes

1. The passage comes from the description of Darius III's army setting out from Babylon to Gaugamela in 331. For other examples of royal women in the field, see Brosius 1996: 87–91.
2. About 2 m.
3. Cf. Roxane's military skills, **12, no.33**.
4. These must be the covered wagons, in which Persian women are normally presented as travelling (see **12, no.28**, n.1).
5. Not 'nurses'; see Q.C.'s statement 'quae educabant'.
6. See **12, no.27**, n.2.
7. For the king's 'relatives', see **12, no.5(ii)**, n.4.

35. The queen-mother's retinue

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 38.1.

He (sc. Alexander) placed on her (sc. Sisigambis) the royal finery and restored her previous dignity with the appropriate honours.¹ He gave her the entire retinue which Darius had bestowed, and added more – no less in number than the preceding.²

Notes

1. The occasion is Alexander's meeting with Darius III's mother after his victory at Issus (333), where he addressed her as mother, thus laying claim to his right to succeed to the rule of Persia, see Brosius 1996: 21–2.
2. Note that the Assyrian king seems to have selected (and checked) at least some of his mother's servants (SAA 4, no.151). For the enormous staff and properties of the Assyrian queen-mother, see SAA 6, nos.253–6; SAA 7, nos.5–6; Melville 1999: 105–12.

36. A royal wet-nurse

Babylonian tablet, Bit Sahiran: Evetts 1892, App. Nr.2. –/–/acc., Xerxes (486/5).

Translations: HAU, no.1; Brosius 2000, no.162.

6 kur barley¹ for Artim,² wet-nurse of Ratahshah,³ the daughter of the king, in the care of (men)Surundu and Sha-pi-kalbi, the chief [. . .] officials of Artim⁴ [. . .], at the disposal of [. . .]

Witnesses, scribe, place,⁵ date.

Notes

1. Approx. 1,080 litres. Dandamaev (1992: 44) suggests that the barley was rent for a field owned by Artim, administered on her behalf by her two stewards. For landed properties of royal women in Babylonia, and the holdings by female members of their retinues on them, see Stolper 1985: 62–4.
2. See Dandamaev 1992: 44–5 (no.51) for references to discussions of the etymology of the name (Iranian or Anatolian); add Mayrhofer 8.657.
3. See Dandamaev 1992: 116–17 (no.252) for references to suggested etymology.
4. See above, n.1. Surundu is an Iranian name (Dandamaev 1992: 120 (no.265)), while the other is Babylonian, as are the names of all the preserved witnesses and the scribe.
5. Bit Sahiran is not located (Zadok 1985, s.v.).

37. Personnel attached to royal women

(i) Irdabama's workforce at Shiraz

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1028. VI/–/22, Darius I (August–September 500); PFS 36* (Garrison and Root I, no.5).¹

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.175.

1,110 (BAR of) grain,² allocations by Kuntukka, workers³ of Irdabama received as rations, at Shiraz, Rashda being responsible. Month 6, Year 22.

62 men: 3; 8 boys: 2.5; 34 boys: 2; 26 boys: 1.5; 19 boys: 1; 22 boys: 0.5. 190 women: 3; 32 women: 2; 11 girls: 2.5; 20 girls: 2; 24 girls: 1.5; 17 girls: 1; 25 girls: 0.5. Total: 480 workers.⁴

(ii) Select servants⁵

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 14. Reign of Darius I; PFS N–110 & one more (no number).

Translation: Giovinazzo 1995: 152–3.

7 BAR 5 QA⁶ flour, allocations by Kapruba, 71(?) valets⁷ of (the women) Abbaukish and Irtashduna.⁸ Ben[. . .], the head of the treasury,⁹ received for them as they were conducted from Kirman (and) then travelled towards Susa. At Mishtikra.¹⁰

Notes

1. The seal is a fine 'royal hero' cylinder, inscribed in Elamite with the name Zishshabarna (OP *Cicafarnah), who does not figure as an official in the archive. Koch (1990: 62–3) argues that it could be the seal of Rashda, Irdabama's chief officer in Shiraz. For occurrences of the seal, see Brosius 1996, Tables 2–6.
2. Approx. 11,100 litres.
3. El. kurtāš, see further **16, Introduction**. For another mention of Irdabama's workforce, see Vallat 1994. See Mayrhofer for the names; the etymology of neither is clear, although Rashda is very likely to be Iranian.
4. This is an error for 490.
5. See Giovinazzo 1995: 151–7 for persuasive arguments that the El. puhu, 'boys', in these texts were carefully selected and trained for service at court. She thus suggests the translation of 'valet'.
6. Approx. 75 litres.
7. El. puhu, see above n.5. In view of the 75 litres of flour, and the frequent, regular travel ration of 1 litre per person, perhaps the number should be 75. (The name is not otherwise attested.)
8. For Abbaukish, see **12, no.29(ii)**, n.7; for Irtashduna (Artystone), see **12, no.29(i)**, n.4. Note that from other published Persepolis documents it appears that Abbaukish had at least forty 'boys', while Irtashduna had only some twenty at her disposal (Giovinazzo 1995: 155, n.89).
9. This is Giovinazzo's suggested translation. For her arguments that the treasuries were the places where young boys (from various provinces, possibly as far afield as India) were received and educated to suit court needs, see Giovinazzo 1995: 155; 157.
10. Located south-west of Persepolis; see Koch 1990: 309 and schematic plan on p.295 (*Vahyastigra).

38. Parysatis: a cruel queen or the defender of dynastic integrity?¹

(i) Parysatis, Stateira and Artaxerxes II's marriage to his daughter

Plutarch, Artaxerxes 6.8; 19.1–8, 10; 23.2–6.

Parysatis hated Stateira because of her accusations,² and as she was by nature vindictive and barbaric in her rages and grudges, she decided to destroy her.

(19) Now, Parysatis had harboured hatred and jealousy of Stateira from the start and she noticed that her own power was just the result of the king's respect and esteem, while Stateira's was solidly based on love and trust. In her view, this was the most important aspect and so she ran the risk of putting a plot into action. She had a devoted and highly valued maid called Gigis. Deinon says that she took part in the poisoning, but Ctesias³ that she was only unwillingly involved. He calls the one who supplied the poison Belitaras, while Deinon calls him Melantas. After their earlier suspicions and quarrels, Stateira and Parysatis had begun again to visit and dine with each other. However, as they were fearful and on their guard against each other they ate the same food prepared by the same person. Now there happens to be a small bird in Persia, which contains nothing superfluous, but all its innards are full of fat, so that they think it lives off wind and dew. It is called *rhynthakes*. Ctesias says that Parysatis cut one with a small knife, one side of which had been smeared with poison, the other half having been cleaned and wiped of any poison. She raised to her mouth and ate the harmless and clean part, but gave the poisoned bit to Stateira. But according to Deinon, it

was not Parysatis but Melantas who did the cutting with the knife and served Stateira with the poisoned meat. So the woman died in terrible pain and convulsions, herself in no doubt as to where the evil came from and making the king suspect his mother, knowing her to be savage and implacable. He quickly instituted an enquiry, arresting and torturing his mother's servants and waiters-at-table. For a long time Parysatis kept Gigis with her at home and would not give her up at the king's request. But eventually, after Gigis had begged to be allowed to return to her house at night, the king was notified, set a trap, had her seized and condemned her to death.⁴ As for Parysatis, Artaxerxes did not say he would do her any harm, but, with her agreement, sent her off to Babylon,⁵ telling her that as long as she lived he would not himself see Babylon. So this is what occurred in the palace.

(23) The king did not remain angry with her for long. He became reconciled to his mother and recalled her, seeing that she had a mind and intelligence worthy of royalty. Further there was no longer any reason which might, by arousing suspicion and grief, prevent them being together. From then on she put herself to pleasing the king in everything and not to disapprove of anything he might do. She had great power with him and achieved everything. She noticed that he had fallen terribly in love with one of his daughters, Atossa, but he hid it, above all from his mother and, according to some, repressed his passion although he had already entered secretly into an intimate relationship with the young girl. Once Parysatis suspected it, she displayed greater affection than previously for the girl and praised her beauty to Artaxerxes and her manner as perfectly fitting for royalty. Ultimately, then, she persuaded him to marry the young woman and declare her his legitimate wife,⁶ setting at nought Greek opinions and customs, because to the Persians he had been divinely designated as the law and judge of good and bad.⁷

(ii) Parysatis and the annihilation of the Hydarnids

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F15(55–6); Lenfant, 139–40.

Teritouchmes fell in love with her (sc. his sister Roxane), and, after becoming her lover, hated Amestris.⁸ Finally, he planned to put her in a sack and have her killed by three hundred men, with whom he wanted to raise a revolt. But a man called Oudiastes, who was very influential with Teritouchmes, received letters from the king⁹ promising he would gain much if he saved his daughter. So he attacked and killed Teritouchmes, despite his brave resistance in the course of the revolt and his killing of many. They say that he killed as many as thirty-seven.

(56) But Oudiastes' son, Mitradates, who was Teritouchmes' shield-bearer and not there at the time, heard of this and cursed his father virulently. He seized the city of Zaris¹⁰ and held it for Teritouchmes' son. Parysatis ordered that Teritouchmes' mother, his brothers, Mitrostes and Helikos, and his sisters, of which there were two apart from Stateira, be buried alive; and Roxane was to be flayed alive. And that is what happened.¹¹ And the king told his wife Parysatis to treat Stateira, the wife of his son Arsaces,¹² in the same way. But Arsaces propitiated his mother and father with many tears and lamentations. Once Parysatis had given in, Ochus Darius went along with her, but he told Parysatis that she would much regret it.

Notes

1. For analysis of these stories, see Briant 1996a: 606–7 [2002b: 589–90].

2. Parysatis was Artaxerxes II's mother, Stateira his wife and a member of the great noble family of Hydarnes. Her brother was married to Artaxerxes' sister (**12, no.33**). It is likely that this double alliance with the nobility, including marriage with the future king, was Darius II's reward for their support during his struggle for the throne (**8, nos.20–1; Introduction**). Stateira is said to have blamed Parysatis for Cyrus' revolt against his brother.
3. See **Chapter 1**.
4. Plutarch here describes the Persian punishment for poisoners, see **12, no.9**.
5. The estate of Parysatis in Babylon figures in the Murashu documents, see Stolper 1985: 63–4; **16, no.66 (i), (ii)**.
6. The conclusion we might draw from the story is that Parysatis had worked to eliminate the danger of undue Hydarnid influence within the royal family, and was now promoting the safer principle of Achaemenid endogamy.
7. This is reminiscent of Herodotus' story about Cambyses' marriage to his two full sisters, permitted by the Persian judges because 'the king can do everything he wants' (**4, no.20** & n.1). It is quite possible that Plutarch has taken the sentiment here from this source.
8. See **12, no.33** for these two members of the Hydarnid family, and the marriage of Darius II's daughter, Amestris, to Teritouchmes.
9. This event is placed in the reign of Darius II.
10. Possibly located in Drangiana (Seistan).
11. But note that a brother of Stateira was in Tissaphernes' entourage in 400, see Xen. *Anab.* II, 3.17.
12. The later Artaxerxes II, see **8, no.21** & n.4.

D. The royal banquet and entertaining

39. 'The king's dinner'

Polyaenus IV, 3.32.¹

When Alexander was in the royal residence of the Persians he had served to him the 'lunch' and dinner of the Great King, in accordance with what was inscribed on a bronze pillar, which also bore the other regulations instituted by Cyrus. Here is what was on it:²

(a. = artaba(i); m. = maries; t. = talent; mn. = mnai; kap. = kapeties)³

A.	1. Wheat-meal, pure	400 a.
	2. Wheat-meal, second class	300 a.
	3. Wheat-meal, third class	<u>300 a.</u>
	Wheat-meal, total for dinner	1,000 a.
	4. Barley-meal, very pure	200 a.
	5. Barley-meal, second class	400 a.
	[6. Barley-meal, third class	<u>400 a.]⁴</u>
	Barley-meal, total	1,000 a.
	[7? Semidalis	?] ⁵
	8. Groats made from <i>olyra</i> ⁶	200 a.
	9. Fine flour made from <i>alphita</i> ⁷ for possets	10 a.
	10. Chopped cardamum (cress), finely sifted ⁸	(lost)
	11. Ptisane (treated barley?)	10 a.
	12. Mustard-seed	1/3 a.

THE ROYAL BANQUET AND ENTERTAINING

B.	1. Small cattle, male	400
	2. Cattle	100
	3. Horses	30
	4. Fatted geese	400
	5. Turtle-doves	300
	6. Various small birds	600
	7. Lambs	300
	8. Baby geese	100
	9. Gazelles ⁹	30
C.	1. Today's milk	10 m.
	2. Sweetened sour milk ¹⁰	10 m.
	3. Garlic	1 t.
	4. Onions, pungent	1/2 t.
	5. Phyllon (silphium-fruit?)	1 a.
	6. Silphium-juice ¹¹	2 mn.
	7. Cummin	1 a.
	8. Silphium	1 t.
	9. Oil of sweet apples	1/4 a.
	10. Posset from sour pomegranates	1 a.
	11. Oil of cummin	1/4 a.
	12. Black raisins	3 t.
	13. Flower of anise	3 mn.
	14. Black cummin	1/3 a.
	15. Seed of <i>diarion</i> ¹²	2 kap.
	16. Sesame, pure	10 a.
	17. Must, from wine	5 m.
	18. Cooked round radishes in brine	5 m.
	19. Capers, pickled with salt, from which delicious stuffing called abyrtakai is made	5 m.
	20. Salt ¹³	10 a.
	21. Ethiopic cummin	6 kap.
	22. Dry anise	30 mn.
	23. Celery-seed	4 kap.
	24. Sesame oil ¹⁴	10 m.
	25. Oil 'from milk'	5 m.
	26. Terebinth oil ¹⁵	5 m.
	27. Acanthus oil ¹⁶	5 m.
	28. Oil from sweet almonds	3 m.
	29. Dried sweet almonds	3 a.
	30. Wine	500 m.
When he is in Babylon or Susa, he has half his wine from palms, half from vines.		
	31. Firewood	200 wagons
	32. Kindling	100 wagons

33. 'Raining honey'	100 square cakes weighing 10 mn. each ¹⁷
When he is in Media, he distributes this:	
34. Safflower seed	3 a.
35. Saffron	2 mn.
All this for drink and 'lunch'.	
In addition, he distributes:	
D. 1. Wheat-meal, pure	500 a.
2. Barley-meal, pure	1,000 a.
3. Barley-meal, second class	1,000 a.
4. <i>Semidalis</i>	500 a.
5. Groats made from <i>olyra</i>	500 a.
6. Barley for the animals	20,000 a.
7. Chaff	10,000 wagons
8. Straw	5,000 wagons
9. Sesame oil	200 m.
10. Vinegar ¹⁸	100 m.
11. Chopped cardamum, fine	30 a.

All this he distributes to the soldiers; this is what the king consumes in a day, including his lunch, his dinner and what he distributes.¹⁹

Notes

1. For the first full analysis of the text, see Lewis (1987), who made a good case for one of the fourth-century Greek historians of Persia as the source (Ctesias, Heracleides or Deinon), with a preference for Ctesias. His lay-out and translations are largely followed here (see also the discussion by Stevenson 1997: 144–8). Stevenson (1997: 38–40), while admitting the uncertainties, argues strongly in favour of Deinon, with Polyaeus obtaining the information via the Alexander historian, Cleitarchus, who was Deinon's son. In a recent reanalysis, Amigues (2003) has made an attractive case for Ctesias as the source, cf. also Briant 1996a: 300 [2002b: 288], while Lenfant has not included this passage in her new edition of Ctesias fragments. Note that Ctesias, in his *On the Tributes of Asia*, is said to have listed 'everything which was prepared for the king at his dinner' (11, no.20(v)). Several features, such as the Persian measures used, the credible quantities and the homely ingredients, indicate that the list derives ultimately from an Achaemenid administrative document, albeit not one inscribed on a bronze pillar (see the preamble). Note, for comparison, Ashurnasirpal II's 'banquet stela' listing the items and quantities of food-stuffs dispensed for the ten-day feast held to inaugurate the rebuilding of Kalhu (Grayson 1991, A.O.101, no.30), and the Neo-Assyrian palace banquet accounts (Mattila 1990; SAA 7, nos.137–57).
2. The Greek terms for the meals are *ariston* and *deipnon*. The former was originally breakfast, but later became the mid-day meal. The latter was the main meal of the day, eaten late in the day. Note Lewis' remark (1987: 81) that Athenaeus, citing fourth-century Greek historians, demonstrated that Alexander's dinner cost the same as that of the Persian king.

3. Note that the artaba (1 = 3 BAR, hence = 30 litres) is used in the Persepolis Fortification archive, as well as the more common BAR; *marriš* (= 10 litres) is, of course, the regular liquid measure used there. Talents and minas were in widespread use (1 t. = approx. 30 kg; 1 mina = approx. 500 g). The *kapetis* is a Persian dry measure of capacity and, according to Polyaeus, 1/48 of one artaba (cf. Xen. *Anab.* I, 5.6, *kapithe*, with double the capacity).
4. See Lewis 1987: 84 for the obvious omission of this in the mss., already noted by early editors.
5. Very fine wheat-flour; tentatively restored by Lewis, on the basis that, further on (D.4), it is one of the items distributed by the king to his soldiers.
6. A kind of grain, often mentioned along with barley. Stevenson (1997: 144, n.4) suggests the possibility of 'rice-wheat'.
7. Possibly pearl barley.
8. Perhaps the El. *zali* of the Persepolis Fortification texts (i.e. Akk. *sahlū*), see Lewis 1987: 86; further on cardamum-cress eaten with barley, Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995b: 289–91.
9. Virtually all these animals appear issued as food in the Persepolis archive (cf. Lewis 1987: 85), except horses and gazelles (but see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993a).
10. For dairy products as part of royal meals (not attested at Persepolis), see Briant 1996a: 302 [2002b: 290]; **12, no.43**.
11. The precise botanical identification of silphium has not yet been achieved. The best variety was grown in Cyrene, although it was known elsewhere in the Near East. The milky juice was widely used medicinally, while stalk and leaves were eaten, and its scent was considered pleasing. Given that Polyaeus' list may come from the doctor Ctesias (see above n.1), and the close association between eating and health concerns, the appearance of silphium (and its products) as part of the diet is significant.
12. Perhaps arum.
13. For salt in the Persepolis texts, see Lewis 1987: 86.
14. See Lewis 1987: 86, for occurrences of sesame oil in the Persepolis texts; see also **16, no.6**.
15. For terebinth in the Persian diet, see **11, no.63**, n.4.
16. Note **11, no.20(v)**, where Ctesias notes acanthus oil from Carmania used by the Persian king.
17. (Set) honey, produced by bee-keepers, appears in the Persepolis texts (see **12, no.40(viii)**), but only as a high-status food, see Henkelman 2006, ch.5, n.70, with references.
18. In view of arguments in favour of Ctesias as the origin of the source, note **11, no.20(v)** where Athenaeus says that Ctesias 'in reviewing all the ingredients of the king's dinner, mentions neither pepper and vinegar'. See also **12, no.40**, n.14.
19. For distribution of royal food as rations to servants, see also Daniel 1.5, and cf. **12, no.42; 13, no.26**.

40. Food supplies for the king in Fars¹

(i) Cattle

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 694. —/—/22, Darius I (500/409); PFS 93*.

8 (head of) cattle, allocations by Irdumatra, were dispensed on behalf of the king. At 4 villages. In Year 22.

(ii) Small cattle

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 696. —/—/19, Darius I (503/2); no seal.

1,124 small cattle, allocations by Kampiya, were dispensed on behalf of the king. Year 19. Harbezta took a sealed document² for what was dispensed.

(iii) Poultry

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 698. –/–/21, Darius I (501/0); PFS 7* (Garrison and Root I, no.4; **fig.11.37**).

423 birds, (included) in them: 6 ippur, 15 basbas, 65 šudaba, 346 kuktukka birds,³ allocations by Irshena,⁴ were dispensed on behalf of the king. (At) Appishtapdan. In Year 21.⁵

(iv) Varieties of flour

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 699. –/–/25, Darius I (497/6); PFS 7* (Garrison and Root I, no.4; **fig.11.37**) & PFS 66*.

546 BAR of mariyam, manuya and battimanuya flour,⁶ allocations by Ishtimanka, was dispensed on behalf of the king. (At) Uzikurrash. In Year 25. Pirrakamka (was) the storekeeper.⁷

(v) Grain for royal horses

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 708. –/–/22, Darius I (500/499); PFS 7* (Garrison and Root I, no.4; **fig.11.37**).

360 BAR grain,⁸ allocations by Pirtish,⁹ on behalf of the king, the horses consumed.¹⁰ (At) Bessitme. In Year 22. Haturka was the grain handler.¹¹

(vi) Oil

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 726. Reign of Darius I; PFS 7* (Garrison and Root I, no.4; **fig.11.37**).

2.5 marriš oil rami,¹² allocations by Ushtana,¹³ was dispensed on behalf of the king.

(vii) Wine

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 728. Reign of Darius I; no seal.

1,235 marriš wine,¹⁴ allocations by Karakka, was expended on behalf of the king. (In accordance with) a sealed document of Rakurdush.¹⁵

(viii) Honey

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 719. –/–/21, Darius I (501/0); PFS 7* (Garrison and Root I, no.4; **fig.11.37**).

1 QA honey,¹⁶ allocations by Ushtana, was dispensed on behalf of the king. At Hushatma(. . .)(?). In year 21.

Notes

1. This is a selection of items appearing in the category of Persepolis texts, specifying supplies for the king ('J Texts'), several of which mirror ingredients listed in the 'king's dinner' (**12, no.39**). A striking absence in the Persepolis material is dairy produce (cf. Briant 1996a: 302 [2002b: 290]), nor has salt yet been identified (Lewis 1987:86).
2. El. *halmi*, see **12, no.29**, n.12. For the names here and in (**i**), see Mayrhofer; only Harbezza is definitely Iranian, related to the name rendered in Greek as Arbaces.
3. Hallock suggests that *ippur* is probably a goose and *basbas* a duck (cf. Akk. *paspasu*), while *šudaba* could be a type of small bird (cf. Plut. Artox. **12, no.38(i)**), for consumption of a small bird, the *rhyntakes*) and *kuktukka* an unspecific species; see PFT, 48 and the entries in the Glossary.
4. Irshena was an important official in the Persepolis bureaucracy. For his title, see Briant 1996a: 439–41 [2002b: 426–8]; Mayrhofer 8.639, for the possible Old Persian form of the name.
5. The place lies south-west of Persepolis. Note that the seal impressed on this and many other texts in this group (PFS 7*) is thought to be that of the office in charge of supplying the king.
6. 5,460 litres of various kinds of flour (but note that *maryam* is also sometimes used to qualify wine). Many different types appear in the Persepolis texts, but are hard to identify (cf. Lewis 1987: 84–5). Note that it has been calculated that 17,830 l of flour could feed 11,886 people, see Briant 1996a: 302 [2002b: 290].
7. Uzikurrash probably lies slightly south-west of Persepolis (see Koch 1990: 309 and plan, p.295 (*Hujikara). For the probable Iranian PNs, see Mayrhofer, s.v.
8. 43,600 litres.
9. Pirtish appears as a supplier to work-groups elsewhere in the archive; see Mayrhofer 8.1351 for the possible Old Persian form of the name.
10. Note that fodder for animals is an item included in the 'king's dinner' (**12, no.39**, D.6).
11. For Bessitme, see **12, no.32**, n.5. Haturka appears elsewhere in the archive; see Mayrhofer 8.498 for the possible Old Persian form of the name.
12. 25 l. The meaning of *rami* is unknown, and it is possible that this should be translated, as Hallock does tentatively, 'n l oil (as) rami', cf. PFT, 25. This is the only supply of oil made to the king in the published archive; wherever oil is qualified elsewhere in the Persepolis texts it is sesame (Lewis 1987: 86, cf. **12, no.39**, C.24; D.9). Possibly here delivery of one of the many other types of oil, as listed in **12, no.39** (C.9, 11, 25–8), is recorded.
13. OP Ustana, Gr. Hystanes appears frequently in the archive.
14. 12,350 litres. Although beer figures frequently in the archive, it rarely appears in royal supplies, and is missing from the 'king's dinner' (**12, no.39**). For the possibility that the wine in the archive called '*sawur*' is vinegar, see Lewis 1987: 86. Note also that eleven texts in the archive specify small amounts of wine for horses, see PFT, 7; 49–50.
15. A Karakka appears elsewhere in the archive as well as in the Treasury texts; see Mayrhofer 8.762 on the name. The name of the issuer of the *halmi* is peculiar (Mayrhofer, s.v.).
16. El. *madukka*, see **12, no.39**, n.17.

4.1. The Persian meal

Herodotus I, 133.2.

They (sc. the Persians) have few main dishes,¹ but many extras and these not all at once.² And so the Persians say that the Greeks stop eating when hungry, because after the main meal nothing worth mentioning is served; if there were, then they would never stop. The Persians are heartily devoted to wine, and it is not permitted to vomit or urinate in somebody's presence.

Notes

1. Gr. *sitōi*. Herodotus is describing the Persian meal from the Greek perspective, where *sitos* (bread, porridge or lentils) constituted the essential bulk element, with *opsa* (cheese, fish, meat or vegetables) as optional accompaniments. This was the single course of the Greek dinner, in contrast to the Persian pattern where course followed course (see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1997: 340).
2. For Gr. *epiphoremata*, 'extras', 'nibbles', see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1997: 340–1. This is the only way in which Herodotus seems able to explain the succession of courses typical of the Persian dinner.

42. Dining with the king

Heracleides of Cumae, *Persica* = FGh 689 F2.

Heracleides of Cumae, author of *The Persian History*,¹ writes in the second book, entitled *Equipment*:

All who attend upon the Persian kings when they dine first bathe themselves and then serve in white clothes, and spend nearly half the day in preparations for the dinner. Of those who are invited to eat with the king, some dine outdoors, in full sight of anyone who wants to look on; others dine indoors with the king.² Yet even these do not eat in his presence, for there are two rooms opposite each other, in one of which the king has his meal, in the other the dinner guests.³ The king can see them through a curtain covering the door, but they cannot see him. But sometimes, on the occasion of a public holiday, all dine in one room with the king, in the great hall.⁴ And, whenever the king orders a drinking party (which he does often), he has about a dozen companions at the symposium. When they have finished dinner – that is, the king by himself, the guests in the other room – these drinking companions⁵ are summoned by one of the eunuchs.⁶ They enter and drink with him, though even they do not have the same wine; moreover, they sit on the floor, while he reclines on a couch set on gold feet;⁷ and they depart after drinking to excess.⁸ Generally the king eats his first meal of the day and dinner alone, but sometimes his wife and some of his sons dine with him.⁹ And throughout the dinner his concubines¹⁰ sing and play the lyre; one of them is the soloist, the others sing in chorus.

And so, Heracleides goes on, the king's dinner, as it is called, will appear luxurious to one who just hears about it, but when one examines it closely it will be found to have been organised with economy and even parsimony. And this is also true of the dinners among other high-ranking Persians. For a thousand animals are butchered each day for the king. These are horses, camels, oxen, donkeys, deer, and most of the smaller animals. Many birds, too, are eaten, including Arabian ostriches (the creatures are large), geese and cocks.¹¹ And of these, only moderate portions are served to each of the king's guests, and each may take home whatever he leaves untouched at the meal. But the greater part of these meats and other foods are taken out into the courtyard for the bodyguard and light-armed troops maintained by the king. There they divide all the partly eaten remnants of meat and bread and share them out in equal portions.¹² Just as mercenary soldiers in Greece receive their wages in money, so these men receive food from the king as compensation for their service. Similarly, among the other Persians of high rank, all the food is served at the same time; but when their dinner-companions have finished eating, whatever is left over from the table, which is mainly meat and bread, is given by the officer in

charge of the table to each of the slaves. They take it and so obtain their daily food. And so the king's most highly honoured guests go to the court only for the first meal, because they ask to be excused so that they may not be required to go twice, but can entertain their own guests.¹³

Notes

1. See **Chapter 1**. The passage is quoted by Athenaeus IV, 145b–146a. See discussion by Stevenson (1997: 144–52), who compares the ingredients with Persepolis texts and the Polyaeus passage (**12, no.39**).
2. The division must reflect the varying status of the royal guests.
3. Gr. *sundeipnoi*, see further **13, nos.15; 26(i); 38; 13, no.30** (Gr. *homotrapezos*).
4. The kind of occasions would have been the public ceremonies, such as the proclamation of the crown-prince and the king's birthday (**11, nos.61; 64**).
5. Gr. *sumpotoi*.
6. See **12, Section B**.
7. The description evokes the famous Nineveh relief (British Museum) of Ashurbanipal reclining on an elaborately inlaid couch set on lion's paws in his garden (see Curtis and Reade 1995: 122). Note, too, the tomb painting from Elmali, Lycia (Karaburun Tumulus II, date: c.490), of a local dynast reclining on a couch, a drinking bowl (*phiale*) balanced on the tips of his fingers (Mellink 1980; CAH IV (plates), fig.81). Cf. further the gift of a silver-footed couch said to have been presented by the king to Entimus of Gortyn (Crete), Athen. II, 48–9.
8. Cf. **12, no.41** for the proverbial Persian fondness for wine.
9. See also **12, no.11**.
10. Cf. **12, no.27**.
11. The Persepolis texts (**12, no.40**) only reveal supplies of large and small cattle, and various types of poultry. But note that some of the 'banquet servants' (**fig.12.6**) are shown holding deer.
12. Note **12, no.39**, which ends with the statement that the listed quantities of food were distributed daily by the king.
13. For the replication of the pattern of royal eating and distribution by the Persian aristocracy, see Briant 1996a: 347–8 [2002b: 335–6].

43. The royal banqueting staff

Athenaeus XIII, 607f–608a.

Even princes were often excited by flute-girls and harp-girls, as is made clear by Parmenion in the *Letter to Alexander*¹ sent after the capture of Damascus,² when he came into possession of Darius' household equipment. He had an inventory made of the captured items, and writes thus: 'I found concubines of the king who played and sang,³ a total of 329; men who wove wreaths, 46; cooks,⁴ 277; pot-tenders(?), 29;⁵ milk-cooks, 13;⁶ preparers of drinks, 17;⁷ wine-clarifiers, 70;⁸ perfume-makers, 14.'⁹

Notes

1. Letters, supposedly by and to famous people of the past, were part of the classical educational curriculum (as of the Babylonian, RLA VI, 58; Gesche 2001: 148) and are generally spurious (Merkelbach 1954). There is, however, some reason to believe that Parmenion's letter derives from an administrative document, foremost being the striking absence of round numbers (contrast the 'Letter of Cleomenes', Athen. IX, 393c) and the use of several unknown words, which could well be Greek translations of Persian terms (see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1997: 334–8). For Parmenion, see **10, no.6**, n.2.



Figure 12.6 Relief, southern stairway of Palace of Darius, Persepolis; for location, see Root 1979: 78, fig.7. Servants in Persian dress bring live animals, sacks of flour (or wine skins?), covered dishes and bowls. It is generally held that they are bringing items for a royal banquet, although some think that the items could relate to a ritual (Razmjou 2004b: 111–14) or the presentation of realia as tribute (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1998). (Photograph courtesy of M.S. Drower.)

2. See 10, no.17.
3. Cf. 12, nos.27; 42.
4. Gr. *opsopoi*; see 12, no.41, n.1 for *opsa* and the difference between Greek and Persian eating patterns.
5. Gr. *chutrepsoi* is not otherwise attested. Gr. *chutros* is a pot for boiling, so this could define the staff attending to the cauldrons. However, the relatively limited number suggests a more specialised function, perhaps ‘stewmakers’, as Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1997: 337) suggests tentatively. For the highly developed and sophisticated Mesopotamian court cuisine, see Bottéro 1992 [2001], ch.3.
6. Gr. *galaktourgōi* (lit. ‘milk-workers’), again a word not found elsewhere. For dairy products in the Persian diet, see 12, no.39 (C.1–2) & n.10.
7. Gr. *potematopoi*, lit. ‘drink makers’, like the previous two, a hapax. Note the references to various possets in 12, no.39 (A.9, C.10).
8. Gr. *oinoethetai*, the last otherwise unattested word. Wine in antiquity would undoubtedly have benefited from straining to remove debris (Davidson 1997: 40). Wine-clarifier (or ‘purifier’) implies a yet further procedure of refinement; see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1997: 336, for the suggestion that PF 52 might indicate wine-filtering at Persepolis.
9. Gr. *muropoi*.

44. Royal tableware

(i) Athenaeus XI, 781f–782a.¹

Parmenion, summing up in his *Letter* the Persian booty, says: Gold cups, weight 73 Babylonian talents, 53 minae;² cups inlaid with precious stones, weight 56 Babylonian talents, 34 minae.³

(ii) Athenaeus XI, 784a-b.⁴

Batiakion, labronios, tragelaphos and pristis are names of cups. The *batiake* is a Persian *phiale*.⁵ Among the *Letters* of King Alexander addressed to the satraps of Asia, there is a letter in which is written:⁶

Silver *batiakai*, gilded, 3; silver *kondya*, 176; of these 35 are gilded; *tisigites*,⁷ silver, 1; spoons, silver, gilded, 32; flagon-case, silver, 1;⁸ wine container, silver, decorated in foreign fashion,⁹ 1. Other small cups of all kinds, 29; drinking horns,¹⁰ gilded *batiakai* of Lycian craftsmanship, censers¹¹ and bowls.¹²

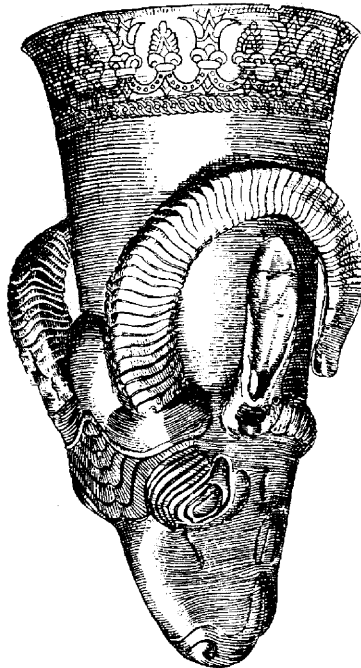


Figure 12.7 Achaemenid gilt silver ram-headed rhyton, probably from Ust Kamenogorsk, Siberia, now in The Hermitage, St Petersburg. This straight type seems to have been gradually displaced by 'bent' and 'horn' shapes. For the problems of provenance (and hence forgeries) of many items of Achaemenid precious metal items, see Muscarella 1980. (After A.U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art I* (Oxford, 1938).)

Notes

1. Extract from the *Letter of Parmenion* (see **12, no.43**, n.1). Cf. with these types of inventories, the Neo-Assyrian imperial court records (SAA 7).
2. Approx. 2,216.5 kg.
3. Approx. 1697 kg.
4. Athenaeus has here selected from the *Letter of Cleomenes* the names (and numbers) of various drinking vessels. For the possible authenticity of this document, see Briant 1996a: 301 [2002b: 289].
5. This may well be a rendering of OP *batugara*, see **8, no.4**, n.5, which is clearly the *phiale* (**fig.8.1**).
6. See Athen. XI, 393c, indicating that this is a quote from an inventory sent by a provincial governor.
7. *Kondyon* is not known. It is possible that the wine-container (Gr. *oinophoron*), which appears later, is a description of the *tisigites*, which has become displaced (Gulick 1929, 5: 53, n.g).
8. Gr. *lagunotheke*.
9. Gr. *barbarikon*, could mean here specifically 'Persian'.
10. Gr. *rhyta*; the vessel form is well-attested in Iran (although its precise origin is debated), usually ending in an animal head, see Moorey 1985: 34; Miller 1997: 141–2; **fig.12.7**.
11. Gr. *thumiateria*. See the incense altars set in front of the king on the 'audience relief' at Persepolis, **fig.11.29**.
12. Gr. *trublia*.

45. Royal entertainment

(i) Darius II is entertained by a Greek pankratist

Pausanias VI, 5.7.

Artaxerxes' bastard son, Darius, who led the Persian people and who took the throne from his legitimate son, Sogdianus,¹ when he became king sent messengers to Poulydamas,² because he knew of his wonderful deeds, and persuaded him with promises of presents to come to Susa for Darius to see him. At Susa, Poulydamas challenged three of those Persians who were called the Immortals,³ and fought alone against three of them together and killed them. Some of the deeds I have mentioned are on the pedestal at Olympia, and others are explained in the inscription.⁴

(ii) Artaxerxes II's favourite dancer

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F31; Lenfant, 161.

Famous dancers:⁵ (. . .) Zenon the Cretan was far and away the one most loved by Artaxerxes, according to Ctesias.

Notes

1. Sogdianus was also a bastard son; see **8, no.20** for the succession struggle on Artaxerxes I's death.
2. Son of Nicias of Scotoussa. Pausanias notes his statue, sculpted by Lysippus, at Olympia, and describes his incredible stature and strength, and many victories there.
3. See **12, no.5**.
4. The very weathered pedestal at Olympia, showing Darius seated on his throne watching Poulydamas whirling one of the Immortals aloft and observed by three women(?), has survived, see Gabelmann 1984: 80–2, Nr.30 & Tafel 10. It is dated variously to the first or second half of the fourth century.

5. The citation is in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* (I, 40 p. 22c), where he gives a list of celebrated dancers of the past.

E. Replication of the court system at satrapal level

46. Satrapal parks

(i) Tissaphernes' gardens near Sardis

Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 24.7.

He (sc. Tissaphernes)¹ decreed that the most beautiful park he possessed, which was famous for its refreshing streams and meadows and contained meadows and pleasantries decorated in a royal and extravagant style, should be named after Alcibiades,² and everyone always spoke of it by that name.³

(ii) The estate at Dascylium

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 1.15–16.

He himself (sc. Agesilaus)⁴ marched away to Dascylium.⁵ There was Pharnabazus' palace, surrounded by many substantial villages containing plentiful supplies, with excellent game both in the enclosed parks⁶ and in the open areas. A river filled with all sorts of fish flowed past it; and plenty of birds for those capable of snaring them.

(iii) The governor's palace and park in north Syria

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 4.10.

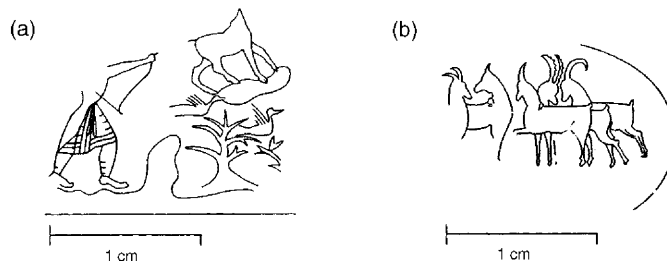


Figure 12.8 (a) Drawing of cylinder seal impression, Dascylium, Hellespontine Phrygia: DS 110 (1.30 cm high; Persianising Style). The upper part is unfortunately destroyed, but enough survives to show a hunting scene, with an archer aiming his bow towards a wild animal in a hilly landscape, covered in trees, as indicated by the small tree with birds flying above. (After Kaptan 2002.) (b) Drawing of impression of a scaraboid stamp seal: DS 111 (1.80 cm high, 2.30 cm wide; Persianising Style). It shows two groups of wild goats facing each other. (After Kaptan 2002.)

From there⁷ he (Cyrus the Younger) marched five stages and thirty parasangs to the sources of the Dardas river – one plethrum in width.⁸ There was the palace of Belesys, governor of Syria,⁹ and a very large and beautiful park full of all products of the season.

Notes

1. Satrap of Lydia, see **8, no.25**, n.3.
2. Athenian commander, see **8, no.31**, n.1.
3. Note also, **9, no.37**, for Tissaphernes' 'gardens and park' near Sardis.
4. The Spartan king, see **9, Section B(b)**.
5. Capital of the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia (see **fig.7.2**). For Pharnabazus, see **12, no.48**, n.4.
6. Gr. *paradeisoi*, see **11, no.21**; **9, no.71**, n.3.
7. The estates of Parysatis, the queen-mother, see **16, no.66(iii)**. For Cyrus' challenge to his brother, see **9, Section A**.
8. Perhaps the Sajur (the distance given is about 166 km).
9. The name is Babylonian (Belshunu). Stolper (1987) has plausibly reconstructed his career from subordinate official in Babylonia to this top position as reward for his support of Darius II's successful bid for the throne.

47. Audience with the satrap

(i) Cyrus the Younger's throne

Xenophon, *Hellenica* I, 5.1–3.

When Cyrus arrived,¹ Lysander went up to him with the Lacedaemonian delegates. Then they denounced Tissaphernes'² actions, and asked Cyrus to be keenly in favour of the war.

Cyrus said that his father had instructed him to do so and, as he himself had no other intentions, he would do it all. He had arrived with five hundred talents.³ Should that not suffice, he said he would use his own resources given him by his father.⁴ If even this were not enough, then he would turn the silver and gold throne⁵ on which he sat into coin.

(ii) Difficulties in gaining access

Plutarch, *Lysander* 6.

But eventually Callicratidas⁶ was forced to travel to Lydia, where he immediately called at Cyrus' residence. He sent in word that Callicratidas the admiral had arrived and wished to speak to him. One of the gatekeepers told him: 'Cyrus is busy just now, stranger; he is drinking.' To this Callicratidas replied, quite innocently: 'Fine, I shall stand here and wait until he has finished.' On this occasion, he just left after being taken as a simpleton and laughed at by the Persians. But when he came to the gate a second time only to be refused admission again, he was furious and returned to Ephesus, cursing those who had first invited humiliation from the barbarians and taught them to be insolent because of their wealth.⁷

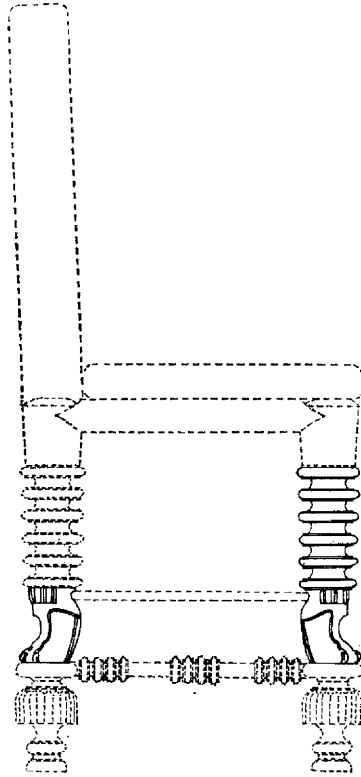


Figure 12.9 Reconstruction of a throne, using three fragments acquired in the vicinity of Samaria, now in the Israel Museum. The material of the preserved pieces is heavy bronze (cast). The two animal paws are 13.3 cm high, and originally encased the wooden legs of the (putative) throne. They are certainly similar to the depictions of the king's throne at Persepolis (**fig.11.29**) and the 'throne' shown on the Saqqara stela (**fig.17.11**). The solid lines indicate the preserved sections. (After M. Tadmor 1974).

Notes

1. At Sardis in spring 408, see **8, no.32** for the historical context.
2. Satrap of Lydia, see **8, no.25**, n.3.
3. Approx. 15,000 kg.
4. Perhaps indicating that the central authority made an initial grant for war expenses, while further outlays had to be financed by the relevant satrap from the provincial tribute, see Briant 1996a: 612–13 [2002b: 595–6] (for other discussions of the issue, see *id.* 1996a: 1004 [2002b: 978–9]).
5. See the 'satrapal throne' from Samaria, **fig.12.9**.
6. Spartan general who took over command of the fleet from Lysander in 406.
7. The incident is briefly described by Xenophon (*Hell. I*, 6.6–7), who characterises Callicratidas as 'furious at being put off and at having to keep on behaving like a courtier'.

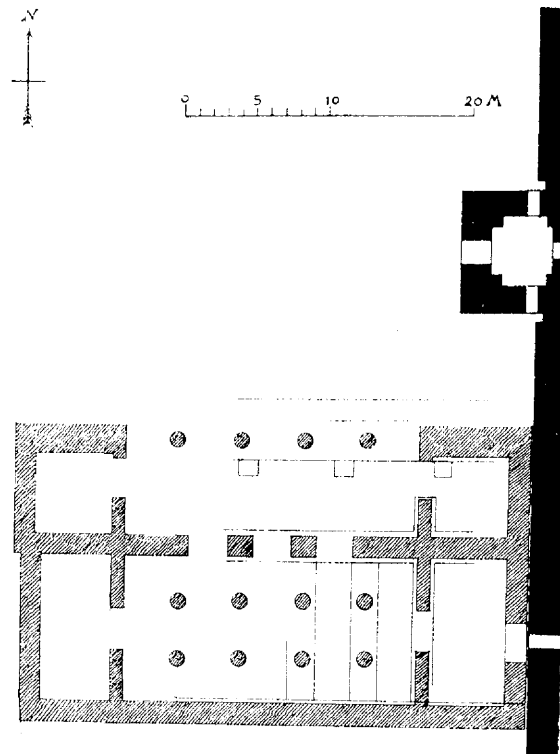


Figure 12.10 Plan of the small Persian-style palace, in the western section of Nebuchadnezzar II's palace, Babylon. It was constructed in the late fifth/early fourth century, and decorated with figures in coloured, glazed brick relief, directly comparable to the guards at Susa (fig.11.20). See Koldewey 1925: 126–9; Haerinck 1997: 28–30. (After R. Koldewey, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon I*, 1931, pl.28.)

48. Satrapal luxury

(i) Tiribazus' tent

Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV, 4.21.

When the barbarians heard the noise¹ they did not stay, but fled; still, some of the barbarians were killed and about twenty horses captured. Also, Tiribazus'² tent was taken, containing couches with silver feet and drinking cups, as well as people who said they were his bakers and cup-bearers.

(ii) Spartan simplicity versus satrapal luxury

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 1.30.

As Agesilaus³ heeded him, Apollophanes⁴ obtained a truce and pledge⁵ and came to the agreed place, bringing Pharnabazus. Agesilaus with thirty companions was there waiting,

lying on the ground on some grass. Pharnabazus came with equipment worth a lot of gold. His servants were spreading the soft embroidered cloths on which Persians sit, when Pharnabazus was overcome by embarrassment at his luxury as he observed Agesilaus' simplicity. So he, too, reclined, just as he was, on the ground.

Notes

1. A detachment of the Greek mercenaries was making a precipitous attack on Tiribazus' camp in Armenia.
2. The Persian governor of Armenia at this date (401). See **9, no.44**, n.2 for references; further, **13, no.31**.
3. In autumn 395, after the Spartan king Agesilaus had been ravaging Hellespontine Phrygia's territory, see **9, Section B(b)**.
4. Described as an old guest-friend (Gr. *xenos*) of Pharnabazus, governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see **9, no.39**, n.2 for earlier references, and **9, nos.41–3; 47**.
5. Gr. *dexias*, which here (as elsewhere) was a concrete object expressing the trust established by a handshake, see Sherwin-White 1978.

49. A mirror image of the royal court

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 6.10.

Cyrus also issued orders to all the satraps sent out that they imitate him in everything they saw him doing. First, they should recruit cavalry and charioteers from among the Persians accompanying them and the allies. All those in receipt of land and residences must be compelled to attend court and, with due self-restraint, place themselves at the disposal of the satrap's requirements, whatsoever it might be; also their sons should be educated at court,¹ in the same way they were educated at the royal court.² Further he should take the satrapal court retinue out on hunts and practise himself and them in military skills.

Notes

1. I.e. the satrapal court.
2. See **13, nos.8–9**, for Persian education.

THE MECHANISMS OF POWER

Introduction

The king and the aristocratic families

How did the king maintain his position of pre-eminence? How did he manage to assure himself of the support of the Persian aristocracy? The question arises in particularly stark form, when we think of Darius' seizure of the throne (**Chapter 5**): Herodotus knew stories according to which any one of his fellow conspirators might have become king, i.e. Darius' claim was no stronger than that of his peers. Further, Darius in his own account of his accession (**5, no.1**, para.68) names the people who helped him in the struggle, and commends their families for all time to future Persian kings. So there can be no doubt that they were prominent individuals. In addition, one of them, Gobryas, is depicted and named, standing behind Darius, on the façade of the king's tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam. Another Persian noble, Aspathines, not mentioned in the Bisitun inscription, also appears with his name on Darius I's tomb (see **fig.11.14**, caption). Before becoming king, Darius was married to Gobryas' daughter, indicative of interfamilial alliances between nobles (**7, no.2**). As Darius faces the widespread uprisings against him, he is forced to depend on the aid of a number of individuals who supply him with forces and commanders to fight the challengers to his throne. Everything suggests that these were members of a powerful established hereditary Persian aristocracy, whose support the king needed to harness and whose political influence he had to control.

Some of the ways in which Darius asserted his position in relation to his helpers – removing potential rivals and officials of suspect loyalty – have been considered already (**5, nos.15–17**). His swift, brutal actions served as a warning to the nobility not to presume on their privileged position, effectively robbing them of any real advantage in relation to the ruler. The result of Darius' actions was to demote them from a peer-group to servants, dependent for their status and position on the king, like all others. Their names were famous, their past deeds were celebrated, their families remained highly honoured among the Persians – to be descended from the family of one of Darius' helpers continued to carry great prestige with it – but, in relation to the king, they had no special rights, no greater claim on his person than anyone else. They were all the king's *bandaka*, an Old Persian word which means, literally, 'bondsmen', 'servants'. This, significantly, is the word Darius uses to describe his most trusted generals, again and again, in the Bisitun inscription (**5, no.1**, paras.25, 26, 29, 33, 41, 45, 50). It expresses their dependence on, and the personal bond of loyalty which tied them to, the king.

Another way of curtailing aristocratic power was to keep the powerful families at a healthy distance from royal power. Darius excluded the grandson of Gobryas from the kingship, promoting instead Xerxes, whose maternal family was extinct (**7, nos.1–3**). Darius II, perhaps to gain support in his bid for the throne (**8, no.20**), married two of his children to members of the family of the Persian noble Hydarnes – attempts to contain their ambitions followed (**12, no.38(ii)**). When his oldest son, Artaxerxes (II), acceded to the throne, his mother, Parysatis, worked to remove his Hydarnid wife and persuaded him to marry one of his daughters instead (**12, no.38(i)**). Her motive is likely to have been ensuring that the throne stayed firmly within the inner Achaemenid family (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983a). So the policy of royal endogamy can be seen to be one that reduced the direct influence of powerful families on the throne. It also limited the possibility of the king giving offence by seeming to favour one aristocratic group above another. Yet not all avenues to being associated with the wielder of ultimate power were blocked. The king could, and did, hold out the supreme favour of granting a deserving subject one of his daughters in marriage – a highly sought-after honour (**7, no.81; 13, no.31(iv)**).

Persian society

While in the king's eyes all – high and low, Persian and non-Persian – theoretically occupied the same position as subjects, there were, of course, enormous variations in relative status. A leading role in the ideology of power was assigned to the Persians (**11, Section A**). Great store was set by the procreation of offspring, especially sons to serve in the army (**13, nos.2–3**). But this scarcely means that all members of the ethnic group called Persians were equal. Inasmuch as we can gain a picture of Persian society, it was highly stratified, marked by recognisable differences in dress, food, modes of greeting and degrees of rank (**13, nos.1; 7**); among the work groups at Persepolis, too, Persians are not absent (**13, no.4**). The king himself, in his role as guarantor of social order, acknowledged the existence of social distinctions (**5, no.1**, para.63; **11, no.17**, para.2). But Persian society was not simply stratified according to socio-economic status. It was also vertically structured by tribal affiliation. Three tribes, each subdivided into clans, existed (**3, no.5**). The dominant one was the Pasargadae tribe, of which the Achaemenids constituted the most noble clan. The other two seem to reflect the dimorphic nature of life in Fars, that of pastoralist and peasant farmer. While imperial institutions of government developed and rearticulated social structures, the tribal aspects of Persian society continued to be a significant factor (**fig.11.14**, caption); **6, no.4**(167); **13, no.5**). This emerges most strikingly right at the end of the Achaemenid period, when the Persians in Fars rallied around Orxines, described as a member of the Pasargadae tribe. Alexander dealt promptly with the potential danger of the situation by executing him (**13, no.6**).

This social complex was continuously reproduced and reinforced by the training of Persian boys belonging to the élite (**13, nos.8–10**). Military training emerges as one of the most important ingredients of the curriculum. Exercises in handling weapons, survival techniques, physical fitness and rites undergone before joining the ranks of adult males show this clearly. Replication of the political hierarchy was clearly also crucial, with the royal princes and sons of governors put in command of the other boys (**13, no.8(ii)**). A further important element was instilling the fundamental political and ethical ideals of fidelity and honourable conduct in the young men. This was done through the medium of song and recitation by the magi, learned in Persia's sacred and heroic lore (**13, no.8(ii)**). A

prominent subject of such songs, recited also at banquets was Cyrus, founder of the empire, about whose rise to power so many stories circulated (**3, nos.30–3; 13, no.11**). Although all the descriptions locate the education of the Persian nobility at the royal court, Xenophon's image of the satrapal courts as centres for educating young Persians in the provinces (**12, no.49**), is a credible one. Thus the Persian élite of the diaspora was trained to share the ideals of service to the king and loyalty to the Achaemenid empire.

Royal favour

Darius I's actions after seizing power superimposed on the ranks of the traditional Persian aristocracy a nobility constituted by royal favour. In order to gain or retain position, the upper echelons of Persian society had to compete. Position was marked in a number of ways: the degree of blood relationship to the king was one (**13, nos.12–13**). With the practice of marrying royal daughters to deserving officials, the circle of royal relatives grew to the point where terms of kinship seem to have been used to define court rank (**13, no.14**, cf. **12, no.5(ii)**). Position was also signalled by physical proximity, indicated by a seat at the royal table (**12, no.42; 13, no.15**), the privilege of helping the king mount his horse or being the first whose advice was asked (**13, no.16**). The reverse was similarly clear (**13, no.17**).

How did this system of royal favour work? Several different writers refer to a written record, in which the names of individuals who had rendered the king outstanding services were noted, so that they could be rewarded (**13, nos.18–20**).¹ The personal participation of the king in noting good and bad service is something stressed, again and again, by Xenophon (e.g. **13, no.19**). Most graphic is Herodotus, who describes Xerxes on two occasions positioning himself to observe a battle (**7, no.29(212); 13, no.18(i)**). This created the stimulus to try to excel, to perform feats of bravery under the very eye of the king, in the hope of being noticed and rewarded (cf. **11, no.18(14)**). And the rewards were magnificent – not just in economic terms, but in terms of political status. Many of the gifts bestowed by the king were unmistakable items of apparel and personal decoration (**13, nos.21–3; figs.13.3; 13.5**). They proclaimed clearly that the wearer occupied an honoured position, that he had been noticed by the king himself (**13, no.23**) and hence was someone to be treated with deference, whose company was worth cultivating (**11, no.22**). As a result, an individual thus distinguished gained much more than the mere market value of the items presented (see particularly **13, no.24**). The redistribution of royal resources in money and kind also provided the recipient with the wherewithal to fund occasions that would create and retain his own circle of devoted supporters (**12, no.42; 13, nos.25–6**).

Reciprocity

Royal favour was dispensed in public (**13, no.23**). Public acceptance went hand in hand with acceptance of the king's power and entailed the obligation to do one's utmost to uphold the system and prove it through personal attendance at court (**13, nos.27; 33**). Loyal services duly performed could even work to cancel out a misdemeanour (**13, nos.28; 31(iii)**). But the relationship established by the system between king and subject was never one of equality. However great a service an individual performed, asking for a favour in return or finding fault with a reward met with swift punishment (**13, no.29**). The continuous jockeying for position brought inevitable denunciations fuelled by jealousies in its wake. No one, however prominent, was safe. This emerges very clearly in some of the stories,

perhaps ultimately derived from family sagas, of the ups and downs of several Persian nobles (**13, nos.30–2; 36**). The internal court rivalries, the ever ready desire to regain the king's favour and be readmitted to the inner court circles, the constant risk of being accused of rebellion or treason, the tact required even in saving the king's life (**13, no.30**), emerge starkly; as does the erosion of family ties. With all paths to position and wealth depending on the king, the relatives of an individual suspected of, or condemned for, treason strove to demonstrate their own unwavering loyalty (**13, nos.34–6**). This situation helps to explain the seemingly large number of 'rebellions' in the 360s which, despite Isocrates' dire statements, did not destroy the empire, as well as the strong loyalties evinced by so many Persian nobles during Alexander's invasion (Weiskopf 1989; Briant 1996a: 675–94 [2002b: 656–75]). By tying the nobility into the system of power and control, the élite's interest lay with maintaining the status quo, on which their own position depended. It helps to explain why concerted action to oppose the régime was, with the exception of Darius I's usurpation, never realised. Instead we find disaffected individuals, again and again, eager to make their peace with the king (**13, nos.30–2; 36; 44**). As far as we can tell – and the biased and fragmentary nature of the evidence must be remembered – 'revolts' by Persian nobles were short-lived and isolated, and often the result of competition to demonstrate loyalty to the king. The remarkable fidelity of the aristocracy was the backbone of the empire.²

The effect of the system

The knowledge that there was the possibility of great reward bound subjects to the king. But it remained, of course, for many people no more than theoretical. The stories circulating of a trifling service leading to undreamt of preferment and riches held out a potent promise, rarely realised but nevertheless dictating action (**13, nos.37–9**). When we analyse the background of the holders of important office, it is evident that virtually all were Persians, many from the Achaemenid clan, with a substantial segment made up of the king's relatives. Yet access to royal favour was not blocked to non-Persians. Valued advisers who had proved their loyalty, from among the subject peoples or neighbours, such as Themistocles, Demaratus, Eshmunazar and Ptah-hotep (**13, nos.40–1; 45; figs.13.5; 13.6**), stood to receive grants of land and income and be decorated with royal insignia. Marriage by members of the provincial élite with Persians could lead to advancement (**13, no.42**; cf. **17, no.37**). The king himself had concubines drawn from provincial families, who might bear the future king, as happened in the case of Darius II (**8, no.19**). In the late fifth and early fourth centuries we find a Babylonian promoted to a very high position, possibly that of satrap,³ while the local Hecatomnid dynasts were appointed governors of Caria and Lycia (see **9, no.44**, n.5; **17, no.33**). Herodotus even recounts the remarkable story of Miltiades' son, who was given a Persian wife and whose children were 'to be honoured as Persians' (**13, no.43**). The family history of Artabazus, who spent some years in exile at the Macedonian court, illustrates well the growing interconnections of Persian nobles with local élites (**13, no.44**). Himself the scion of a long-established satrapal dynasty and his mother a royal princess, he was married to the sister of Mentor and Memnon, *condottieri* from Rhodes, who commanded mercenary soldiers for the Persians. The two Rhodians held land in Artabazus' satrapy; both were decorated by the king and given important commands as rewards for their services; both were successively married to one of Artabazus' daughters, herself in receipt of a Greek education (Plut. *Alex.* 21.9). Artabazus' sons were holders of high army posts; one of them (probably) had a Greek name and was honoured in Athens. Memnon was a loyal

commander for the Persians against Alexander, while Artabazus, after his pardon, was the closest and most loyal companion of Darius III right up to his death (**10, nos.33; 35**). Artabazus' family history is one of the best known, but undoubtedly not unique. The possibilities offered to all – Persian and provincial – by the system of royal honours was one of the most effective means for holding the empire together.

Notes

1. See the detailed discussion, with all attestations, by Wiesehöfer (1980), noting also that entire peoples could be honoured in this way (cf. **7, no.48**).
2. Note how, conversely, Darius III's reign is 'delegitimised' in the literature by portraying him as abandoned and betrayed by his nobles, who rally increasingly to Alexander's side (see the analysis by Briant 2003a: 177–81).
3. See the references in **Table 3(a)** & n.4.

A. Persian society

(a) Social stratification

1. Broad distinctions

(i) Distinctions in food

Herodotus I, 133.1.

The day of all others that each man holds in honour above all is his birthday. On it they (sc. the Persians) consider it right to serve more dishes than on any other. On it, the rich¹ among them serve an ox or horse or camel or donkey roasted whole in ovens,² while the poor among them serve the smallest of small cattle.³

(ii) Distinctions in dress

Strabo XV, 3.19.

The dress worn by the leaders consists of three-ply trousers, a sleeved double tunic reaching to the knees, the undergarment being white and the upper one multicoloured. In summer they wear a purple or multicoloured cloak, a multicoloured one in winter, while their tiaras are much like those of the magi,⁴ and they have deep double shoes. But the rest have a shin-length, double tunic and a piece of linen round the head.

(iii) Social standing signalled by modes of greeting

Herodotus I, 134.

When they (sc. the Persians) encounter each other in the street, there is a way of recognising whether those meeting are of the same rank. Because instead of hailing each other, they kiss on the mouth. If one is a little lower in status than the other, they kiss on the cheek. But if one is a great deal lower in standing than the other, he falls to the ground and pays homage to the other.⁵

Notes

1. Cf. the distinction made in the royal inscriptions between OP *tunuvant-* ‘powerful’ and OP *skauthi-* ‘weak’ (11, no.17).
2. For the appearance of some of these, possibly as food, in the Persepolis texts, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995b: 292–6.
3. Gr. *ta lepta ton probaton*, meaning sheep and goats. Both figure frequently in the Persepolis archive (e.g. 12, no.40(ii); 16, nos.3; 26; 49–50).
4. Strabo must mean the *mitra*, which could be pulled up over the mouth (see fig.10.1), unlike the tiara, which left ears and neck free (11, no.22, n.11; fig.11.25).
5. Gr. *prospipton proskunei ton heteron*; see further, 11, no.29, n.2.

2. Persian marriage and child bearing

(i) The ceremony

Arrian, *Anabasis* VII, 4.7.

The weddings¹ were performed according to the Persian custom. Chairs were set for the bridegrooms in order; then, after the drink, the brides entered and each sat next to her groom. The latter took them by the hand and kissed them.

(ii) Polygamy and consummation

Strabo XV, 3.17.

They marry many wives and also maintain a number of concubines for the sake of having many children. Each year the king presents prizes to those who have many children. The small children are not seen by their parents until they reach the age of four.² Marriages are consummated at the start of the spring equinox. The man enters the bridal chamber after eating an apple or camel’s marrow, but nothing else on that day.

(iii) The king honours the fathers of many sons

Herodotus I, 136.1.

After valour in fighting, the virtue of a man is most significant in this: that he can show he has many sons. To him who has the most, the king sends gifts every year. For multitude they think is strength.

(iv) Royal gifts to mothers

Plutarch, *Alexander* 69.1.

One of his (sc. Alexander’s) first acts, when he reached Persis, was to distribute money to the women: in this he was following the custom of the Persian kings, who, whenever they arrived in this province, presented each mother with a gold coin.³

(v) Inheritance in the male line

Herodotus VII, 224.⁴

Artanes was the brother of King Darius, the son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames. He had given his daughter (sc. Phratagune) in marriage to Darius, together with his entire household, as she was his sole child.⁵

Notes

1. Arrian is describing the marriages at Susa (in 324) between Alexander and the Macedonian commanders and the daughters of the Persian king and nobility.
2. Cf. **13, no.8(i)**.
3. Cf. **13, no.3(ii)**.
4. Herodotus is noting the Persian nobles killed at Thermopylae (**7, no.31** & n.3).
5. In other words: property was inherited through the male line, so Phratagune's sons and, by implication, her husband's family would lay their hands on all her father's possessions. In order to ensure that it would not be lost to the Hystaspes family, Artanes married her to her uncle Darius, so that he would safeguard the property (cf. the Greek *epiklerate*, see Blundell 1995: 117–18).

3. Persian military ethos

(i) The obligation to serve in the army

Herodotus IV, 84.

Then¹ Oeobazus, a Persian, asked Darius to leave behind one of his sons – he had three, and all were with the army. Darius replied, as though he were speaking to a friend who had made a modest request, that he would leave all his sons behind. Oeobazus was overjoyed, imagining that all his sons would be released from the army. But Darius ordered those in charge to kill all Oeobazus' sons. And so, with their throats cut, they were indeed left where they were.²

(ii) Persia's women honoured for their role in Cyrus' victory over the Medes

Ctesias, *Persica*, ap. Nicolaus of Damascus = FGrH 90 F66(43–4); Lenfant, 107.³

Then the Persians were hard pressed by the mass (of Medes) and so they fled to the top of the mountain (of Pasargadae)⁴ where their women were. But they lifted their skirts and yelled: 'Where are you off to, cowards? Do you want to return whence you came?'⁵ (It is for this reason that the Persian king, when he goes to Pasargadae, presents the Persian women with gold, giving each one the equivalent of twenty Attic drachmas.) The Persians were ashamed by what they saw and heard, and so they turned round to face the enemy and threw themselves upon them with one accord. They chased them out of the mountains and killed no fewer than sixty thousand.

Notes

1. The occasion is Darius setting forth on the Scythian campaign, c.513 (**6, Section B**).
2. Cf. the fate of Pythius' son (**13, no.29(i)**).

3. The setting is the final victorious battle of the Persians under Cyrus against the Medes under Astyages (**3, nos.1** (ii, 1–4) & **Section C**).
4. Previously described as the highest mountain in the region; later, of course, the site of Cyrus' city (**fig.3.5**).
5. I.e. the women insult the men by exposing their private parts, and ask whether they would like to slip back into the womb; the same story appears in Justin I, 6.13–15. For the part played by sexual insults (from women) in war, see the references in Kuhrt 2001b: 9, n.38.

4. Persian scribes at Persepolis

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 871. I/–/23 (April–May 499); PFS 1* (Garrison and Root I, no.182).

Translation: Giovinazzo 1995: 145–6.

111 (BAR) of grain,¹ supplied by Sarakuzzish, which the Persian apprentices² (who) copy texts (and who) subsist on rations (at) Pittannan,³ assigned by Shuddayauda,⁴ have received as rations. Month 1, year 23. 16 servants, 4.5 (BAR), 13 servants, 3 (BAR). Total 29 workers.⁵

Notes

1. Approx. 1,110 litres.
2. El. *puhu*; Giovinazzo suggests the translation of 'apprentices' here, and points out that the rations are relatively high, perhaps related to the kind of work they are doing (and the fact that they are Persians?). Cf. also PF 1137 (**16, no.39(i)**). For the uncertain etymology of the name, see Mayrhofer 8.1455.
3. It is possible that a treasury/storehouse was located here (south-east of Persepolis), see Koch 1990: 102–5; 269.
4. He appears very frequently in the Persepolis archive, see **16, no.29**, n.3.
5. El. *kurtas*, the regular word for workers in the Persepolis texts, see **16, Introduction**.

5. Tribal affiliation

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1797. VII/3/21, Darius I (29 September 501); PFS 9* (Garrison and Root I, no.288; **fig.16.3(a)**).

Tell Irshena, chief of workers,¹ Parnaka² speaks thus:

5 *basbas*³ issue to Masdayaishna the Maraphian.⁴ Let him maintain (them) in pasture (at) Persepolis, (as part of) the royal requirements(?).

In year 21, month 7, day 3, this sealed document⁵ was delivered.

Shakshabanush wrote (this). He received the *dumme*⁶ from Nanitin.

Notes

1. El. *kurdabattis* (= Akk. *gardupatu*), rendering Ir. **grda-pati*-; see Stolper 1985: 57; Koch 1990: 237–45. Irshena figures prominently in the Persepolis Fortification archive, and the fine inscribed seal PFS 4* (Garrison and Root I, no.292, see also no.49) is probably his office seal.
2. For Parnaka, see **12, no.29(i)**, n.2; **16, no.11**.
3. Probably ducks, see **12, no.40(iii)**, n.3.

4. One of the Persian tribes; see **3, no.5**; **6, no.4**(167); **fig.11.14**, caption; **13, no.6**, and the discussion by Briant (1990a: 77–81); **13, Introduction**. The name is certainly Ir. Mazdayasna (Mayrhofer 8.1004).
5. See **12, no.29(ii)**, n.12, for the ‘sealed document’.
6. Possibly ‘instruction’, according to PFT, 51; cf. Stolper 1984: 305, n.17, who suggests ‘copy’/‘draft’. Vallat (1994: 267–70) has argued that it refers to an original order written in Aramaic, archived with an Elamite copy attached; see the discussion in Henkelman 2006, 2.5.5. While the scribe’s name is certainly Old Persian, that of the transmitter of the order is more likely Elamite (Mayrhofer, s.v.).

6. A blue-blooded Persian leader

Quintus Curtius Rufus X, 1.22–3.

They next came to Pasargadae, the Persian tribe,¹ whose satrap was Orsines (alt. Orxines), a man pre-eminent among all the barbarians for his nobility and wealth. He traced his lineage from Cyrus, the former Persian king,² and his wealth was partly inherited from his forefathers and partly amassed by himself during his long tenure of the satrapy.³

Notes

1. Lat. *Ventum ut deinde Pasargada; Persica est gens*. Quintus Curtius is describing Alexander’s arrival in Fars from India. For the Pasargadae tribe, described as the noblest and the one to which the Achaemenid clan belonged, see **3, no.5**.
2. See Q.C. IV, 12.8, where it is said that Orsines also traced his descent from ‘one of the seven Persians’, i.e. one of the group who had eliminated Bardiya in 522 (see **5, nos.1; 9–11**). Orsines’ position was almost certainly that of Achaemenid chief of the Pasargadae tribe and its territory, not its governor/satrap (Briant 1990a: 79).
3. Arrian (*Anab.* VI, 29.2) says that he had taken control of the province on his own initiative (but see, above, n.2), and was subsequently hanged for looting local temples and tombs. According to Quintus Curtius, his downfall was due to the malicious slander of the eunuch Bagoas (see **12, no.15(i)**). It is probably better to see his elimination as related to Alexander’s need to remove a potentially serious challenge to Macedonian control.

7. Relative ranking

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 2.1.

The messengers from Ariaeus arrived;¹ they said that Ariaeus declared that there were many Persians of nobler rank² than he, who would not put up with him as king.

Notes

1. Ariaeus had been part of Cyrus the Younger’s rebel force and, after his death at Cunaxa, rejoined the king’s side. The Greek mercenaries had offered to help him onto the throne, as they were claiming victory in the battle (see further **9, Section A**).
2. Gr. *beltios*, hinting at a strict hierarchy within the Persian aristocracy.

(b) Socio-political reproduction**8. Persian education****(i) The training of boys**

Herodotus I, 136.

They train the sons beginning at age five until twenty in just three things: riding, shooting with the bow and speaking the truth.¹ Until his fifth year, his father does not lay eyes on the boy, who spends his time with the women. This is done so that, if he dies during his upbringing, it will not distress his father.

(ii) A detailed curriculum

Strabo XV, 3.18–19.

From age five to twenty-five they are trained to shoot with the bow, handle the spear, ride on horseback and speak the truth. And as teachers of learning they use the wisest men,² who weave in the legendary element in order to make it useful. Both without and with song they recite the deeds of the gods and the noblest men.³ They gather the boys in one place, after rousing them before dawn with the noise of a bronze instrument, as though for arming or the hunt. Then they draw them up in groups of fifty, placed under the command of one of the king's sons or the son of a satrap, and order them to follow in a race after marking out a distance of thirty to forty stadia.⁴ They also demand that they give an account of each lesson. At the same time, they train them in speaking loudly, how to breathe and use their lungs, and to endure heat and cold and rain and to cross torrents, so that their weapons and clothes remain dry; and also to herd flocks and live outdoors, surviving on wild fruit: terebinth,⁵ acorns, wild pears. These are called *Kardakes*, living as they do on thievery, for *karda* is said to be the manly and warlike quality.⁶ Their daily diet, after exercising, consists of bread, barley, cardamum,⁷ grains of salt and baked or boiled meat, and water to drink. They hunt by hurling spears from horseback and with bows and lassos.⁸ Towards evening they learn to cultivate plants, how to cut and collect roots,⁹ how to make weapons and the technique of making linen cloth and hunter's nets.¹⁰ The boys do not touch the meat of wild animals, but it is customary to bring them home. Prizes for running are presented by the king and for the other contests of the pentathlon.¹¹

Notes

1. We should probably understand this as learning, OP *arta-*, encapsulating the duties of subject to king and with them the maintenance of the social, political and moral order (see **11, Introduction** & n.3). This could have been inculcated through the medium of oral recitations, by magi, of stories of gods and heroes of the past, as suggested by the description in the next passage.
2. These are undoubtedly the magi (see **11, Section H(d)**).
3. See **11, no.35**, n.6.
4. About 5.5–5.75 km.
5. See **11, no.63**, n.4.
6. This passage may be an interpolation. It, along with the preceding passage on survival training, seems to describe a *rite de passage*, after which boys graduated to the next age-group (cf. the lengthy description in Xen. *Cyrop.* I, 2; see also **13, no.9**). They seem, from other references, to have



Figure 13.1 Relief from the North Palace at Nineveh, reign of Ashurbanipal (668–c.630), depicting men hunting onagers with a lasso, cf. 13, no.8(ii); British Museum. (Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

constituted an élite infantry corps in the Persian armies. The comparisons with the Spartan *krupteia* are obvious (Briant 1996a: 340–1 [2002b: 329]; 1999: 122–4).

7. Cardamum was perceived as another stereotypical Persian food, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995b: 289–92.
8. See fig.13.1.
9. For the magi's knowledge of medicinal plants, see Briant 1996a: 278–9 [2002b: 266–8].
10. See fig.13.2.
11. The Greek pentathlon consisted of five contests: jumping, running, discus, javelin, wrestling. How right Strabo is that all these were practised by the Persians is debatable. But royal involvement in rewarding the winners in such types of competitions is likely, cf. 13, no.18.

9. Entitlement to, and benefits of, education

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* I, 2.15.

The Persians are said to number around one hundred and twenty thousand;¹ and none of them is excluded by law from honours or offices, indeed it is open to all Persians to send their children to the common schools of justice.² But only those who can maintain their children without working send them – those who cannot do not send them. Those educated by the public teachers are the ones who may spend their youth in the class of young men;³

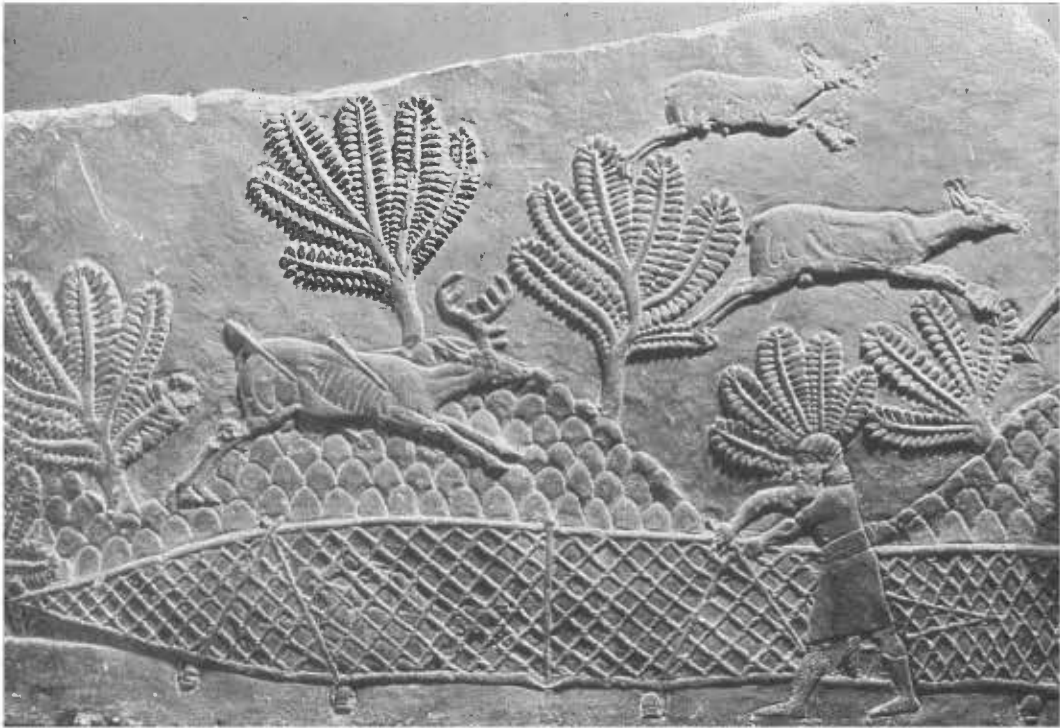


Figure 13.2 Relief from the North Palace at Nineveh, reign of Ashurbanipal (668–c.630), showing men catching deer in a hunting net, cf. **13, no.8(ii)**; British Museum. (Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

those who have not passed through this training are not permitted to do so. Only those among the youths who have completed what is prescribed may join the mature men and have a share of offices and honours. Those who have not gone through the training for youths, cannot enter the state of mature manhood.

Notes

1. This very small number, if reliable, implies that Xenophon's remarks are confined to the Persian élite.
2. Gr. *dikaíosune*; is this Xenophon's gloss on Herodotus' 'truth speaking' and Strabo's 'the deeds of the gods and noblest men' (**13, no.8**)?
3. Gr. *ephebos*. Xenophon is translating the Persian system, as he understands it, into Athenian terms.

10. A school for future rulers

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 9.3–4.

All the sons of the noblest Persians are educated at the royal court. There one may learn all aspects of self-control¹ and they hear and see nothing base. The boys observe and hear both

those honoured and those stripped of honour by the king. Thus, from their earliest age, they learn to rule and be ruled.

Note

1. Gr. *sophrosune*; for this as a royal virtue, see **11, no.17**, para.2b.

11. Songs and tales of the Persians

(i) In praise of Cyrus

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* I, 2.1.

Even now Cyrus is celebrated by the barbarians in story and song as the most handsome in person, most generous in spirit, most devoted to learning and most ambitious, so that he endured all kinds of hardship and faced all kinds of danger in order to earn praise.¹

(ii) A singer foretells Cyrus' victory

Athenaeus XIV, 633d–e.

At any rate, it was singers who foretold the first Cyrus' courage and the war he would engage in against Astyages. 'It was at the time', Deinon² says, 'when Cyrus had asked to visit Persia (earlier he had been in charge of the sceptre-bearers, later of the weapon-bearers)³ and left. Astyages then held a feast with his friends and a man called Angares (the most renowned of the singers he was) was invited. He began to sing the various usual songs and, at the end, he told how a great wild animal had been set loose in the marshes, bolder than a wild boar.⁴ If it should come to dominate the regions round about, it would soon fight a multitude with little effort. When Astyages asked: "What is the wild animal?" He replied: "Cyrus the Persian." Then Astyages thought that his suspicions about Cyrus had been right and kept sending for him [. . .]⁵ It did no good.'

Notes

1. Cf. **3, no.37**, where Darius is said to have described the heroic Zopyrus as surpassing all Persians past and present, save Cyrus, 'for no Persian would think of comparing himself with Cyrus'.
2. See **Chapter 1**.
3. For these very high court posts, see **11, no.22**; **fig.11.14** (caption); **12, no.5**, nn.2–3.
4. Cf. the story in Ctesias, ap. Nicolaus of Damascus (FGrH 90 F66(26)), where one of Astyages' concubines sings of the lion (sc. Astyages) who allows the boar (sc. Cyrus) he holds trapped to escape and overcome the lion.
5. There is a lacuna in the manuscript here.

B. Royal gifts and royal favour

(a) Hierarchy and royal favour

12. The terrible fate of Xerxes' nephews

Plutarch *Themistocles*, 13.2.¹

At this time,² Themistocles was offering sacrifice beside the admiral's trireme. Here three strikingly handsome prisoners were brought to him, magnificently dressed and wearing gold ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Sandace, the king's sister, and Artayctus.³ At exactly the moment when Euphrantides the seer saw them, a great bright flame shot up from the victims awaiting sacrifice at the altar and a sneeze was heard on the right, which is a good omen. At this, Euphrantides clasped Themistocles by the right hand and ordered him to dedicate the youths by cutting off their forelocks, then offer up a prayer and sacrifice them all to Dionysus 'The Raw Flesh Eater';⁴ if this were done it would bring salvation and victory to the Greeks.⁵

Notes

1. The same incident is reported, less elaborately, in *Plut. Arist.* 9.1–2. It is attributed by Plutarch to Phainias of Lesbos, the fourth-century philosopher.
2. Plutarch is describing events on the eve of the Battle of Salamis (**7, no.43**).
3. Sandace (Sandauce in some mss.) is only named here and in *The Life of Aristides* (see above, n.1), which repeats the story; Artayctus only appears here. Their rich apparel makes their high status clear.
4. Gr. *Omestes*, the specific designation of Dionysus on Lesbos (Burkert 1985a: 223). It is argued that, as the story of the sacrifice came from a Lesbian writer (see above, n.1), he is describing a Dionysian practice not known in Athens, but familiar to Lesbians. The story was dreamt up (by Phainias himself or earlier Lesbians?) to discredit Themistocles' war record. If correct, it would undermine the historical reliability of the episode, see Hughes 1991: 111–15.
5. Although shocked, Themistocles carried out the sacrifice, according to Phainias.

13. Feeding the princes' mounts

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1793. VII/–/19, Darius I (October–November 503); PFS 9* (Garrison and Root I, no.288; **fig.16.3(a)**).

Tell Harrena, the cattle chief, Parnaka¹ spoke thus:

13 sheep and 5 portions² issue to Bakatanna, the horseman, and his companions who feed(?) the horses and mules of the king and of the princes³ (at) Karakushan.⁴ (It?) has been changed(?). 135 men, 1 sheep is received by each 10 men.

Month 7, Year 19, this sealed document was delivered.⁵ Karkish wrote (it). Maraza communicated the message.⁶

Notes

1. Harrena (Ir. PN, Mayrhofer, s.v.) appears several times in the Persepolis archive; for the position of Darius I's uncle Parnaka (Pharnaces), see **12, no.29(i)**, n.1; **16, no.11**. Note that the tablet is impressed with Parnaka's first personal seal, inscribed with his name in Aramaic (**fig.16.3(a)**).

2. El. mit = 1/10 or 2/21 of a sheep, see PFT, 45.
3. El. misapušā = Ir. *vis(a)pušra = Ar. BR BYT³ = Bab. DUMU.É = Akk. mar biti, lit. 'son of the house'. The title designates male agnates of the king, and is found applied to, for example, Arsham(a) (Arsames), the satrap of Egypt, in both the Babylonian and the Aramaic form (BE IX, 1; AD 1–5; see, e.g., **8, no.34**, n.8); see the summary of past discussions by Stolper 1985: 59–60. For the title in demotic, see Vittmann 1991–2.
4. Located north-west of Persepolis by Koch (1990: 255, cf. plan, p.261).
5. For El. halmi, 'sealed document', see **12, no.29**, n.12.
6. El. battikamaš = OP *patigama-, 'message', 'instruction'. Both individuals figure prominently in the Persepolis archive, see Briant 1996a: 440 [2002b: 427–8]. See Mayrhofer for their names, as well as that of the 'horseman'.

14. The kinsmen cavalry

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 59.2.

First the cavalry joined battle¹ and, because the Macedonians were on the right wing, Darius, who was in command of his left wing, led against them the kinsmen cavalry,² selected for their bravery and loyalty – a thousand in a single squadron.

Notes

1. Battle of Gaugamela (**10, no.27**).
2. Gr. *sungeis hippeis* must be a court rank, rather than reflecting a physical relationship given the numbers; cf. D.S. XVII, 20.2: 'Spithrobates (. . .) hurled himself at the Macedonian lines, with a large body of cavalry and an array of forty kinsmen of outstanding bravery.' For discussion of 'kinsman' as honorific title, see Briant 1996a: 321–2 [2002b: 309–10], cf. **12, no.5**, n.4.

15. Cyrus the Younger's closest companions

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 8.25.

But as they turned away,¹ Cyrus' six hundred (sc. horsemen), who had gone in pursuit, were also scattered and very few remained around him, mainly those called the 'table-companions'.²

Notes

1. The scene is the Battle of Cunaxa.
2. Gr. *homotrapezoi*, indicating that rank was defined in terms of modes of sociability, cf. **12, no.42**.

16. Proximity to the king

(i) The king mounts his horse

Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV, 4.4.

This area was called Western Armenia. Its governor was Tiribazus, who had become the king's friend, and whenever he was present, no one else helped the king mount his horse.¹

(ii) Xerxes consults before Salamis

Herodotus VIII, 67.2–68.1.

When he (sc. Xerxes) arrived, he took the first seat. As they were summoned, the lords and commanders of the various peoples left their ships and came into his presence. They sat as the king assigned honour to each one – the king of the Sidonians first, then the Tyrian followed by the others. When they had taken their seats one after the other in the right order, Xerxes sent Mardonius² to test them by asking each if he should engage in the sea-battle. Then Mardonius did the rounds and asked, beginning with the Sidonian.

Notes

1. For the chequered history of Tiribazus' relations with the king, see **13, no.31**.
2. Xerxes' most trusted commander in the Greek campaign; see **6, no.49**, n.4 for references.

17. Loss of favour

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 22.6–7.

So as long as Sparta was foremost,¹ he (sc. Artaxerxes II) treated Antalcidas² as a guest-friend³ and called him his friend. But when the Spartans were defeated at Leuctra⁴ and, humiliated by their need for money, sent Agesilaus to Egypt,⁵ Antalcidas went up to Artaxerxes to beg him to rescue the Spartans. But he paid no attention, ignored and rejected him, so that when he came down his enemies jeered at him; and, as he also feared the ephors, he starved himself to death.⁶

Notes

1. For the Persian shift from cooperation with Sparta to using Athenian commanders and forces, see **9, Section B**.
2. The Spartan who negotiated for peace with Persia, which eventually led to the 'King's Peace' of 387/6 (**9, nos.44 & n.3; 47**).
3. Gr. *xenos*, see Herman 1987.
4. 371.
5. See **9, Section B(b) & no.69**.
6. For the possible demotion of a Persian official by being stripped of his decorations, see **17, no.32**, n.18.

(b) The king's benefactors

18. The register of benefactors

(i) Xerxes watches the Battle of Salamis¹

Herodotus VIII, 90.4.

Whenever Xerxes saw one of his men performing some deed in the sea-battle, as he sat on the hill opposite Salamis called Aegaleos, he would inquire who had done this and the secretaries wrote down the commander of the trireme with his father and the city.

(ii) Ionian captains reap rewards²

Herodotus VIII, 85.2–3.

I could here recite the names of those captains who captured Greek ships, but I shall mention none save Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histiaeus, Samians both. I mention only these because Theomestor, as a result of this feat, was installed as lord of Samos by the Persians,³ while Phylacus was noted down as a royal benefactor and received much land. The king's benefactors are called *orosangai*⁴ in Persian.

Notes

1. For the Battle of Salamis, see **7, no.43**.
2. This occasion, too, is Salamis.
3. Cf. **7, no.61** (90).
4. See Wiesehöfer 1980: 8 for OP **varusanha*, 'highly renowned', as the possible etymology.

19. Honours and punishments

Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 4.6–10.

The king annually reviews the mercenaries and the others ordered to be armed, assembling all, save those in the citadels, in the so-called muster-place. Those who are near his residence he reviews personally, while he sends trusted men to those who live further away. And those garrison commanders and commanders of a thousand and satraps who present themselves with the full number of soldiers under them, equipped with splendid horses and weapons – them, he heaps with honours and enriches with great gifts. But those of the commanders he discovers to be neglectful of their garrisons or making wrongful gain, he punishes severely, dismisses and puts others in charge. As he does this, it seems to us that he, quite certainly, concerns himself with military affairs. Also, in riding through he himself examines the whole country he sees, and those parts he does not see himself, he sends trusted men to inspect. And those governors he observes presenting populous territory and the land cultivated and full of local trees and crops – them he gives extra land, adorns with gifts and rewards with seats of honour.¹ But those whose land he sees uncultivated, with few people, because of brutality or arrogance or neglect, he punishes, dismisses from office and appoints other governors.²

Notes

1. Cf. the seating protocols at the Persian court, **12, nos.6; 42**.
2. For the principle of just reward and punishment as a royal virtue, see **11, nos.17–18** (13–20).

20. Service and reward

(i) Esther 6.1–9.

That night, the king could not sleep, so he called for the book of records of chronicles¹ to be brought; and they were read to the king. And it was found written that Mordecai² had reported Bigtana and Teresh, two royal officials,³ gate-keepers,⁴ who planned to kill King

Ahasuerus.⁵ And the king said, 'What honour and dignity have been conferred on Mordecai for this?' Then the king's servants who waited on him said, 'Nothing has been done for him.'

Now Haman had come into the outer court of the king's palace, to speak to the king about hanging Mordecai on the gallows he had prepared for him. The king's servants said to him, 'See, Haman is standing in the court.' And the king said, 'Let him enter.' So Haman entered. The king said to him, 'What should be done for the man whom the king wishes to honour?' Now Haman was thinking, 'Whom would the king wish to honour more than me?' And so Haman answered the king, 'For the man whom the king wishes to honour, have a royal robe brought which the king has worn, and a horse that the king rides, with a royal diadem placed on its head. Have the robe and horse given to one of the noblest of the king's officers, that he may array the man whom the king wishes to honour, and lead him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaim before him, "This is what is done for the man whom the king wishes to honour!"'

(ii) Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 22.9–11.⁶

As for Timagoras the Athenian,⁷ who had sent a secret note via the secretary Belouris – (the king) was so pleased he gave him a thousand darics and as he (sc. Timagoras) needed cow's milk because he was ill he had eighty milch-cows follow him. Further, he sent him a bed with coverlets and people to lay them out,⁸ (thinking) that Greeks did not know how to do this (properly), and bearers to take him to the sea as he was unwell. And when he (sc. Timagoras) was present, he was sent such magnificent dinners that Ostanēs, the king's brother, said: 'Remember this table, Timagoras! It is not for nothing that you are being so splendidly served.'⁹

Notes

1. The register in which daily events were noted.
2. Esther's uncle, whose downfall has been plotted by his enemy Haman, the very highest official at the Persian court, according to Esther 3.1.
3. See **12, no.25**, n.4.
4. Cf. **12, no.3**.
5. See **12, no.26**, n.1. The episode of Mordecai's warning of the plan to kill him is recounted in Esther 2.19–23.
6. It is likely, but not certain, that this incident was drawn from Heracleides of Cumae (see **Chapter 1**).
7. Timagoras and Leon were sent as ambassadors to Artaxerxes II in 367 (Xen. *Hell.* VII, 1.35).
8. *Gr. stromata kai tous stromnuntas*.
9. In other words, it is a reward for services rendered. In fact, Timagoras was condemned to death in Athens for having accepted bribes.

(c) The gifts

21. The unmatched quality of royal gifts

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 2.7–8.

Although he (sc. Cyrus) surpassed all men in the quantity of revenues he received, he surpassed all men yet more in the quantity of his gifts. And so it was Cyrus who began

the practice of lavish giving¹ which is practised even now by the kings. For who can show richer friends than the king of the Persians? Who is known to adorn those about him with more beautiful garments than the king? Whose gifts are more recognisable than some of those given by the kings – bracelets, necklaces,² horses with gold bridles? For no one there is allowed to have these things unless they have been presented by the king.

Notes

1. Gr. *poludoria*; the term recurs to describe the nature of royal gift-giving.
2. See **figs. 13.3; 13.5**. Note Udjahorresnet's proud reference to the gold decorations bestowed on him by kings (**4, no. 11(k)**).



Figure 13.3 Gold bracelet, one of a pair, 11.5 cm wide, from the 'Oxus Treasure', now in the British Museum (Dalton 1964; Curtis 1997). For the problems raised by this unexcavated collection of objects, see Muscarella 2003. The bracelet was originally inlaid with glass and coloured stone. Four of the groups waiting to present gifts to the king on the Persepolis reliefs bring pairs of bracelets of precisely this type. For the standardised nature of the items carried by the 'tribute-bearers', mirroring the gifts presented by the king, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989: 136–7. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

22. Types of gifts

(i) Cyrus the Younger decorates the Cilician dynast

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.27.

When they met eventually, Syennesis¹ gave Cyrus much money for the army, while Cyrus gave him gifts regarded as honours at court: a horse with a golden bridle, a gold necklace and bracelets,² a gold *akinakes*³ and a Persian robe.

(ii) Artaxerxes II rewards Mithridates' service

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 14.5; 15.2.

He (sc. Artaxerxes) sent gifts to Mithridates,⁴ who had been the first to strike Cyrus, and commanded those presenting them to say: 'The king honours you with these because you found and brought the headcover of Cyrus' horse.'

(15) He was invited to a dinner, where the king's and queen-mother's eunuchs were present. He went in the dress and adorned with the gold he had received from the king.

(iii) Artapates' marks of honour

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 8.28–9.

It is reported that Artapates, the most loyal of his sceptre-bearers,⁵ when he saw Cyrus⁶ had fallen, leapt off his horse and threw his arms around him. And some say that the king ordered someone to kill him on Cyrus' body, but others that, drawing his *akinakes*,⁷ he killed himself; for he had a gold one. And he wore a necklace and bracelets and all the other things the noblest Persians wear – because he had been honoured by Cyrus because of his good will⁸ and loyalty.

Notes

1. The title of the Cilician dynast. For his ambivalent stance during Cyrus the Younger's revolt, see **9, no.14**.
2. Cf. **13, no.20(i); figs.13.3; 13.5**.
3. See **figs.11.26–11.28**.
4. According to Plutarch (*Artox.* 11.5–7), Mithridates had actually inflicted the blow that led to Cyrus the Younger's death, but Artaxerxes was claiming the glory of that critical act for himself.
5. See **11, no.22; 12, Introduction; 12, no.5**.
6. I.e. Cyrus the Younger at the Battle of Cunaxa.
7. See above, n.3.
8. Gr. *eunoia* combines notions of kindness, affection and benevolent inclination, and is difficult to translate exactly.

23. Public conferment of gifts and honours

(i) Cyrus rewards swift obedience

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 3.23.

But when someone summoned later than Daïphernes¹ rode up to him sooner, Cyrus both presented him with a horse led in the procession and ordered one of the sceptre-bearers to have it led off wheresoever he might command.² And those who observed it, thought it a mark of honour, and because of this many more people paid attention to him.

(ii) Darius I expresses his esteem for Megabazus

Herodotus IV, 143.2–3.

Darius once presented him (sc. Megabazus)³ with a gift of honour, with the following speech in the presence of the Persians. Darius desired to eat a pomegranate; and when he opened the first one, his brother Artabanus asked him what he would like to have in such quantity as the seeds in the pomegranate. Darius said that if he could have as many Megabazuses, it would be preferable to having Greece subject. In the presence of the Persians he said this and so honoured him.

(iii) Royal presentations to embassies

Aelian, *Varia Historia* 1.22.⁴

As for the gifts made by the great king to ambassadors, who came to him from Greece and elsewhere, this is what they were: he gave to each one Babylonian talent of coined silver,⁵ and two silver cups of one talent (the Babylonian talent is worth sixty-two Attic minas).⁶ He also presented them with bracelets, a curved sword and a torque – a total value of one thousand darics⁷ – and further a Median dress. The name of this dress is *dorophoric*.⁸

Notes

1. The setting is Cyrus' great procession (**11, no.22**), during which he summoned individuals to approach. Daïphernes had decided to assert himself by delaying his response to the royal summons.
2. Cf. the public proclamation ordered to mark Mordecai's honours, **13, no.20(i)**.
3. Appointed Darius I's commander in Thrace after the Scythian expedition (**6, nos.12**(143.1); **17–19**). He is described as 'a Persian' without a patronymic.
4. Aelian's source here is uncertain.
5. Gr. *episemou argyrou*, 'of marked/stamped silver'.
6. 1 talent = approx. 30 kg.
7. See **8, no.28**, n.5; **fig.11.35**.
8. Lit. 'presented as a gift', indicating that these garments were distinctive symbols of the king's favour, cf. **13, no.22**. Cf. the distribution of jewellery to ambassadors at the court of the Neo-Assyrian kings, SAA 7, no.58.

(d) The redistribution of wealth

24. Demus and his gold phiale

Lysias, *On the property of Aristophanes* 19.25.¹

Demus, the son of Pyrilampes,² who equipped a trireme for Cyprus,³ asked me to approach him (sc. Aristophanes). He said he had received a mark (sc. of royal favour)⁴ from the great king, namely a gold phiale,⁵ which he would give to Aristophanes as security for sixteen minas, and thus he would have the funds to equip the trireme. When he reached Cyprus, he would redeem it for the sum of twenty minas⁶ because, on the strength of this mark (of royal favour), he would be well provided with goods and other money all over the continent.⁷

Notes

1. The speech is a defence by, and of, Aristophanes' brother-in-law. Aristophanes had been involved in Evagoras' revolt (**9, Section C(a)**), who was subsequently executed in Athens and his property confiscated. When this was found to be less than expected, his children's guardian was accused of pocketing part of it. The guardian had died at the time of the public prosecution, which was then directed against the brother-in-law. The trial probably took place at some point in the early 380s.
2. Demus had been a famously beautiful young boy (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 98; Plato, *Gorgias* 481d). His father was Plato's stepfather, also noted for his handsomeness. He went on an embassy to the Persian court, where the king is said to have presented him with some peacocks (Plut. *Per.* 13.10), which his son still possessed. Demus seems to have maintained his father's friendship with the Persian king (Vickers 1988).
3. One of ten ships, all captured in 390/89 on their way to join Evagoras, see **9, no.46**.
4. Gr. *sumbolon*, see Vickers 1988; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989: 134.
5. See **fig.8.1**.
6. 1 mina is roughly 500 g.
7. In other words, it is Demus' possession of this distinctive mark of royal favour that identifies him as an individual on good terms with the Persian king and hence to be treated with lavish hospitality and endless credit.

25. Silver distributed at royal command

(i) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 4. Reign of Darius I; PTS 33*/PFS 71* (see **fig.13.4**).

530 karsh,¹ silver, allocations by Unsak:²

60: Vahauka
 60: Appatra
 60: Mariakarsha
 60: Annukrush³
 50: Azakka
 50: Mazdayasna
 50: Bagabigna
 30: Mitranka
 30: Dataparna
 20: Parnaka

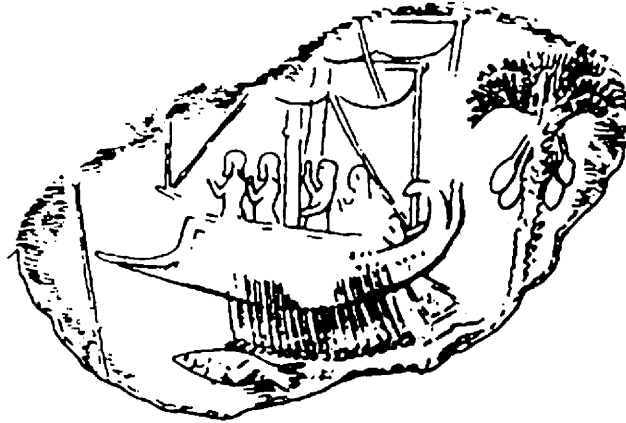


Figure 13.4 Drawing of cylinder seal impression, PTS 33*/PFS 71*, impressed on PT 4 & 5 (see **13, no.25** & n.10). It shows a Phoenician trireme, directly comparable to images used on Persian period coins from Tyre and Sidon, although not normally depicted manned, see Betlyon 1980, pls.1–4; 6–8; fig.1. The reverse of these coins frequently shows the Persian king in his chariot. (After CAH IV.)

20: Bagizza

20: Bagagia

20: Mannizza

This (is) the total, men who are among the Persians, storekeepers at Andakash, to them it was given(?).⁴ Darius the king ordered it for them.⁵

(ii) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 5. Reign of Darius I; PTS 33*/PFS 71* (see **fig.13.4**).

904 karsh silver, allocations by Unsak (for) the *kamkatiyap*⁶ at (place) Parmizza,⁷ for whom Saddumish is responsible, who took the (place) Marsashkash⁸ at(?) (the region/district??) Andakash – to them it was given.⁹ Darius ordered (it). Each man: 8 karsh.¹⁰

Notes

1. Persian money weight, equivalent of 10 shekels (approx. 80 g). 530 karsh is thus about 42.5 kg.
2. See Vallat 1992 (revised and updated 2002) for this Elamite PN.
3. Collation by Hallock (personal communication, W. Henkelman).
4. I.e. people who are in Fars. The (tentative) translation is proposed by W. Henkelman, suggesting that Andakash could be a place name rather than a personal name. The personal names in the preceding list seem to be generally Persian/Iranian.
5. The sums are very substantial. Note that, at this time, one sheep cost 3 shekels (e.g. **16, no.18**) and could feed ten men, see **13, no.13**, and that the top official in the Persepolis administration (Parnaka/Pharnaces, see **12, no.29(i)**, n.2; **16, no.11**) was in receipt of two sheep a day (**16, no.11(i)**).
6. Most likely an occupational designation, perhaps to be rendered 'cattle-herders' here. For the reading, differing from Cameron, see Hallock 1960: 97.
7. Located by Koch (1990: 270 and plan, p.275) south-east of Persepolis.

8. In the same region as Parmizza, cf. references above, n.7 (Hvarthaskash).
9. The meaning is completely obscure; the translation is tentatively suggested by W. Henkelman.
10. Again a considerable amount (640 g, the equivalent of slightly more than 206 sheep, see n.5, above). It may have been a reward for apprehending a criminal. The cylinder seal on the tablets, with an Aramaic inscription, is also used in the Fortification archive (to be published in Garrison and Root II; see **fig.13.4**).

26. Food from the royal table

(i) The rationale of royal food distribution¹

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 2.2–4.

So when he (sc. Cyrus) was not as yet in a position to bestow financial benefits, he strove to gain the friendship of those with him by taking thought for them and working on their behalf – happy when things were good for them, sympathetic when things went badly. Then, when he was able to bestow financial benefits, he realised immediately that there is no kindness that men can show each other that is more welcome, for the same level of expense, than sharing food and drink.

With this in mind, he first arranged that on his table there should be enough food of the kind he always ate for very many people. And everything that was set before him, save that which he and his fellow-diners² consumed, he distributed to those of his friends to whom he wished to send proof of his remembrance or good wishes. He would even send round to those who had pleased him with their service as guards or attendants or pleased him in some other way. Like that he indicated that their desire to please him did not go unnoticed.

He would also honour with gifts from his table any of the servants he wished to praise. All the servants' food he had served from his own table, in the belief that it would instil some friendly feelings, just as it does with dogs.

(ii) Supplies for Parnaka and his retinue

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 4. x/–/20(?), Darius I (502/1?); PFS 9* (Garrison & Root I, no.288; **fig.16 3(a)**).³

48 BAR flour,⁴ allocations by Battishba (at) Maratamkash,⁵ Parnaka received as ration(s). (For) 1 day, year [20?], month [. . .].

Daily (by) Parnaka together with his adjutants,⁶ 48 BAR is being received. (By) Parnaka himself 18 BAR is being received. (By) his 300 adjutants, 1 QA each is (being) received.

(iii) Zishshawish provided with supplies for a religious feast

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 672. X/–/25, Darius I (November–December 497); PFS 11* (**fig.11.44**).

78 BAR flour,⁷ allocations by Umayya, was dispensed at Appishtapdan for a divine feast.⁸

In month 8, year 25, Zishshawish held (the feast).⁹

Hintamukka wrote (it). Kamezza communicated the message.¹⁰ (At) Persepolis, in month 10.

Notes

1. Cf. also **11, no.18; 12, nos.39; 42**; Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII, 4.6; 6.11; Nehemiah 5.17; Esther 1.3–8.
2. Gr. *sundeipnoi*, cf. **12, no.42; 13, nos.15; 38**.
3. See PFT, 23, noting that this, like similar texts in the ‘H’ category, seems to be issued only by and to high-level functionaries (although here, unusually, the scribe and communicator of the message are absent). For Parnaka’s position, see **12, no.29(i)**, n.2; **16, no.11**.
4. 480 litres. Note that the regular daily food provision is 1–1.5 litres.
5. In the vicinity of Persepolis, see Koch 1990: 15. The official’s name is probably Iranian, see Mayrhofer.
6. El. *puhu*; see Giovinazzo 1995 for suggested translation(s) of the term.
7. An enormous quantity: 780 litres.
8. El. *d.šip*, see PFT, Glossary. The correction of (PN) Appishmanda to (GN) Appishtapdan (see **12, no.40**, n.5) is the result of a collation made by Hallock (see further, Henkelman 2006, 5.7.5, sub ‘E’). Umayā is very likely an Iranian name (cf. Gr. *Hymaēs*).
9. Zishshawish was next to Parnaka in the Persepolis bureaucracy (**16, no.12**).
10. This notation only occurs on documents originating from very high officials. The seal on the tablet is the personal one of Zishshawish, deputy of Parnaka (Garrison 1998: 126–8; **16, no.12**). For Hintamukka (‘the Indian’), a high-level official, see **16, no.12** & n.5; for Kamezza’s PN, see Mayrhofer 8.724.

C. Reciprocity and obligations

(a) Services

27. The king reaps the benefits of his generosity

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 2.10–12.

Thus we have also found that he obtained those called ‘the king’s eyes’ and ‘the king’s ears’ simply by gifts and honours. Because, by acting very generously towards those who reported matters of interest to him, he persuaded many men to listen and look carefully so that they might report whatever would benefit the king. The result was that many were thought to be ‘king’s eyes’ and ‘king’s ears’. But if anybody should think that the king picked one to be his ‘eye’, he is not thinking straight – because one person would see and hear little. And it would be like telling everyone else not to pay attention if just one were appointed for this purpose. Further, if one knew that somebody was the ‘eye’, one would know to be most careful of him. But it is not like that, because the king listens to anybody who says that he has heard or seen something worth attention. And so there is the saying ‘The king has many ears and many eyes.’ So everywhere people are afraid to say anything negative about the king, as though he himself were listening, or do anything bad, as though he himself were present. So not only would no one dare to say something bad about Cyrus to someone, but everyone behaved as though those who were around were all ‘king’s eyes’ and ‘king’s ears’. I do not know what better reason there could be for the way people behaved towards him than that he wanted to confer great benefits in return for small ones.¹

Note

1. Cf. **12, nos.3; 18** & n.2.

28. *Services weighed against offences*¹

(i) The principle

Herodotus I, 137.1.

I also praise this (custom): no one, not even the king himself, may execute someone for just one crime, nor may anyone of the other Persians inflict irreparable harm on one of his servants for a single crime. But when, on consideration, he finds that the misdeeds outnumber the good services, he may do as he wills.

(ii) Darius I reverses his decision

Herodotus VII, 194.1–2.

King Darius had once taken and crucified him,² when he was a royal judge, on this charge: Sandoces had judged a case unfairly in return for money.³ As he was hanging there, Darius reflected and found that he had done more good than bad for the royal house. When he realised this, Darius knew that he had acted swiftly rather than wisely and released him. So he escaped King Darius and did not perish.

Notes

1. Cf. with this **11, no.17**, para.2; **13, no.31 (iii)**.
2. Sandoces, described as hyparch of part of Aeolia and commander of the Persian navy as it was rounding the cape of Artemisium (**7, no.27**).
3. Note the story of Cambyses' punishment of a corrupt judge (**4, no.23**).

29. *The limits of reciprocity*

(i) Pythius oversteps the mark

Herodotus VII, 28–9; 38–9.

Xerxes asked Pythius¹ how much money he had. He said: 'My king, I shall neither hide anything from you nor pretend to be ignorant of my wealth – I know it and will account for it to you precisely. As soon as I heard that you were coming down to the Greek sea, I made enquiries because I wanted to give you money for the war. With calculations, I find that I have two thousand silver talents and four million daric staters² minus 7,000. I now give you this. For me, the income from my slaves and land will suffice.' That is what he said, and Xerxes, pleased with his speech, replied:

(29) 'My Lydian host, since I left the Persian land I have not come across any man who was in a position to entertain my army, nor one who freely offered to contribute money to my war, save you. You have entertained my army magnificently and have offered a magnificent sum. To you I shall make gifts in response. I shall make you my guest-friend³ and round up the four million staters, giving the seven thousand from my own pocket, so that the four million may not be short of the seven thousand, but that the full sum will be complete, thanks to me. Possess of what you are possessed; know how to be always what you are. Like that, you shall never regret it now or in the future.'

(38) As he (sc. Xerxes) marched away, the Lydian Pythius, terrified by heavenly signs⁴ and encouraged by the gifts, approached Xerxes and said this: 'My lord, I have a request for you that I wish you may grant. For you it is easy to do this kindness, which is a great thing for me.' Xerxes, assuming that he would ask for anything rather than what he did, said he would perform the kind deed and bade him say what he wanted. When the latter heard this, he was encouraged and spoke: 'My lord, it so happens that I have five sons, and all have to campaign with you in Greece. Oh king, show compassion to me at my age and release one of my sons – the eldest – from the army to take care of me and my goods. Take the four with you and may you return home having achieved what you wish.'

(39) Xerxes was furious and gave this reply: 'You wicked man, you dare, when I myself am marching to Greece with my own sons and brothers and household and friends, to speak of your son – you, who are my slave, who should with all your house, even your wife, follow me? Understand this well: the spirit of men dwells in their ears. When he hears what is good, his body fills with pleasure; when he hears the opposite it swells. Now although you did good and offered yet more, you cannot boast that you have outdone the king in benefactions. And as you have now turned to this bit of shamelessness, you will not receive its exact value, but less. You and your four sons are protected by guest-friendship. But the one you care for so much will pay with his life.' That was his answer. Immediately, he ordered those in charge of such things to find the eldest of Pythius' sons, cut him in half, and place the halves on either side of the road, to the right and left, and for the army to pass between them.⁵

(ii) A soldier finds fault with his reward

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 14.6–9.⁶

As the Carian,⁷ who had struck the back of Cyrus' knee and caused him to fall, also, demanded a gift, he (sc. Artaxerxes II) ordered the one presenting it to say this: 'The king presents you with this as second prize, for bringing him the good news. The first was Artasyras;⁸ after him you came with the news of Cyrus' death.'

(. . .) The miserable Carian, as happens so often, suffered the consequences of stupidity. Misled by this present fortune (or so it seemed) and convinced that he could quickly gain something well above him, he refused to accept that the gift was a recompense for bringing good news. Instead he grew angry and insisted in a loud voice that no one else but he had killed Cyrus and that he was being unjustly deprived of the glory.⁹

When the king heard this, he was furious and ordered the man's head to be cut off.¹⁰

Notes

1. The setting is Celaenae in Phrygia, 480, with Xerxes en route to Sardis. The wealthy Pythius, having entertained the Persian army there, offered to contribute further to the war. For his gift of the golden plane and vine to Darius, see **11, no.30(i)**. For the continued exploitation of Lydia's alluvial minerals as the source of Pythius' gold, see Descat 1989: 91, n.20.
2. This is a bit obscure, as a daric is 1 shekel (**8, no.28**, n.5), while a stater is equivalent to 2 shekels. The amounts (certainly fictitious) are fabulous.
3. See Herman 1987.
4. The Persians were now at Sardis and, according to Herodotus, there had been a solar eclipse (**11, no.46**).

5. This is reminiscent of a Hittite ritual intended to cleanse a defeated army (Rollinger 2000: 66–70). The fact that the ritual was performed at Sardis may point to it being a local practice. For a similar response by Darius I to a request to spare a son from war service, see **13, no.3(i)**, where Darius had all the man's sons executed. The story illustrates very clearly that gifts to the king, however lavish, never impose reciprocal obligations on him.
6. Plutarch is describing some episodes in the aftermath of the Battle of Cunaxa, 401.
7. Previously called a Caunian (Plut. *Artōx.* 11.9.10).
8. Plut. *Artōx.* 12.1–2 (cf. **12, no.18**).
9. For the importance of the king as the sole victor over his enemies, see **11, no.33**.
10. Plutarch elaborates on this by presenting the queen-mother, Parysatis, ordering the Carian to be horribly tortured to death instead (Plut. *Artōx.* 14.9–10).

(b) The precariousness of royal favour

30. The career of Megabyzus

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F14(34; 43); Lenfant, 128–9; 133.

A battle takes place after the death of Artapanus¹ between his accomplices and the other Persians, and his three sons fall in the battle. Megabyzus² is badly wounded, and Artaxerxes, Amytis,³ Rhodogune and their mother, Amestris, are distressed, and he is just saved by the intensive treatment of Apollonides, a doctor from Cos.⁴ (. . .)⁵

(43) The king goes forth to hunt and a lion attacks him. The beast is bounding forward in mid-air when Megabyzus strikes it with his lance and kills it. And Artaxerxes is enraged that Megabyzus succeeded in striking it before himself.⁶ And he orders Megabyzus' head to be cut off. But, at Amestris' and Amytis' request, he is spared death and deported to a town called Cyrta in the Red Sea.⁷ Artoxares the eunuch,⁸ too, is exiled to Armenia, because he had pleaded so often on Megabyzus' behalf with the king. Megabyzus spends five years in exile, then flees disguised as a *pisagas*. *Pisagas* is said by the Persians to be a leper and is untouchable to all.⁹ So he flees and reaches Amytis and his house; and she barely recognises him. And through the intervention of Amestris and Amytis, the king is persuaded and makes him, as before, his table-companion.¹⁰ After a life of seventy-six years, he died and the king was profoundly grieved.

Notes

1. For Artabanus and his role in the murder of Xerxes, see **7, no.92; fig.7.7**.
2. Megabyzus (OP Bagabukhsha), son of Zopyrus, was the grandson of one of Darius I's helpers in the assassination of Bardiya (**5, no.1**, para.68). Ctesias also attributed to him the Persian success in retaking Babylon after revolt, for which he received exceptional honours from the king (**7, no.7**). He was, according to Ctesias, initially involved in a plot against Artaxerxes I, but revealed it to the king (**7, no.92(i)**).
3. Xerxes' daughter, Artaxerxes I's sister and Megabyzus' wife. Ctesias previously attributed Megabyzus' decision to join the plot against Artaxerxes to the fact that he suspected her of adultery.
4. For his disastrous end, see **12, no.12(iii)**; for doctors at the Persian court, generally, see **12, no.12**, n.2.
5. For Megabyzus' command during the Egyptian revolt, see **8, nos.6; 9**; for the story of his 'revolt' in the Levant and reconciliation with the king, see **8, no.10**.
6. For the ideology of the king as a mighty hunter and master of wild animals, see **11, no.18(5–6)**, cf. **11, no.21(iii); 21(v); figs.6.4; 11.36**, and note the widespread seal motif of the hero, frequently clearly royal, overcoming dangerous and mythical creatures, Garrison and Root I.

7. The Red Sea here is the Persian Gulf. For the region as a place for deportees in the Achaemenid period, see **14, no.2** (93); **17 nos.44–5**; Hdt. VII, 80, cf. Salles 1990: 115–16.
8. One of Darius II's supporters in 424/3, see **8, no.20**; for discussion of such prominent 'eunuchs', see **12, Introduction**.
9. Cf. Hdt. I, 138, according to whom lepers were not allowed to enter cities.
10. Gr. *homotrapezos*, cf. **12, no.42**; **13, nos.15**; **38**.

31. Episodes from the life of Tiribazus¹

(i) Tiribazus and the king's robe

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 5.3–4.

While out hunting, Tiribazus pointed out to him (sc. Artaxerxes II) that his robe² was torn and the latter asked him what he should do. 'Put on another, and give me this one.' The king did this, but said: 'I give you this, Tiribazus, but forbid you to wear it.' But Tiribazus took no notice – he was not a bad man, but silly with a tendency to get carried away. But when he instantly put that dress on and decked himself in gold necklaces and royal feminine ornaments, everyone was angry – because this was not permitted.³ However, the king laughed and said: 'I give you the gold to wear like a woman and the dress like a fool.'

(ii) Tiribazus saves king and army⁴

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 24.4–9.

Tiribazus was a man who had frequently been raised to the first rank as a result of his courage and as often lost his position because of his silliness. At this moment, when he was in a very abject situation and completely disregarded, he saved the king and the army. The Cadusians had two kings, each at some distance from the other's camp. Tiribazus went to Artaxerxes, told him what he planned to do and then went himself to one of the Cadusians, while secretly sending his son⁵ to the other. Each deceived the other by saying that the other one was sending an embassy to Artaxerxes to conclude a pact of friendship and alliance just with himself. So, if each were sensible, he must get to Artaxerxes before the other, and he himself (sc. Tiribazus and Arpates, respectively) would personally help him in all respects. Both kings were convinced and, in the expectation of anticipating each other, one sent ambassadors with Tiribazus, the other with Tiribazus' son. As some time elapsed before their arrival, suspicions and calumnies about Tiribazus were proffered to Artaxerxes. He himself was displeased and changed his mind about having trusted Tiribazus, which gave those jealous of him the chance to accuse him. But when Tiribazus, as well as his son, came, bringing the Cadusians, a treaty and peace were concluded with both. Then Tiribazus became a person of great and brilliant prestige, and went by the side of the king as they set off.

(iii) Tiribazus is accused, tried and vindicated

Diodorus Siculus XV, 8.3–5, 10–11.

When Tiribazus would not agree to this,⁶ the other general, Orontes,⁷ who begrudged Tiribazus his prominence, secretly sent letters to Artaxerxes doing Tiribazus down. He

accused him, first, that although he was in a position to capture Salamis he was not doing so and instead receiving embassies from Evagoras⁸ and discussing common action with him; also, that he was making a private alliance with the Spartans, as he was their friend; also, that he had sent to Pytho⁹ to ask the god about his planned revolt; and, most important, that he was gaining the (allegiance of the) commanders of the forces by personal benefactions, winning them over with honours and gifts and promises.¹⁰ When the king read the letter, he was convinced by the accusations, and wrote to Orontes that he should arrest Tiribazus and send him to him. When the command had been executed, Tiribazus was brought to the king and asked to be tried, but for the moment, he was placed in prison. After this the king was involved in a war against the Cadusians and postponed the trial, so the court action was put off.

When Artaxerxes had finished the Cadusian war, he fixed Tiribazus' trial and appointed as judges the three men who were most highly esteemed among the Persians. At this time, other judges, who were thought to be corrupt, were flayed alive and their skins were stretched over the judgement seats. The judges then had to conduct their cases seated on them with an example before their very eyes of the punishment awaiting a corrupt judge.¹¹ So the plaintiffs read the letters sent by Orontes and said that it was sufficient as an accusation. With respect to the charge concerning Evagoras, he (sc. Tiribazus) pointed to the agreement reached by Orontes with Evagoras that the latter should obey the king as a king, while he had set up an agreement whereby Evagoras should obey the king as a slave a master. As for the oracle, he said that the god generally did not give a response about issues of death, and he called the Greeks present as witnesses. Concerning friendship with the Spartans, he countered that it was not formed for private advantage, but to benefit the king. And he pointed out that by this route the Spartans had been separated from the Greeks in Asia, who had thus been delivered to the king.¹² At the end of his defence he reminded the judges of the good deeds he had previously done for the king.

It is said that he gave proof of many other services for the king, but one major one, as a result of which he was celebrated and had become a very great friend. For during a hunt, when the king was in his chariot, two lions charged him, tore to pieces two of the four horses yoked to it and then attacked the king himself. At that moment, Tiribazus appeared and killed the lions and rescued the king from danger.¹³ They also say that in war he excelled in bravery and in councils his perception was so sharp that when the king adopted his advice he never made a mistake. With the production of such a defence, Tiribazus was cleared of the charges unanimously by all the judges.

The king called the judges to him one by one and asked on what criteria each had found him not guilty of the charges. So the first said that he saw that the charges could be disputed, but the services were indisputable. The second one said that, even if the charges were true, the good services outstripped any offence. The third stated that he did not take the good services into account because Tiribazus had received from the king in return favours and honours many times greater, but looking at the charges on their own the defendant did not seem to be guilty of them. The king praised the judges for coming to a just decision and decorated Tiribazus with the greatest customary honours. But he condemned Orontes for fabricating a false charge, expelled him from among his friends and heaped the greatest degradations upon him.

(iv) Tiribazus falls out with the king

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 27.6–9.

The king had several daughters. He promised to give Apame to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes,¹⁴ Amestris to Tiribazus. And he gave them to the others, but deceived Tiribazus by marrying Amestris himself; instead, he pledged his youngest daughter to Tiribazus. But as he then fell in love with her and married her, as already said,¹⁵ Tiribazus was filled with a violent hatred against him, as his character was not at all balanced, but easily upset and destabilised.

(v) Tiribazus is involved in a plot and killed

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 29.1, 6–7.

Darius¹⁶ gave himself over to Tiribazus. There were already quite a number of conspirators, when a eunuch revealed the plot and its manner to the king. (. . .)¹⁷ So when the assassins were discovered by him, they did nothing, but withdrew and fled via the doors, advising Tiribazus to leave as he had been recognised. The others dispersed and ran away. But when Tiribazus was on the point of being arrested, he killed a number of the king's bodyguard. Only with difficulty was he struck by someone hurling a spear and fell.

Notes

1. For Tiribazus' proximity to the king, see **13, no.16(i)**. The chronological order of these episodes is unknown, save for the fact that his denunciation by Orontes is linked to the settlement of the Cyprus conflict in the 380s, see **9, no.56**. See also the references at **9, no.44**, n.2.
2. Gr. *kandys*, the sleeved Persian robe worn by the king; see **11, no.28; fig.11.25**.
3. The royal robe and ornaments were, of course, unique, and wearing them was tantamount to revolt (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983a).
4. For Artaxerxes II's Cadusian 'campaign(s)', see the discussion at **9, no.67**; for other incidents from this expedition, see **11, nos.21(vi); 34**; the latter describes the army starving in the mountainous wilderness.
5. Arpates, see **9, no.72**.
6. See **9, no.56**, for the setting of Orontes' accusation near the end of the Cyprus war in the 380s, where Tiribazus held supreme command.
7. A very high-ranking noble, previously governor of Armenia; see the next passage here, and **13, no.32**.
8. The Salaminian prince who had tried to establish his control over the other Cypriot rulers (**9, Section C(a)**).
9. The Delphic oracle.
10. Rightly picked out as the most serious charge, as these are actions directly rivalling and undermining those of the king.
11. This punishment is described by Herodotus as inflicted by Cambyzes on Sisamnes (**4, no.23**). One wonders whether Diodorus (or his source) has based his own account on that of Herodotus.
12. For the negotiations between Tiribazus and the Spartan Antalcidas, and his role in the King's Peace (387/6), see **9, nos.44; 47**.
13. Note the contrast with Megabyzus who, for a similar action that saved the king, was exiled (**13, no.30**). Such interventions were obviously a delicate matter – requiring fine judgement.
14. Pharnabazus was satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia; for his departure to marry the princess (before 387), see **9, no.47**. Orontes' marriage to Artaxerxes II's daughter is placed in 401, see **9, no.25**.
15. See **12, no.38(i)**. For the practice of endogamy in the Achaemenid royal family, and the

particular political considerations that may have motivated Artaxerxes' marriages, see **12, Introduction; no.38** & n.6.

16. Artaxerxes II's crown-prince, whose dissatisfactions have been fuelled by Tiribazus alienated, according to Plutarch, by the king's refusal to marry one of his daughters to him.
17. Plutarch here describes the trap set by the king to foil the plot.

32. Orontes' chequered progress¹

(i) Governor of Armenia²

Xenophon, *Anabasis* III, 5.17.

The generals thought that they must go through the mountains into Carduchian territory, because the prisoners said that the way led into Armenia, large and prosperous, ruled by Orontas.

(ii) Orontes tries to regain the king's favour

Diodorus Siculus XV, 91.1.

Those who had rebelled against the king chose as general Orontes, who was in charge of everything in the administration.³ He took over the command and funds for hiring mercenaries, sufficient for twenty thousands soldiers for a year, and then became a traitor to those who trusted him.⁴ He suspected that he would obtain from the king great rewards and succeed to the satrapy of the entire coastal region if he surrendered the rebels to the Persians. So, first, he arrested those bringing the money and sent them to Artaxerxes. After that, he delivered many cities and the hired soldiers to the commanders who had been sent by the king.

(iii) A late summary of Orontes' career

OGIS 264.⁵

Orontes the son of Artasy[rus, by descen]t Bactrian, when he rebelled against Artaxer[xes, the Pers]ian king, gained control of the Perga[menians and resett]led them anew at the colony in the o[l]d city. Afterwards he handed over [the city] to Artaxerxes and died.⁶

Notes

1. The material for Orontes' life is very disparate and the chronology uncertain, see the discussions by Osborne 1973; Troxell 1981; Hornblower 1982: 176–9; Weiskopf 1989: 19–23; 69–91; Van der Spek 1998: 248–50. See **17, no.6** for the Carduchians.
2. The date is 401, soon after the Battle of Cunaxa. Orontes had fought on the king's side and enjoyed high royal favour, as witnessed by his marriage to Artaxerxes II's daughter, see **9, no.25; 13, no.31(iv)**. In the 380s he was a commander in the Cypriot campaign under Tiribazus, when he denounced him and subsequently was in disgrace, see **9, no.56; 13, no.31(iii)**. Precisely what form that took is unknown, but some think that he was stripped of his governorship and moved to a subservient position in western Asia Minor.
3. For discussion of local instability and inter-satrapal rivalries illustrated by the confused history of Asia Minor in the early fourth century, see Weiskopf 1989. For debates on Orontes' position, see *id.*: 70–6.

4. It is possible that this was done either because he was defeated and had lost his supporter, Rheomithres (Poly. VII, 14.4; D.S. XV, 92.1), or that he and Rheomithres planned the treachery together (note that Diodorus describes Rheomithres' defection in rather similar terms).
5. The Pergamene Chronicle is a Greek inscription dating from the time of the Roman empire, perhaps reflecting claims made by the Attalids (third century) to a spurious antiquity (Hornblower 1982: 178, n.64).
6. If Orontes had, indeed, been stripped of his Armenian post (see above, n.2), it is possible that his return to royal favour led to him regaining his position there. This is suggested by the fact that his son (or grandson) was governor of Armenia in 331 (Arr. III, 8.5, cf. D.S. XIX, 23.3); see Osborne 1973: 520, n.29.

(c) Loyalty and treason

33. Persian nobles obligated to attend court

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 1.6, 8, 16.

They (sc. the Persians) decided that the nobles¹ should always be present at court² and be prepared to do whatever Cyrus wished, until he dismissed them. And, just as they then decided, so they do even now – those who are the king's subjects in Asia are always in attendance at the court of the rulers. So the nobles came to Cyrus' court with their horses and spears, as decided by all the best of those who had joined him in conquering the kingdom.

Then he began to make arrangements so that his associates would act as they ought. First, if anyone who had sufficient to live by the work of others was not at court, he enquired after him. Because he thought that those who attended would not wish to do anything bad or shameful, both because they were in the presence of their ruler and because they were aware that whatever they did they were being observed by the noblest. But those who did not come to court, he believed them to be absent because they had been self-indulgent, unjust or careless.

Notes

1. Gr. *entimoi*, lit. 'the honoured ones'.
2. Gr. *thurai*, lit. 'the gates' (cf. **12, nos.3–4; fig.12.1**).

34. Execution of a traitor

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 6.10.¹

After this, he said,² when Cyrus gave the order, all of them arose, even his relatives,³ and seized Orontas by the girdle to signal that he was condemned to death.⁴

Notes

1. For Orontas' (not to be confused with Orontes, **13, no.32**) repeated treachery, despite the formal oaths that bound him to Cyrus, and trial, see **9, nos.11; 19**.
2. The account of the trial is reported by the commander of Cyrus' Greek mercenaries.
3. The ties of sworn loyalty to the king overrode family solidarity, and needed to be publicly demonstrated when it came to the test, as here (see **13, no.35**; Briant 1996a: 337 [2002b: 325–6]).

4. It is possible that the loosening of the girdle symbolised the breaking of the bond between ruler and subject, expressed by OP *bandaka*, 'bondsmen' (**5, no.1** & n.7; Briant 1996a: 335–7 [2002b: 324–6]). See, for example, D.S. XVII, 30.4: 'This offended the king, and . . . he seized Charidemus by the girdle according to the custom of the Persians, turned him over to the attendants, and ordered him to be put to death.'

35. The erosion of family ties

Diodorus Siculus XV, 91.2–3.

In the same way, too, there was betrayal¹ in Cappadocia, where something peculiar and quite unexpected occurred. Artabazus,² the king's general, had invaded Cappadocia with a large army. Datames,³ the satrap of this region, had taken the field against him with many horsemen that he had collected and twenty thousand hired infantry who were serving with him. But Datames' father-in-law,⁴ who was in command of the cavalry, wanted to gain favour and also provide for his own safety. So he deserted at night, riding off with his cavalry to the enemy as he had made arrangements for the betrayal with Artabazus the previous day.⁵

Notes

1. The story follows straight on from Orontes' betrayal of rebels (see **13, no.32(ii)**).
2. Son of Pharnabazus and Apame, daughter of Artaxerxes II (see **13, no.31(iv)**), and satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia from c.363/2 (see further, **13, Introduction; no.44**, n.5).
3. See **13, no.36** & n.1.
4. His name was Mithrobarzanes (D.S. XV, 91.5); for a slightly different version of his desertion, see **13, no.36(6)**.
5. Datames was also betrayed at some point by his oldest son, Sysinas (**13, no.36(7)**).

36. From loyal officer to rebel

Cornelius Nepos, *Lives of the Great Generals*, 14: Datames¹

Datames' father, Camisares, was Carian and his mother Scythian. First, he became one of the soldiers who were Artaxerxes'² bodyguard. His father Camisares, who had proved his outstanding qualities – courageous in battle and loyal to the king on many occasions – was given the governorship of that part of Cilicia³ which bordered on Cappadocia, and is inhabited by the Leucosyrians.⁴ Datames, while on military service, demonstrated his mettle in the war the king fought against the Cadusians.⁵ After many soldiers had been killed here, his efforts were decisive – so much so that, as Camisares had fallen in that campaign, his father's province was entrusted to him.

(2) He displayed particular valour in the war which Autophradates,⁶ on the orders of the king, conducted against the rebels.⁷ By his actions the enemy, who had already entered the camp and had cut down the soldiers, was thrown back and the remainder of the king's army saved. From then on he received ever greater commands.

At that time Thuys was lord of Paphlagonia.⁸ He was from an old family, descended from Pylaemenes, who Homer says was killed by Patroclus in the Trojan War.⁹ He did not heed the king's word. For this reason he decided to make war on him, and Datames was put in command, although he was related to the Paphlagonian – they were the offspring of a

brother and a sister.¹⁰ For this reason, Datames initially wanted to bring him back to obedience without the use of force. So he arrived without a guard, never suspecting a trap from a friend, which nearly cost him his life, because Thuys planned to kill him in secret. His mother, the Paphlagonian's aunt, was with Datames, and it was she who discovered it and warned her son. He fled and so escaped the danger, and then declared war on Thuys. Abandoned by Ariobarzanes, the governor of Lydia, Ionia and the whole of Phrygia,¹¹ he nevertheless persevered and took Thuys prisoner together with his wife and children.

(3) He sent no news of his achievement to the king before arriving himself. And so, unbeknownst to all, he arrived where the king was. The next day, he dressed Thuys – a giant of a man with a terrifying black visage, long-haired and sporting a great beard – in a magnificent robe, as regularly worn by the king's satraps, and even adorned him with a torque and gold bracelets and other royal insignia. He dressed himself in a farmer's cloak and shaggy tunic, with a hunting cap on his head, club in his right hand and, in his left, a chain by which he led Thuys, like a captured beast. The strangeness of dress and unusual appearance attracted all eyes and many ran to see the spectacle. One man recognised Thuys and told the king. At first, he would not believe it and sent Pharnabazus¹² to find out. When he confirmed matters, the king ordered him to be admitted immediately and enjoyed the spectacle immensely, particularly as a famous king had unexpectedly fallen into his hands. He sent Datames, richly rewarded, off to the army being gathered to fight in Egypt under Pharnabazus and Tithraustes and ordered him to share the command equally with them.¹³ In fact, later, when the king recalled Pharnabazus, Datames received the supreme command.¹⁴

(4) While he was in the middle of preparing the Egyptian army and about to set off, letters suddenly arrived from the king ordering him to move against Aspis, who held Cataonia; the region was north of Cilicia, on the Cappadocian frontier.¹⁵ Aspis was installed in a mountainous area equipped with fortresses. He was not only not obeying royal rule, but plaguing the adjacent territories and raiding those bringing tribute to the king.

Datames was, in fact, far away from the region and engaged in a more important matter, but he thought it best to yield to the king's wish. So he set sail with a few, but strong, men, convinced that, whatever happened, he would be likely to have more success with a small surprise attack on an equipped enemy than with a large force. After reaching Cilicia, he disembarked, marched day and night, crossed the Taurus and reached his goal. He asked for Aspis' whereabouts, and discovered that he was quite close by hunting. But while he was thinking what to do, Aspis learned of his arrival, and prepared to resist along with his men and the Pisidians.¹⁶ With Aspis aware of his presence, Datames seized his arms, ordered his men to follow and, spurring his horse, charged the foe. When Aspis saw his attack, he gave up all thought of resistance and surrendered in terror. Datames bound him and had Mithridates¹⁷ take him to the king.

(5) While this was going on, Artaxerxes thought better of seconding one of his prime generals from a major war to go on such a minor mission. So he sent a messenger to the army at Acco to tell Datames not to leave, because he thought the latter had not yet left. But before the messenger arrived, he met on the way the people taking Aspis to the king. Such speed procured for Datames great favour from the king and no less envy from the courtiers, who saw themselves losing their position. So they all agreed to bring about his downfall. Padantes, the king's treasurer and Datames' friend, told him this by letter and warned him that he would be in great danger if some setback should occur during his campaign in Egypt. Because kings are in the habit of blaming ill fortune on their subordinates and attributing success to their own good fortune. The result is that they are easily persuaded to

destroy those who fail to succeed. The risk was even greater for Datames as his declared enemies were also those to whom the king paid most heed.

Datames took in the contents of this letter, when he had already reached the army at Acco. He realised that what was written was true, and so he decided to revolt from the king. Yet he did nothing unworthy of his loyalty. He put Mandrocles of Magnesia in command of the army; then he left with his men for Cappadocia, occupied neighbouring Paphlagonia, while hiding his feelings towards the king. He made a secret agreement with Ariobarzanes, raised an army and placed the fortified towns under the guard of his own men.

(6) But as it was winter these plans did not proceed very well. He heard that the Pisidians were raising troops against him. He sent out his son Arsidaeus with an army; the young man fell in battle. His father set out, in his turn, with a few soldiers to hide the great loss he had sustained, hoping to encounter the enemy before the news of the disaster should reach the ears of his men, or the announcement of his son's death demoralise the soldiers. He set up camp in a place where he would not be surrounded by the large enemy forces nor be prevented from moving quickly in whatever direction he wanted. Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, was his cavalry commander. He, in despair, deserted to the enemy.¹⁸ When Datames heard this, he knew immediately that if the defection of such a close relative should become known, others would follow. So he issued a proclamation, to the effect that Mithrobarzanes had left like a deserter on his orders, so that he might destroy the enemy more easily. It was not fair to leave him on his own, so all should follow him instantly. If they would now mount a vigorous attack, the enemy would not be able to resist and so they would slay them inside and outside their stockade. Once the army had acclaimed this plan, he led it out following in Mithrobarzanes' footsteps, and just before the latter reached the enemy, he ordered the attack. The Pisidians were completely confused and thought that the deserters were not coming in good faith, but planning to create an even greater disaster. So first they fell upon them. They, in their turn, unaware of what was happening, were forced to fight against the Pisidians, whom they meant to join, and for those whom they had deserted. Neither side spared them, so they were rapidly annihilated. Datames attacked the remaining Pisidians offering resistance. With the first assault, their line broke; he pursued those fleeing, killed many and captured the enemy camp. In this way, at one and the same time, he destroyed the deserters, defeated the foe and converted the danger which had been planned for him into his own salvation. I have not read about any other general who thought more intelligently or acted more swiftly.

(7) However, his eldest son, Sysinas, defected and went over to the king and informed him of his father's revolt. Artaxerxes was disturbed by the news when he realised that he had such a strong and brave man as his opponent – a man who thought before acting and acted decisively after due consideration. So he sent Autophradates¹⁹ to Cappadocia. To stop him entering Cappadocia, Datames tried to occupy the pass of the Cilician Gates. But he was unable to gather forces quickly enough. So he gave up this plan and installed himself with the men he had gathered in a location where the foe would not be able to encircle him nor slip past. And should Autophradates want to fight, he would not be able to use his greater number against Datames' small force.

(8) Although Autophradates saw this, he nevertheless decided to join battle rather than withdraw with such a large army or stay inactive in one place. He had a cavalry of twenty thousand barbarians, a hundred thousand infantry (those called *Cardaces*)²⁰ and three thousand slingers of the same type; further there were eight thousand Cappadocians, ten thousand Armenians, five thousand Paphlagonians, ten thousand Phrygians, five thousand

Lydians, about three thousand Aspendians and Pisidians, two thousand Cilicians and as many Caspians, three thousand Greek mercenaries, and a huge number of light-armed soldiers.²¹ Datames' only hope, in the face of such an enemy, lay in himself and the local topography, as he had only a twentieth of this number. Relying on this, he joined battle and killed many thousands of the enemy, while of his soldiers no more than a thousand fell. That is why, on the morrow, he erected a trophy in the place where the fighting had been the previous day. From there he moved his camp and continued to fight, always with inferior means and always victorious, because he never allowed himself to be drawn into fighting unless the enemy were in a narrow defile. Given his local knowledge and superior tactics, this occurred often. When Autophradates realised that the war was more disastrous for the king than the enemy, he asked for peace and friendship and for Datames to reconcile himself with the king. Although Datames did not trust this, he nevertheless accepted the proposal and said that he would send emissaries to Artaxerxes. So the war, which the king had mounted against Datames, ended. Autophradates withdrew to Phrygia.

(9) But the king had developed an implacable hatred of Datames. As he could not bring him down by force of arms, he sought to kill him by (various acts of) treachery; but Datames managed to escape them. On one occasion he was told that he was going to be ambushed by several of his friends. Because the informers were his friends' enemies, he suspended judgement; he wanted to test whether the information was true or false. So he did not change the route where the planned ambush was said to be set. But he chose someone who resembled him in physique and stature and gave him his clothes and ordered him to take his usual place. He himself dressed as a soldier and marched with his bodyguard. The assassins were taken in and, when the column reached the place, made a rush for their supposed victim. Datames had earlier told his men to be ready to do whatever they saw him doing. When he saw the assassins close in, he threw his spears at them. They all did the same, and the assailants were run through and killed before they reached their quarry.

(10) But this clever man was eventually captured, by means of a trap, by Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes. For he promised the king he would kill him, provided the king would allow him to do it in his own way and grant him immunity. The king agreed and, in the manner of the Persians, gave a 'right hand' as a sign of his faith.²² He received this when sent by the king, prepared his troops and made an alliance with Datames at a distance. Then he ravaged the king's provinces, attacked forts and took a mass of booty, some of which he distributed to his own men, but some he sent to Datames. He also handed over to him several forts. By doing this for some time, he persuaded Datames that he was indeed waging a merciless war against the king. And so that he might not become suspicious of Mithridates, he avoided all talk and any meeting. Thus he cultivated their alliance at a distance, so that it looked not as though they were working for mutual advantage but as though they were motivated by the same hatred of the king.

(11) When he thought he had given enough proofs, Mithridates told Datames that it was time to get ready a large army and go to war against the king himself, and that if he agreed he should pick a place for them to meet. Datames agreed and they agreed a time and place to meet. Mithridates went there with his most trusted man several days earlier and buried swords at several points, the location of which he noted carefully. On the day of the meeting, each sent men to inspect the place and search everyone; then they went there themselves. After a lengthy discussion, they left. Datames was already some distance away, when Mithridates – before joining his men so that he would not arouse suspicion – returned to the place and sat down where a weapon was buried, as though he felt the need to rest. He

called Datames back, pretending that he had forgotten something in the course of their talk. Meantime, he drew out the sword from its hiding place, unsheathed it and hid it beneath his cloak. When Datames came he said that he had noticed a place, easily observable from where they were, ideal for siting a camp. He pointed with his finger and, when Datames turned to look, he stabbed him in the back with the sword and killed him before help could arrive. By these means, this man, who had defeated many by his ingenuity, never by treachery, fell victim to a false friendship.

Notes

1. Datames, son of Camisares, was picked as the subject of a 'biography' by the Roman writer, Cornelius Nepos (first century, see **Chapter 1**), as an example of one of the bravest and cleverest of barbarian generals. Episodes from his life also appear in Diodorus (see **13, no.35**), Frontinus and Polyaeus (**11, no.29(iii)**). According to Diodorus (XXXI, 19), the later kings of Cappadocia, who traced their descent back to Cyrus the Great's aunt, also counted Datames among their august ancestors. Understanding his actions and the chronology of his life are problematic. It is particularly difficult trying to define the nature and extent of his revolt. Several scholars argue that coins inscribed with the Anatolian name 'Tarkumuwa' are attributable to Datames (in view of his local connections), and some reflect his rebellion; see further Sekunda 1988; Briant 1996a: 678–81; 1020 [2002b: 659–62; 994–5]; Wiesehöfer 2003b. For strong arguments against the equation, see Casabonne 2004: 175–8.
2. Artaxerxes II.
3. For discussion of Cilicia in the empire, see Casabonne 2004.
4. See **3, no.13**, n.5.
5. For Tiribazus' exploits in an expedition to this region, see **13, no.31(ii)**; for Artaxerxes II's 'war(s)' here, see **9, no.67**; **11, nos.21(vi)**; **34**.
6. There are considerable uncertainties about Autophradates' background and career, but he seems to have become satrap of Lydia some time after 374; see Weiskopf 1989: 38–40.
7. Lat. *eos qui defecerant*, could be translated as either 'rebels' or 'deserters'.
8. See **9, no.39**, n.13.
9. *Iliad* 5.576 has Menelaus kill him.
10. I.e. they were cousins; from what follows it was Datames' Scythian mother who was Thuys' aunt.
11. Ariobarzanes was governor of Hellespontine Phrygia (not Lydia) from a little before 387 to 367. His exact relationship to his predecessor, Pharnabazus, is uncertain (Weiskopf 1989: 27–32).
12. Previously governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, but called to the court some time before 387 to marry one of Artaxerxes II's daughters (**13, no.31(iv)** & n.14).
13. This is presumably the expedition mounted c.385–3, **9, no.62**, although Isocrates does not name Datames among the commanders.
14. Nepos has compressed events here, as Pharnabazus was not recalled until some point after 374 (**9, no.66**).
15. This area presented recurring problems of control, see Briant 1996a: 671 [2002b: 651].
16. See **9, no.9**, n.2.
17. Ariobarzanes' son.
18. Cf. **13, no.35**.
19. See above, n.6.
20. See **13, no.8(ii)**, n.6.
21. These numbers are clearly fictitious, although the diverse make-up of the army is convincing.
22. Lat. *dextra* = Gr. *dexias*, which here (as elsewhere) was a concrete object expressing the trust established by a handshake, see Sherwin-White 1978.

D. The broader impact of the system

(a) Promises of great riches

37. A simple gift lavishly rewarded

Aelian, *Varia Historia* 1.32.¹

This story, too, is Persian.² The story goes that a Persian called Sinaites met Artaxerxes, the one called Mnemon,³ in a place far distant from his own house in the countryside. As he was unprepared, he was worried fearing that he would not observe the custom and show disrespect to the king. As he did not have what was needful at that moment and could not bear to seem inferior to other Persians or appear unworthy, given that he was not bringing gifts to the king, he went as fast as possible to the river flowing nearby, its name being Cyrus. He bent to catch water in his two hands and said: 'King Artaxerxes, may you reign forever! I honour you now as best as I can, so that you will not, inasmuch as is in my power, proceed through this place without due honour. I render homage to you with water from the River Cyrus.⁴ When you reach your stopping-place, I shall bring you from my home the best and most precious of my possessions. Thus I shall honour you and show myself not a whit inferior to those who have given you presents.' Artaxerxes was enchanted with his speech: 'I accept your gift with pleasure, my man. I count it among the most precious and consider it as equal to the others. First, because water is the best of all, and then because it bears Cyrus' name. So come, without shame, to my encampment when I make a stop.' With these words, he ordered the eunuchs to take the present. They approached at speed to receive the water from his hands in golden cups. When he arrived at his appointed stopping place, the king sent the man a Persian robe, a gold cup and a thousand darics,⁵ and ordered the man bringing these items to say to the recipient: 'The king asks you to be heartily pleased with this gold, just as you pleased him by refusing to let him go without honours and gifts – on the contrary, you paid an appropriate homage. In future he wishes you to use this cup to drink of that water.'

Notes

1. The anecdote may come from Deinon (Stevenson 1997: 77–80).
2. It follows the description of the king's route marked by the presentation of rustic gifts by peasants (11, no.26(i)). See Plut. *Artox.* 5.1, for a very abbreviated version of the incident.
3. Artaxerxes II.
4. Given the nature of the anecdote, the river's name may be fictitious to add dramatic colour.
5. See 8, no.28, n.5.

38. A clever doctor gains privileges

Herodotus III, 132.

So then, when Democedes¹ had cured Darius in Susa, he had an enormous house and became table-companion² to the king. Except for returning to Greece, he had everything. And when the Egyptian doctors, who had treated the king earlier, were going to be impaled because they had been worsted by the Greek doctor, he pleaded on their behalf with the king and saved them. As for the Elean seer, who had followed Polycrates and was languishing among the slaves, he saved him, too.³

Notes

1. Democedes of Croton was a Greek doctor, whose fantastical adventure story is recounted by Herodotus III, 129–38; for analysis, see Griffiths 1987 (cf. also **6, no.1**).
2. For the importance of this within the court, see **12, no.42**.
3. Democedes, too, had been in Polycrates of Samos' service. After his master's defeat (**4, no.16**), he was slave to the governor of Sardis, Oroites, and arrived at the Persian court when the latter was executed (**5, no.15**).

39. Royal blessings for an anonymous benefactor

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 12.4–6.

As the king¹ was almost dead with thirst, the eunuch Satibarzanes ran in all directions searching for something to drink. There was no water in that place, and the camp was not nearby. Eventually he ran into one of those poverty-stricken Caunians with a miserable little leather bag containing about eight *cotylae*² of disgusting dirty water. He took it, brought it to the king and gave it to him. When the king had drunk it all, he asked if it had not been perfectly disgusting. But the king swore by the gods that he had never enjoyed a drink of either wine or water that was so light and pure as this. 'If it should happen', he said, 'that I fail to find the man who gave it to me in order to reward him, then I pray the gods to make him happy and rich.'

Notes

1. Artaxerxes II during the Battle of Cunaxa, 401.
2. About 2 litres.

(b) Gifts to non-Persians

40. Themistocles' exceptional standing at the Persian court

Thucydides I, 138.1–2, 5–6.

During the time Themistocles was waiting, he learned as much as he could of the Persian language and local manners. At the end of one year he came to the king and became a great person, greater than any Greek ever.¹ This was because of his outstanding reputation and the hope, which he held out, of subduing Greece. But, above all, he gave proof of his ability and displayed intelligence.

He died from an illness. But some say that he killed himself by taking poison, when he realised that he could not keep the promises he had made to the king. Whatever the case, there is a monument to him in the market in Asiatic Magnesia.² This was the region over which he ruled,³ as the king had given him Magnesia for bread (and it brought in fifty talents a year), Lampsacus for wine (regarded as the best wine district at that time), and Myous for other provisions.⁴

Notes

1. Plut. *Them.* 29 says that he participated in the royal hunting parties – a signal honour, given the risks (see **13, nos.30; 31 (iii)**).

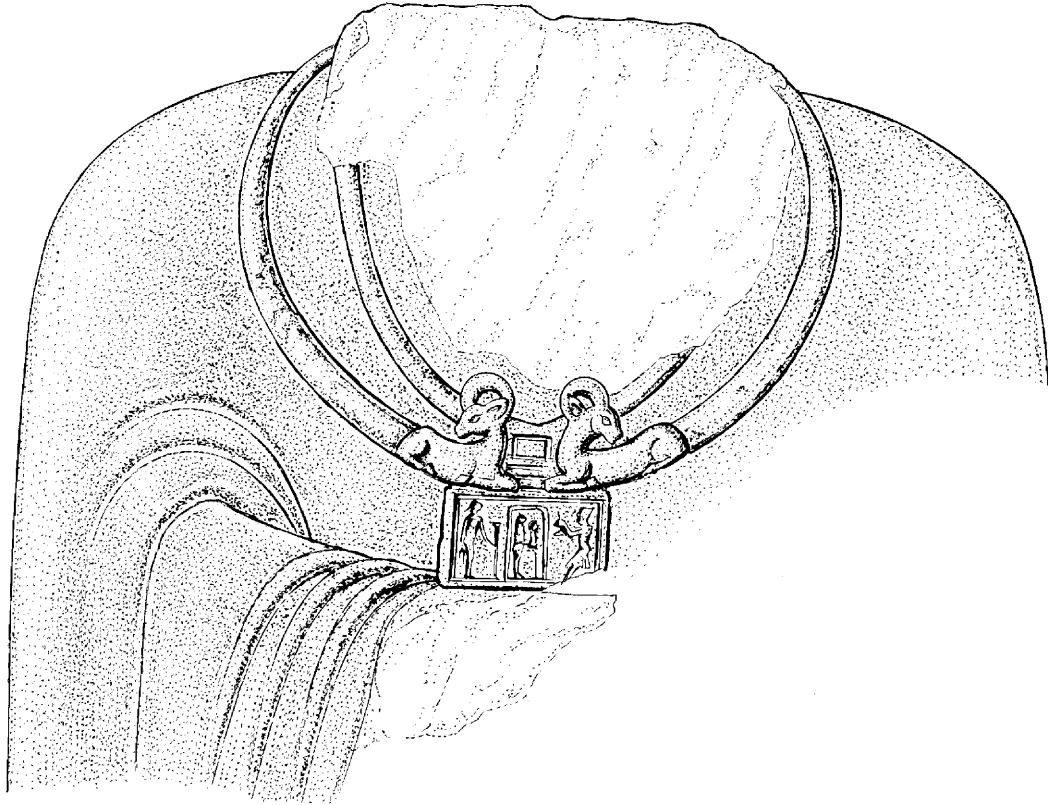


Figure 13.5 Detail of schist statue of Ptah-hotep; surviving height, 85 cm; probably from Memphis, now in the Brooklyn Museum (Cooney 1954; Bothmer 1961, no.64; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 163–72). His Serapeum stela (Louvre I.M.1244) dates him conclusively to the reign of Darius I (*Rec.Trav.* 21 (1899: 67–8, no.XXVII)). Ptah-hotep is depicted in a Persian-style dress, but most striking is the Persian torque (cf. 13, no.23(iii)) with ibex finials worn over his pectoral showing a king before the Egyptian deities Ptah and Sakhmet. It was undoubtedly granted him by the Persian king. Unusual aspects of his titulary make it very likely that he personally served Darius at the Achaemenid court itself (Posener 1986). (Drawing Tessa Rickards.)

2. Magnesia-on-the-Maeander in western Asia Minor, see **fig.7.2**.
3. The erection of a monument to Themistocles suggests personal involvement by him with these communities. Note the evidence for the continued presence of his family in this region, showing that Themistocles, like Gongylus and Demaratus (**7, no.82**), was installed in western Asia Minor to defend Persian interests: see Nollé and Weninger 1998/9.
4. Lampsacus and Myous, too, are in western Asia Minor. Plut. *Them.* 29 also suggests that Percote and Palaescepsis were granted to Themistocles for bedding and clothes. The characterisation of each place in terms of day-to-day needs, combined with the statement that Magnesia produced an annual income that could be calculated in money (1,500 kg), indicates that the revenues of these cities were assigned to him, but visualised by the treasury as providing Themistocles' basic requirements (see Briant 1985a; cf. **14, no.42**; **16, no.66(iii) & (iv)**). It should be noted that Athens claimed these places as 'allies', showing clearly that the Persians never relinquished their claim to the territory (**8, Introduction**; no.13).

41. Demaratus' presumption

Plutarch, *Themistocles* 29.8.

When Demaratus, the exiled Spartan king who was living in Persia,¹ was ordered to choose a reward for himself, he asked to be permitted to ride in state into and through Sardis, wearing his tiara upright, as the Persian kings do.² At this Mithropaustes, the king's cousin, laid his hand on Demaratus' tiara and remarked: 'This tiara of yours has no brains to cover and, as for yourself, you will not become Zeus simply by taking hold of his thunderbolt!' The king, too, showed his extreme displeasure towards Demaratus for his request and it looked as though he had decided never to pardon him.³

Notes

1. See **7, no.2(3)**.
2. For the upright tiara reserved for king and crown-prince, see **11, nos.22**, n.11; **61; fig.11.25**.
3. Themistocles' intervention is supposed to have saved him.

42. Amyntas of Asia

Herodotus VIII, 136.1.

As messenger to Athens, Mardonius¹ sent Alexander the son of Amyntas, a Macedonian,² because the Persians were related to him. Bubares, a Persian man, had married Alexander's sister, Gygaea, the daughter of Amyntas. From this marriage she had born Amyntas of Asia, who bore his maternal father's name. The king had granted him Phrygian Alabanda, a large city, as his allotment.³

Notes

1. The Persian commander at Plataea, see further **7, nos.4** & n.2; **9** & n.2; for the occasion, see **7, no.51**.
2. For Macedon's relationship to the Persian empire, see **6, nos.19; 24**.
3. *Gr. nemesthai*, i.e. the revenues were turned over to him as an income, see **13, no.40** & n.4 (cf. Briant 1985a).

43. Metiochus' children honoured as Persians

Herodotus VI, 41.3–4.

The Phoenicians took Metiochus with his ship captive.¹ When they realised that he was Miltiades' son, they took him up to the king. They thought that they would gain great favour, as it was Miltiades who had expressed his opinion among the Ionians that they follow the Scythian plan to break up the bridge and sail home.² But when the Phoenicians brought up Metiochus, son of Miltiades, Darius did him no harm, but a mass of good. For he gave him a house³ and goods and a Persian wife. The children born from this marriage were honoured as Persians.⁴

Notes

1. Metiochus was the son of Miltiades, see **6, nos.12**(137) & n.4; **15** & n.1. For the occasion – Miltiades' flight in 493 – see **6, no.48**.
2. Thus leaving Darius I stranded, see **6, no.12**.
3. Gr. *oikos*, i.e. house in the extended sense, including the land and staff to sustain a household.
4. Gr. *ta es Persas kekosmeatai*. This again raises the question of what precisely is meant by 'Persian', see Briant 1996a: 362–4 [2002b: 350–2]. Note that this is an exception to the normal rule of inheritance in the male line, see **13, no.2(v)**.

44. Artabazus, Memnon and Mentor of Rhodes

Diodorus Siculus XVI, 52.3–4.

At this time, Artaxerxes (III) promoted the general Mentor¹ above the other friends in view of the fact that he had performed great services for him in Egypt.² He thought him worthy of honour for his outstanding feats, and so presented him with a hundred silver talents³ and the most precious of valuable decorations. He also appointed him satrap of the Asian coast, designating him chief commander and in charge of dealing with the rebels.⁴ As Mentor was related to Artabazus⁵ and Memnon,⁶ who had warred against the Persians at an earlier time, had then fled Asia and were now living at Philip's court,⁷ he pleaded with the king and persuaded him to drop the accusations⁸ against them. He immediately sent for both to come to him together with all their family – for to Artabazus had been born, by his and Memnon's sister, eleven sons and ten daughters.⁹ Mentor was delighted with this multitude of children and promoted the boys by giving them the most prestigious commands in the army.

Notes

1. Mentor was a Rhodian soldier, who participated in Artaxerxes III's war to reconquer Egypt. He also seems to have played a role in the surrender of Sidon (**9, no.75**(42–5)). Both he and his brother, Memnon, held land in Hellespontine Phrygia (Dem. 23.157).
2. Diodorus' chronology is very confused. He places this episode in 349/8, yet the Egyptian campaign was not successful until 343/2; see **9, no.75**, n.1.
3. 3,000 kg
4. The appointment was clearly military rather than administrative. One of the reported successes of Mentor was the suppression of Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus (D.S. XVI, 52.4).
5. Son (probably) of Pharnabazus and Artaxerxes II's daughter, Apame (see **13, no.31(iv)**), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia. For a reconstruction of his earlier career, see Weiskopf 1989: 54–64. In the late 360s, he is said to have fought against Datames, see **13, no.35**. His poorly attested, localised revolt falls into the 350s (Briant 1996a: 700–1 [2002b: 681–2]). Mentor's sister was Artabazus' wife.
6. Mentor's brother (above, n.1), who seems to have succeeded him in his position when he died (as well as marrying his widow, see n.9, below), and fought against Alexander (**10, nos.7; 8(i); 11–12**).
7. Philip II of Macedon. Presumably, Artabazus and Memnon had fled there at the end of Artabazus' revolt (above n.5).
8. Gr. *ta enklemata*, lit. 'denunciations', suggesting that, as in other cases, Artabazus had been forced into the position of traitor by jealous slander.
9. One of these was Barsine, who was (or now became) Mentor's wife. On his death, she was married to Memnon, and eventually became Alexander's mistress (Plut. Alex. 21.7–9). Further evidence for the relationship between the Rhodians and this satrapal family is an Athenian decree of 327/6, honouring a Memnon (IG² 356, cf. Brunt 1975), who may well be one of Artabazus' many sons; see further, Berve, Nr.152 & vol. II, 442 (family tree).

45. The king rewards the ruler of Sidon

Phoenician funerary inscription, Sidon, early–mid fifth century: CIS I, 3.¹

Translations: KAI, Nr.14; Gibson 1982, no.28; ANET, 662; Briant 1996a: 506 [2002b: 490] (part of text).

In the month Bul,² in year 14 of the reign of King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, son of King Tabnit, king of the Sidonians, King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, spoke and said:

I have been taken away before my time, the son of a (short) number of days(?),³ an orphan, son of a widow;⁴ and I lie in this coffin and in this grave, in the place which I built. Whoever you are, any king or any man, he shall not open this resting-place or seek anything

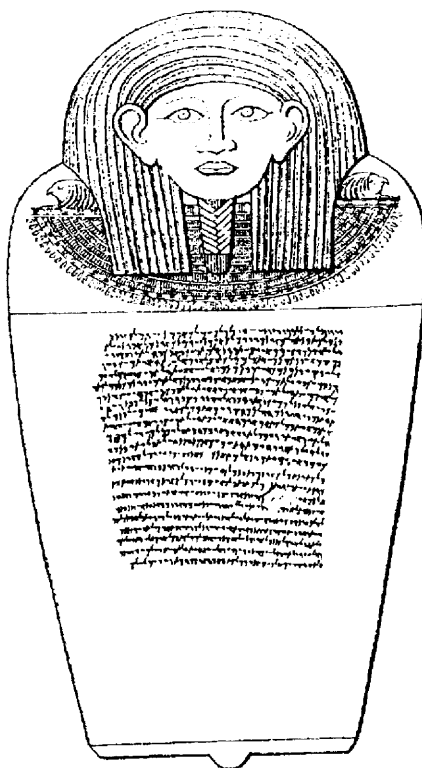


Figure 13.6 Inscribed black basalt coffin of Eshmunazar, found in the necropolis of Sidon in 1856, now in the Louvre Museum, Paris. It is 2.51 m long and 1.27 m at its widest point. It was set in a rock-cut tomb, approached via a stone-built chamber above ground. The coffin is of Egyptian manufacture and must have been made specifically for the Sidonian court. This contrasts with that of his father, Tabnit, which was a reused one, as its original Egyptian inscription shows (see KAI, Nr.13; Gibson 1982, no.27). The inscription was originally begun immediately under the head, discontinued (because of mistakes), and then engraved on the body of the lid. (After Briant 1996a [2002b].)

in it, for they placed nothing in it. He shall also not raise the coffin, my resting-place, nor shall he bear me away from this place to another resting-place! Even if men speak to you – do not listen to their word! For any king or any man who shall open this resting-place, or shall raise the coffin, or shall bear me away from this resting-place, they shall not have a resting-place with the spirits of the dead and shall not be buried in a grave, and they shall have neither son nor seed to follow them. But may the holy gods deliver them up to a mighty king, who shall rule over them, so that they are cut off, that king or that man, who opens this resting-place or raises this coffin, and the seed of this king or this man! They shall not have a root below nor fruit above nor renown among the living under the sun! I, a pitiable one, have been taken away before my time, son of a (short) number of days,(?) and orphan, son of a widow, am I.

I, Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, son of King Tabnit, king of the Sidonians, grandson of King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Amotashtart,⁵ priestess of Astarte, our lady,⁶ the queen, daughter of King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, we are (the ones) who built the houses of the gods: the [house of Astar]te in Sidon-land-by-the-sea,⁷ and let Astarte the glorified dwell therein;(?) and we (are the ones) who built a house for Eshmun, the holy prince(?) of the YDLL-Spring,⁸ in the Mountain,⁹ and let the glorified one dwell therein(?); and we (are the ones) who built the houses for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon-land-by-the-sea, a house for Baal of Sidon and a house for Astarte-Name-of-Baal.¹⁰

Further, the lord of kings¹¹ gave us Dor and Joppa, the rich grainlands in the Plain of Sharon,¹² as a reward for the mighty deeds I had done.¹³ And we added them to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever.

Whoever you are, any king or any man, may you not open (what is) above me or uncover (what is) over me, or bear me away from this resting-place, or raise the coffin in which I lie, lest these holy gods deliver them up and cut off this king and those men and their seed for ever!

Notes

1. The funerary text is the second longest, surviving Phoenician royal inscription (see **fig.13.6**, for findspot and size). The date cannot be fixed precisely (see Gibson 1982: 101–2), but it certainly belongs in the earlier part of the fifth century. Eshmunazar describes himself as an orphan and son of a widow (l.3). This implies that he acceded at birth. As the text is dated in his fourteenth regnal year, he was a mere adolescent at his death, to be succeeded by his (half?-)brother, Bodashtart. Together with KAI, Nr.13 (= Gibson 1982, no.27), 15, 16, the following sequence of rulers of Sidon to the end of the fifth century seems likely (the dates are mere approximations):

–c.500: Eshmunazar I (or: –c.480)
 500–490: Tabnit (son) (or: 480–470)
 490–475: Eshmunazar II (son) (or: 470–455)
 475–455: Bodashtart (brother) (or: 455–440)
 [455–440: Iatunmilk? (son) (or: 440–435)]
 440–425: Baalshillel I (new dynasty?) (or: 435–425)
 425–410: Ba'na (son)
 [410–395: Baalshillel II? (son)]

The very literary style of the inscription may reflect the language of Phoenician court and epic poetry.

2. Canaanite name of the eighth month of the year, i.e. October–November.
3. See the commentary in KAI and Gibson ad l.3.

4. Phoen. 'LMT, cf. Akk. *almattu*. It is this statement that has been taken to suggest that he was born posthumously. The brother who succeeded him (see above, n.1) would then perhaps have been the offspring of a secondary wife or concubine.
5. Lit. 'Astarte is the mother'.
6. Gibson (ad l.15) suggests that RBT could be the title of the queen-mother (cf. Heb. *g'birā*).
7. This is probably the main city and port of Sidon.
8. See Gibson's commentary ad l.17.
9. Probably the mountainous interior area of Sidon.
10. This is Astarte as a manifestation of her husband Baal; the same epithet is applied to her in the Ugaritic Epic of Keret/Kirta, tablet 3, col.VI, 56 (Late Bronze Age; for a translation, see S. Parker 1997, ch.1).
11. Phoen. 'DN MLKM. The title echoes Akk. *bel šarrāni* (frequent in Neo-Assyrian epistolography), and is attested in the late seventh century to address the Egyptian king by a city-ruler in the Levant (cf. KAI, Nr.266, l.1). Here it means the Persian king.
12. South of Mount Carmel. The territory is described as the 'rich lands of Dagon', and this could be describing it in terms of this grain-deity. But the straightforward meaning seems more likely. For the Israeli excavations of the substantial Achaemenid city of Dor, see Stern 1994; for Joppa (Jaffa), see NEAEHL II, 655–9.
13. Given the possible date of Eshmunazar (above n.1), there is a temptation to associate this with Xerxes' campaign in 480, in which Phoenicians certainly participated. According to Herodotus, the Sidonian ruler was given pride of place in the council convened for advice by Xerxes (**13, no.16(ii)**). However, the date is totally vague (note the alternative lower one, above n.1), the naval crews supplied to the Persian navy by subjects were under the command of Persian admirals (cf. Wallinga 2005: 11–13), and there were surely many other occasions of which we are ignorant when the Phoenician ruler (or his representatives) might have distinguished themselves. But the grant of such important cities, together with agricultural land (a valuable resource for Sidon with its restricted cultivable territory), must have been in response to some signal service that we can, unfortunately, only guess at.

Part IV

ACHAEMENID IMPERIAL
ORGANISATION

TRIBUTE, TAX, IMPOSTS

Introduction

Trying to gain a picture of the Achaemenid system of taxation and management of the imperial resources is tricky. The evidence, as so often, is very partial and much has to be deduced from incidental references which are open to different interpretations. Further, there are numerous problems with understanding the many different terms used to label various dues, charges and duties. Many aspects related to income intersect with broader issues of land management, economy, production and control. These are treated in subsequent chapters (**15–16**), so the reader will need to be prepared for a certain amount of dotting back and forth between all three. The main focus here is: what were the main duties and payments imposed by the authorities on their subjects? How were such revenues and resources managed? An early hellenistic text (**14, no.1**) provides some useful pointers for beginning to understand the bare bones of the system. The author differentiates between royal, satrapal, urban and private economies. He provides some particularly useful insights into the diversity of provincial incomes – levies on trade, flocks, arable farming, products specific to a particular region and individuals. These flow into the royal coffers, where the decisions are made as to how the materials should, or need to be disbursed.

Although it is certain that a system of tribute must have existed in the empire's first decades (how else could the kings have raised the manpower and materials needed for their great conquests?), it seems very likely that Darius I introduced, or tightened up, measures for exacting and ensuring its proper and regular discharge. Later traditions (**14, no.3**) associate him with such an act, while Babylonian evidence indicates that registers of, for example, land grants and the duties attached to them were drawn up in the later part of Darius' reign (Stolper 1977; cf. **14, no.38**), tightening up an existing system. Best known is Herodotus' presentation of Darius I as the ruler who organised the system of provinces and set the tax owed by each (**14, no.2**). In fact, Herodotus' scheme must date to a later period, and there are several problems with his grouping of tax-districts. In general, he gives the tribute for each district calculated in silver talents (**fig.14.1**), except India, where the payment was in gold. This draws a veil over the variety of materials drawn from each region (cf. **14, no.1**). But here and there he notes additional levies and on-the-spot expenditures. Thus Cilicia provided horses, over and above its annual silver payment, and some of its tribute was used to maintain the local cavalry guard. In Egypt, too, the king received additional income from fisheries and substantial quantities of grain were levied to feed the Persian administrators and soldiers in Memphis. The huge Babylonian tribute was topped up with an annual delivery of boys, presumably to the palace.

This begins to show us some of the complexities of the system. More emerge at other points in Herodotus' presentation. Persis (Fars), according to Herodotus, was exempt from tribute, which it quite certainly was not (**14, no.32; 16, no.3**), although Herodotus' statement may reflect a difference in the way that the exactions were made. Herodotus also describes a clumsy procedure of minting coins, which must reflect a system of stock-piling reserves to meet specific needs (cf. **14, no.8**). Some of the peoples living on the imperial periphery appear at the end of Herodotus' list, presenting the Persian king with gifts. Given the precise items, amounts and regularity of these presentations, it is clear that they were obligatory dues, while Herodotus' roster of the Persian army (**11, no.25**) shows that these groups also supplied the king with soldiers.

Various documents shed further light. In what is preserved of Ctesias, we hear of precious gifts sent to the Persian kings by Indian rulers (**14, nos.4–6**). The Alexander historians mention vast quantities of furniture, fine textiles, works of art and other 'gifts' stored together with the great reserves of precious metal coins in the Susa treasury (**14, no.7**). Strabo (**14, no.8**) makes a point of characterising the royal income as composed of 'what each land produced', so that all needs were met. And this mix of types of payment is nicely illustrated by a Babylonian text (**14, no.9**), recording the tax paid by a soldier (beer, sheep, flour, grain, silver).

Can we define sources of revenue and modes of exaction more closely? Most illuminating, indeed unique, is a long customs account which has only recently been fully deciphered, preserved in palimpsest on a papyrus (**14, no.10**). This logs the arrival in, and departure from, Egypt, of ships from the Levant and south-western Asia Minor, together with their captains, crews and cargoes month by month over one year. In great detail it records the taxes levied on these shipments – entry and exit dues, tax on the itemised cargo, possibly a poll tax – all paid to 'the house of the king', i.e. the local treasury or storehouse. It is the first indisputable and detailed insight into Achaemenid taxation of trade (cf. **14, no.12**). A Babylonian text shows that riverine traffic was regularly taxed, and that the rights to do so could be leased out (**14, no.11**). Babylonia, too, illustrates the obligation to register slave-sales in a royal tax office, where a levy was charged on the transaction (**14, no.13**), while a demotic record documents that appointments to priesthoods were taxed (**14, no.14**).

Evidence for the exploitation of the empire's mineral resources is, unfortunately, slight and generally indirect. It is likely, albeit uncertain, that the iron deposits at Niriz in Fars were exploited (see **16, no.20**, n.2). Precious metal deposits in Armenia, Bactria and Lydia were almost certainly worked, as were sources of pigment (**14, nos.15; 18**). Rich sources of bitumen, salt and petroleum are noted in Elam by Herodotus (**14, no.16**), and recent research has established that bitumen from eastern Elam was used at Susa in the Achaemenid period. There were also bitumen deposits on the Euphrates, although we hear nothing about their use in this period. Best attested is work in the greywacke quarries of Egypt's eastern desert (**14, no.17**). We should also note that the Darius statue at Susa (**11, no.2; fig.11.2**) was definitely sculpted from Egyptian stone. The copper resources of Cyprus, particularly those in the realm of Kition, continued to be worked and processed throughout the Achaemenid period (Stager and Walker 1989: 78). For all its rhetorical flourishes, Darius I's account of his palace building at Susa (**11, no.13**) provides a rather fuller image of the minerals, precious and more utilitarian, at the Persian king's command, than the bits and pieces of surviving evidence attest.¹

Manpower for a multiplicity of projects was one of the most continuous and urgent government requirements. The Babylonian material indicates that this need was met on the

basis of an old-established *corvée* system (**14, nos.9**, n.3; **20**). This allowed the authorities to requisition labour for transport services, such as boat haulage, and road maintenance and clearing (**14, nos.20–3**). Another well-attested obligation, to which all were subject, was the duty to provision the king, his retinue and train as he moved through his territories, particularly for the festive entries into cities (**14, nos.24–6**). To this must be added yet further levies in kind, such as providing for the maintenance of locally stationed regiments (cf. above p.669), the governor's expenses, or supplying horses, mules and sheep to meet government needs (**14, nos.27–9**). Interestingly, a very fragmentary Aramaic text from Egypt suggests that the permanent garrison soldiers, settled with their families around Memphis, were subject to tribute (**14, no.30**). Moreover, the expensive business of equipping the soldiers required for the army (clothing, weapons, food) fell entirely on the shoulders of subjects, a duty incurred in return for holding a landgrant (**14, nos.31; 38**).

None of this means that payment was necessarily in kind to the exclusion of precious metals. Nor were silver payments limited to the western fringe (the implication of **14, no.8**) where coined money circulated more extensively than elsewhere. The Babylonian evidence shows that tax could be, and was, discharged in silver as well as goods (see, e.g., **14, nos.9; 31(iii)**), while a large proportion of the duty levied on imports and exports in Egypt (**14, no.10**) was again in silver. In addition to references to the transport of 'treasure' (**14, nos.34–5**), which may reflect the transmission of tribute in precious metals, an account from the Persepolis treasury lists individuals in Fars paying a silver tax (**14, no.32**). Yet it remains the case that the Achaemenid empire was only partially monetarised, a fact reflected in the way the central authority visualised its own expenses. There are several examples of this (**14, no.42; 16, no.66(iii) & (iv)**) – most famously the lands bestowed on Themistocles for his wine, bread and meat (**13, no.40**).

The basic system for meeting the authority's requirements in materials, produce, labour and fighting men was through grants of land on which specified duties and dues were owed (Akk. *ilku*). In Babylonia, these were organised into administrative units (Akk. *haṭru/hadru*), each under a supervisor (Stolper 1985, ch.4), a system extended to embrace virtually all socio-economic groupings, too (Jursa 1999: 99–100; Abraham 2004: 31–2). Records of such grants were drawn up (see above, p.669), so that track could be kept on who was entitled to hold such land (**14, no.36**), and what should be done with land parcels left vacant (**14, no.37**), and that the appropriate duty was discharged (**14, no.38**). Herodotus' brief description of the men serving in the Persian army in 480 (**14, no.39**) suggests that the rank and file were recruited in precisely this manner. While land held under such terms could not be sold, it could be leased (**14, no.43**), or passed on through inheritance. The archives of the Murashu family of Babylonian Nippur show that several of its members had themselves adopted by holders of land that carried military duties with it, presumably in return for a fee. This, of course, constituted a form of sale. What then happened when the authorities consulted their registers and demanded an appropriate soldier on the basis of the original grant? One document (**14, no.38**) reveals that the new 'owner(s)' provided a substitute, fully equipped, to discharge the duty on his/their behalf. The importance of the text lies in the fact that it shows that, however the system may have been deformed over time by such practices, it did not deplete the fighting forces at the government's disposal.²

In addition to bestowing land parcels, the authority could also grant other resources. An Aramaic papyrus from Egypt concerns a boat held 'in tenure' by two boatmen. Obviously, their duty was transporting supplies for the government. Conversely, when the boat needed

repair, they were able to apply to the authorities to have the necessary work carried out at public expense. The text sets out the rigorous system of checking their entitlement, itemising the necessary materials, arranging for the boat to be placed in dry dock, and approving and authorising the repair, which required the imprimatur of Egypt's satrap. The detail is remarkable and shows how closely monitored the system was (**14, no.44**).

A crucial resource, closely controlled by the government, was water. The current French excavations in Kharga oasis (see Wuttman in Briant 2001b) have revealed that a network of underground irrigation channels was introduced here in the Achaemenid period. This is the Persian *qanat* system (**fig.14.2**). A passage in Polybius (**14, no.41**) shows that the Achaemenids also promoted the creation of *qanats* in northern Iran in return for a fixed-term concession. The Babylonian evidence reveals that the complex canal system there was managed as a crown property by royal agents, who leased out the right to use them (Stolper 1985: 36–51). We find an echo of such tightly controlled access to water by the régime, as well as the profits it gained, in a curious tale recounted by Herodotus (**14, no.40**). According to the story, Darius blocked the traditional water resources of several people in Central Asia, only allowing them to draw it in return for payment. Bizarre as the story is as it stands, it illustrates the fundamental principle of water under close royal control.

The system of taxation drew the empire's subjects together into a web of obligations to the central power. It made its presence manifest through settlement, call-up duties, crown officials managing local resources and tax collectors. It allowed the government to reach into the very heart of local systems, with manpower, production and enterprise all focussed on, and profiting from, meeting supra-provincial requirements.³

Notes

1. News was circulated electronically in August 2004 that Iranian archaeologists had discovered metal deposits near Pasargadae, thought to have been used in its construction.
2. Note the evidence suggesting that taxes were levied by house(hold), Abraham 2004: 31–2.
3. See Abraham 2004: 139 for tax-farming and, generally, the way private Babylonian businessmen could profit directly from acting for the state, which in turn relied on such individuals to manage the system.

A. Kings, satraps and tribute

(a) The basic framework

1. A Greek writer sets out principles of management

[Aristotle], *Oeconomica* 2.1.1–4.¹

There are four types of administration that can be distinguished (we shall see that the others fit with them): royal, satrapal,² civic, private.³

Of these the largest and most straightforward is the royal, [the largest and most complicated the satrapal?],⁴ the most varied and easy the civic, the smallest and most varied the private. Clearly they share many features; but the specific nature of each we should examine. Let us look first at the royal administration. It has complete power, and has four concerns – coinage, goods going out, goods coming in and expenditure.

Now for each of these. In the matter of coinage, the question is what kind to issue and when; as for goods going out and goods coming in, once received from the satraps as revenue,⁵ when and how it is best to dispose of them; and with respect to expenditure, what should be removed and when, and then whether the cost should be settled with coined money or merchandise instead.

Secondly, the satrapal. It concerns six types of income:⁶ [from land, from the products peculiar to a region, from trade, from dues,⁷ from herds, from other things].⁸ Of these, the first and most important is income from the land; this is what is sometimes called *ekphorion* and sometimes *dekate*.⁹ The second is what is peculiar to a region – as it might be gold here, silver there, copper, or whatever the product might be. The third is that which comes from trading stations. The fourth derives from the dues imposed on land and markets. The fifth comes from herds, called *epikarpia* and tithe.¹⁰ The sixth comes from individuals, known as the poll-tax and craftsman tax.¹¹

Notes

1. This treatise is generally thought to have been written by one of Aristotle's pupils and hence dated to the period of transition from the Achaemenid to the hellenistic régimes in the late fourth century. There is, however, no absolute certainty about the date. For introduction, text and commentary of [Oec.] 2, see van Groningen 1933, cf. Aperghis 2004, ch.7.
2. Given the probable date of composition, the administrative model for the writer must be the (late) Achaemenid system.
3. Gr. *idiotike*, meaning a household (not private enterprise).
4. There is a lacuna in the text here; this is a likely restoration.
5. Gr. *tage* is, on the basis of Hesychius, to be understood as the royal revenues from land held by the king in the provinces, see Briant 1996a: 431–3 [2002b: 419–21].
6. Gr. *prosodos*, particularly applied to public income.
7. Gr. *telos*, in a general sense, 'that which is paid to the state'.
8. The text is restored on the basis of what follows.
9. See Descat 1989: 82, for the argument that this relates to two different systems of revenue extraction. The former refers to the rate set by the government on the basis of estimated agricultural productivity, while the latter, 'a tenth'/'tithe', was levied on the actual harvest. See Descat 1985 for the calculation (based on the early hellenistic Mnesimachos inscription) that Persian tribute was levied at the rate of 1/12 on the basis of a fiscal unit of one gold mina per parasang.
10. Presumably levied on the increase of the herds. For a tithe in the Persepolis texts, see **16, no.9**.
11. For possible evidence of a poll-tax, see **14, no.10**, n.13.

(b) Setting the tribute

2. Darius I fixes the basis for regular payment of tribute

Herodotus III, 89–97.¹

Having done these things in Persia, he (sc. Darius) set up twenty provinces,² which they call satrapies. He set up the provinces and appointed governors, and set the tribute they should pay according to the peoples. He included with each people the ones living nearby, and those living far away he allotted to this or that group. The provinces and the annual tribute payments were like this. Those who used silver had to use the Babylonian talent,³ those using gold the Euboic. The Babylonian talent is worth seventy Euboian minas.⁴ In Cyrus' and Cambyses' reigns there was no set tribute – instead gifts were brought.⁵ (. . .)⁶

(90) From the Ionians, the Magnesians in Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans and Pamphylians⁷ (who paid their tribute as one), there came four hundred silver talents. This formed the first district.⁸

From the Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians and Hytennians, five hundred talents; this being the second district.⁹

From the Hellespontines, to the right as one sails in, Phrygians, Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians and Syrians,¹⁰ the tribute was six hundred and thirty talents; this being the third district.

From the Cilicians came three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day of the year, and five hundred talents. Of these, one hundred and forty talents were spent on the cavalry guarding the Cilician region, and three hundred and sixty went to Darius; this being the fourth district.

(91) From the city of Posideium, founded by Amphilochus, the son of Amphiaraus, on the frontier between the Cilicians and Syrians, up to Egypt, with the exception of the Arabs (who were not subject to tax),¹¹ the tribute was five hundred and thirty talents. In this district was the whole of Phoenicia, the so-called Palestinian Syria and Cyprus – the fifth district.

From Egypt, the parts of Libya lying close to it, Cyrene and Barca (all counted as part of the Egyptian district) came seven hundred talents, over and above the silver produced by Lake Moeris,¹² which came from the fisheries. Apart from this silver and the grain that was measured out, there came seven hundred talents. As for the grain, a hundred and twenty thousand measures were for the Persians and allies settled in the White Wall in Memphis.¹³ This was the sixth district.

The Sattagydiens, Gandarians, Dadicae and Aparytai paid, together, one hundred and seventy talents; this being the seventh district.¹⁴

From the Susians and the other lands of the Cissians¹⁵ came three hundred talents; this being the eighth district.

(92) From Babylon and the rest of Assyria¹⁶ came a thousand talents of silver and five hundred boys for castration; this being the ninth district.

From the Ecbataniens, the rest of Media, the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes,¹⁷ five hundred and forty talents; this being the tenth district.

The Caspians, Pausicae, Pantimathi and Daritae paid together two hundred talents; this being the eleventh district.¹⁸

From the Bactrians as far as the Aegli¹⁹ the tribute was three hundred and sixty talents; this being the twelfth district.

(93) From the Pactyic region,²⁰ the Armenians and the adjacent areas as far as the Black Sea, four hundred talents; this being the thirteenth district.

From the Sagartians, Sarangians, Thamanians, Utians and Mycians,²¹ and those dwelling in the islands of the Red Sea, where the king settles those called exiles²² – from all these the tribute was six hundred talents; this being the fourteenth district.

Sacae²³ and Caspians paid two hundred and fifty talents; this being the fifteenth district.

Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians and Areians – three hundred talents; this being the sixteenth district.

(94) Paricanians and the Ethiopians of Asia²⁴ paid four hundred talents; this being the eighteenth district.

The Matieni, Saspies and Alarodians²⁵ were assigned two hundred talents; this being the eighteenth district.

To the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mossynoeci and Mares²⁶ three hundred talents were assigned; this being the nineteenth district.

The number of Indians is greater than any other peoples we know of and they brought in more tribute than the others – three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust; this being the twentieth district.

(95) Converting the Babylonian silver into the Euboean talent, it comes to 9,880 talents; reckoning the gold as thirteen times worth the silver, the gold dust is worth 4,680 Euboean talents. Adding it all up, the total yearly tribute in Euboean talents for Darius was 14,560. I omit the bits less than a talent.

(96) This tribute came to Darius from Asia and a few parts of Libya. In time, more tribute came from the islands and from Europe as far as Thessaly. The king stores the tribute like this. He pours the molten metal into earthenware jars; when they are full, he breaks the outside layer. When he needs ‘money’, he cuts off as much as is required each time.²⁷

(97) Now these were the provinces and the settings of the tribute rates. Persis is the only region I have not listed as paying tribute, for the Persians held the land free of tax.²⁸ The following do not pay a set tribute, but bring gifts: the Ethiopians next to Egypt, subjected by Cambyses when he campaigned against the long-lived Ethiopians,²⁹ and the ones who live around holy Nysa and celebrate festivals for Dionysus. (. . .)³⁰ These two together bring every second year (and they were still doing so in my day) two choenixes³¹ of unrefined gold, two hundred logs of ebony, five Ethiopian boys and twenty large elephant tusks. The Colchians also supplied gifts, as did their neighbours up to the Caucasus (for the region up to this mountain is governed by the Persians, but north of the Caucasus no one any longer minds them). These people still supplied gifts in my day, brought in every fifth year, namely a hundred boys and a hundred young girls.³² The Arabs brought a thousand talents of frankincense every year. These were the gifts they brought to the king over and above the tribute.³³

Notes

1. Ideas vary about the reliability of Herodotus’ list as a guide to Persian administrative realities. The prevailing opinion is that his information derives from some kind of official document, which he has ‘hellenised’. One point to note is that it does not harmonise with the ‘lists of lands/peoples’ contained in the Old Persian royal inscriptions (**11, nos.2; 4; figs.11.4–11.5**), nor can it be compared with the depictions of gift-bearers at Persepolis (e.g. **fig.11.23**). As these present an idealised political image of the empire, that is not surprising. Other problems in his presentation relate to the imperial provinces. Thus, for example, Parthia/Hyrcania existed as an administrative entity distinct from Areia already at the start of Darius I’s reign (see **5, no.1**, para.35), but the two seem to be placed together by Herodotus. Also, he separates the Levant (‘Beyond the River’) from Babylonia, whereas the whole region existed as a single province until very late in Darius’ reign, and was probably not divided before that of Xerxes (Stolper 1989a). In some instances the rationale for grouping various peoples together is difficult to understand. Is it connected to a distinction between satrapies and tax districts? See the discussion in Briant 1996a: 402–4 [2002b: 390–3].
2. Gr. *archai*.
3. A Babylonian talent is about 30 kg; see **fig.14.1**.
4. How and Wells 1912, ad loc.; note Reizke’s emendation of this to ‘78’, which has been accepted by the Oxford Text, although ‘70’ is in one of the oldest manuscripts. The precise determination of the various weight systems in use is extremely difficult; what is certain is that the Attic-Euboean mina was lighter than the Babylonian. A prevailing convention for the dominant Babylonian system is: 1 Babylonian mina = approx. 500 g; 1 Babylonian talent = approx. 30 kg.



Figure 14.1 Side view of a bronze lion weight found at Abydos, north-west Turkey, now in the British Museum (E. 32625). It weighs almost exactly 30 kg, i.e. 1 Babylonian talent. The Aramaic inscription reads 'Exact, according to the STRY' (meaning unclear) of silver.' Palaeography and style suggest that it dates to the fifth century BC, see T. Mitchell 1972. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

5. A system of tribute payments had, of course, existed under Cyrus, Cambyses and Bardiya; Herodotus' suggestion of voluntary gift-giving is certainly wrong. Darius' act was a rationalisation to ensure regularity of income. See Briant 1996a: 78–81 [2002b: 67–70].
6. Herodotus here inserts the Persian soubriquets of Cyrus as a 'father', Cambyses a 'despot' and Darius a 'trader'.
7. The western and southern coast from the region south of the Troad to the borders of Cilicia.
8. Gr. *nomos*.
9. The region includes territories to the north of Lydia.
10. This grouping covers the northern and inland region of Asia Minor (the 'Thracians' are Bithynians, the 'Syrians' Cappadocians).
11. Gr. *atelea*; but see below (97), and note that Arabs supplied manpower to the Persian army (11, no.25(69)).
12. In the Fayum.
13. See 8, no.6(74), n.6.
14. Herodotus has jumped from the western to the eastern edge of the empire. Gandara is the region of Kabul, while the others are also located somewhere around the Hindu Kush.
15. See 11, no.25(62), n.10.
16. For Herodotus' visualisation of the region, see Kuhrt 2002a.
17. Paricanians: see 11, no.25(68), n.31; the Orthocorybantes are not known otherwise.
18. These groups, not mentioned elsewhere, were perhaps located to the north-east of Media, possibly in Hyrcania. Note that the Caspians listed at (93) are not the same.
19. See How and Wells 1912, ad loc. for suggestions as to who they might be.
20. See 11, no.25(67), n.29.
21. Sagartians: see 11, no.25(85), n.66; Sarangians: see 11, no.25(67), n.27; Utians and Mycians: 11, no.25(68), n.31. The Thamanians occur again at Hdt. III, 117, where they are placed in eastern Iran.

22. The Persian Gulf; see **13, no.30**, n.7 for this as a place of banishment; cf. **17, nos.44–5**.
23. I.e. Scythians.
24. See **11, no.25**(70).
25. Saspies and Alarodians: see **11, no.25**(79), n.59; Matieni: see **11, no.25**(72), n.38.
26. Moschi: see **11, no.25**(78), n.53; for the others, see **11, no.25**(78), n.54.
27. This refers to stock-piling reserves to meet specific needs (cf. **14, no.8**), not to the minting of coins. Gr. *chremata*, usually translated ‘money’, means ‘goods’, ‘things used (in exchanges, etc.)’. An analogous practice is attested in Babylonia (Briant 1996a: 420 [2002b: 408]).
28. Gr. *dasmophoros* is the word Herodotus uses for ‘paying tribute’. Although *dasmos* and *phoros* both mean ‘tribute’, they have a different etymology. The basic meaning of *dasmos* is ‘a share of spoil’, and is thus similar to OP *haji-*, ‘the (king’s) share’ (see **11, no.7**, n.2), while *phoros* describes a ‘bringing in (of tribute)’, see Briant 1996a: 415–16 [2002b: 404]. It is clear from the Persepolis texts that there certainly were royal exactions on agricultural products in Fars (e.g. **16, no.3**; for a recent discussion, see Aperghis 1998). Further, one of the Treasury texts (**14, no.32**) lists individuals paying tax in silver almost certainly in Fars (Briant 1996a: 418; 453–4 [2002b: 406; 440–1]; Vargyas, forthcoming). What seems to lie behind Herodotus’ statement may be the fact that they were not listed collectively as ‘tax-payers’.
29. I.e. the Nubians, see **4, no.10**.
30. See Hdt. II, 146, cf. Lloyd 1975–88, iii, 114. Herodotus follows this with a remark comparing them to some Indian people.
31. About 2 pounds.
32. Note that both the Nubians and the Colchians supplied soldiers for the army (**11, no.25**(69), (79)).
33. Gr. *parex tou phorou*, a recurring phrase in Herodotus. The ‘gifts’ were obviously obligatory and regular. In addition, the inhabitants of these regions supplied manpower to the Persian armies.

3. Traditions of the generous king

(i) Plutarch, *Moralia* 172f.

After fixing the amount of taxes which his subjects were to pay, Darius (I) sent for the leading men of the provinces, and asked them if the taxes were not perhaps too heavy. When they said that the taxes were moderate, he ordered that each province should pay only half as much.

(ii) Polyaeus VII, 11.3.

Darius was the first to organise the tribute for his peoples.¹ In order to make it bearable, he did not set the amounts himself, but had them decided by his satraps, who set them at an exorbitant amount. Darius used the excuse of favouring his subjects to reduce the dues by half. The peoples thought this reduction to be a great benefaction granted by the king and paid the rest with pleasure.

Note

1. Gr. *ethne*, equivalent to OP *dahyu-*.

(c) Gifts and dues

4. Indian incense

Ctesias, *Indica* = FGrH 688 F45(47); Lenfant, 184–5.¹

The author says that in India there are trees big as cedars or cypresses, with leaves like those of palm-trees, but a bit bigger. There are no axils on this tree, its flowers are similar to those of the male bay-tree, but it bears no fruit. In the Indian language this tree is called *karpion*, in Greek ‘rose-myrrh’;² it is a rare tree. Drops of oil flow from it, which are collected by rubbing the trunk with a woollen cloth, which is then wrung out into stone flasks.³ The colour is solidly reddish and the liquid heavy. It has a very pleasing scent and they say it can be smelt five stadia⁴ away. Only the king and his kinsmen may acquire it. And the Indian ruler sent it to the Persian king; and Ctesias says he himself has seen it and has smelt its perfume, which no words can describe and is incomparable.

Notes

1. Note also F45(9), where Ctesias is said to have owned two swords made of a special Indian iron presented to him by the king and the queen-mother respectively.
2. Gr. *muroroda*.
3. Gr. *alabastron*.
4. Getting on for 1 km.

5. A special drug

Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 4.41.¹

There is a tiny Indian bird, something like this. The bird nests on steep escarpments and rocks called smooth, and the small bird is the size of a partridge egg. Its colour is rather like red arsenic. The Indians call it *dikaïron* in their language, and the Greeks, from what I have heard, call it *dikaion*. If one ingests its excrement, even only the equivalent of a grain of millet diluted in a drink, one dies the same evening. Death comes like sleep, very pleasant and painless. The Indians are very eager to catch the bird, because they think that he who owns the drug will forget all ills. And that is why the Indian king sends it, along with the most precious gifts,² to the Persian king. The king receives it and values it most highly; he stores this cure, this treatment for incurable ills, with great care, for the time when it might be needed.³ And no one else in Persia has access to it, only the king and the king’s mother.

Notes

1. Photius’ epitome of Ctesias’ *Indica* (34) (on which Aelian also drew, cf. Lenfant, 199–200) has a less elaborate description of this bird.
2. Note *Indica* F45d(b), where Aelian describes a monstrous Indian animal presented, according to Ctesias, as a curiosity to the Persian king by the Indian ruler.
3. The description of some of the drug’s effects suggests that it may in fact be Indian hemp.

6. Brilliantly coloured textiles

Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 4.46.¹

In India there is a large creature something like a scarab and red in colour. At first sight it looks like a moth. It has huge feet and is soft to the touch. It is born on the amber-bearing trees and lives off its fruit. The Indians hunt this animal, crush it and extract from it a dye for purple textiles, their clothes and anything they want to dye or colour in this way.² They bring this dyed material to the Persian king. And the Persians find its appearance absolutely marvellous. Compared with the material produced locally in Persia, it is much better. According to Ctesias, it is so impressive because it is even brighter and more brilliant than the famous coloured textiles of Sardis.

Notes

1. Cf. the very compressed account in Photius' epitome of Ctesias' *Indica* (38–9), almost certainly Aelian's source here (note Lenfant, 202, who includes it in her edition of Ctesias fragments).
2. This seems to be a description of a type of cochineal.

7. The contents of some royal treasuries

(i) Diodorus Siculus XIX, 48.7–8.¹

There was also gathered for him a mass of money from the crowns² and the other gifts, and also from the booty. This came to 5,000 talents.

(ii) Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 36.1–2.

After Alexander had become master of Susa,³ he found forty thousand talents of coined money⁴ in the palace, besides furniture and other treasures of incalculable value. Among these it was said were five thousand talents weight of cloth⁵ dyed with purple from Hermione,⁶ which still retained a fresh and vivid colour even after being stored there for 190 years.

Notes

1. The setting is Antigonus' occupation of Susa in 316; see for this, and his finding of the king's golden vine and works of art in the treasury, **11, no.30(iii)**.
2. In the hellenistic period the presentation of crowns to kings became a regular practice. Does the mention of crowns in the Achaemenid treasury indicate that such a practice had already developed at some point in the Achaemenid period (Briant 1996a: 408 [2002b: 397])?
3. See **10, no.29**.
4. Approximately 1,200,000 kg.
5. Approximately 150,000 kg.
6. Port in the eastern Peloponnese.

8. Dues in kind and the processing of precious metals

Strabo XV, 3.21.¹

The Persian kings exacted silver from the coasts, and from the interior what each land produced,² so that they received also dyes, drugs, hair or wool and things of that kind, likewise young animals. (. . .) Most of the gold and silver is used for equipment, very little for coinage.³ They think it more appropriate for gifts⁴ and for depositing in storehouses; the amount of coinage is enough for their needs, so they only mint whatever money is commensurate with their needs.

Notes

1. Strabo cites Polycleitus of Larissa, a fourth-century historian, whose surviving fragments mainly concern Alexander of Macedon, as his source.
2. For this as a Greek visualisation of the Achaemenid imperial space and economy, which does not tally with the realities, see Briant 1996a: 417–19 [2002b: 406–8]; **14, Introduction**.
3. Cf. **14, no.2**(96) & n.27.
4. Cf. **13, Section B(c)**.

9. Tax paid in silver and kind

Babylonian tablet, BE X 97. Nippur, x/19/4, Darius II (420/19).

Translation: Dandamaev 1979: 103–5.

One barrel of beer, 1 sheep, 2 pan 3 sutu¹ [flour] and barley, 2 mina silver:² the total tax³ for 1 soldier [. . .] and other presentations to the ‘house of the king’.⁴ The tax from Nisanu of Year 3 until the end of Addaru of Year 3 of Darius the king,⁵ which is (assessed on) the arable land planted and in stubble, the ‘bow-land’⁶ of Iddin-Bel and his colleagues in the region of Bit-Enlil in the town of Hammanaya and in the town of Husseti-sha-Magush of the haṭru of the Cimmerians,⁷ which is at the disposal of Rimut-Ninurta, descendant of Murashu,⁸ – 2 mina silver, the total tax from this arable land for Year 3, Taddannu, the foreman⁹ of the Cimmerians, son of Tiriya, has received.

Before Nabu-mit-uballit, judge of the estate of Parysatis.¹⁰ (Witnesses; scribe, place; date)

Notes

1. 90 litres.
2. 1 kg.
3. Akk. *ilku*, the traditional Mesopotamian term for dues and duties owed to the state, see Postgate 1974: 63–93.
4. Akk. *nadanatu ša bit šarri*, items paid into the treasury.
5. Mid-April 421 to early April 420.
6. Akk. *bit qašti*, land held in return for military service, Stolper 1985: 25; 2000a.
7. Akk. *haṭru* describes a grouping of grant-holders in Achaemenid Babylonia, see Stolper 1985: 103; in this instance they are Cimmerians, i.e. Scythians; cf. **14, no.31**, n.5.
8. A member of the Nippur business family, involved in the management, leasing and subletting of land grants, see Stolper 1985, *passim*.
9. Akk. *šaknu*, managers of the haṭrus, see Stolper 1985: esp. 83–9. Note that while his name is West Semitic, that of his father is Iranian (Dandamaev 1992, no.294b).

10. Darius II's wife, who held land in Babylonia. For judges attached to high-level personnel, see **17, no.26**. For the same Babylonia official, see **16, no.66(ii)**.

B. Revenues, resources, obligations

(a) Taxes

10. A customs account from Egypt (475 or 454)

Aramaic papyrus (palimpsest) from Elephantine, Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (P.13446, pls.A–H, K–L) and Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Pap.No.3465 = pl.J.43502): TADAE III, C3.7. Principal discussions: TADAE III, 282–93; xx–xxi; Yardeni 1994; Lipinski 1994; Briant and Descat 1998.¹

AR1 (restored)

(First eleven lines lacking, rest of column restored)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 12. [Month Athyr, year 11. ² | 18. silver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 2 quarters. ⁹ |
| 13. On x of Athyr, they inspected for Egypt ³ | 19. On x of Athyr, they inspected for Egypt |
| 14. 1 ship of PN son of PN, Ionian, PSLD/RŠY ⁴ | 20. 1 ship PN son of PN, Ionian, PSLD/RŠY |
| 15. ³ SWT KHMWŠ a large ship ⁵ it is. | 21. 1 'big ship', it is in accordance with its measurements. |
| 16. The duty ⁶ which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king: ⁷ | 22. The oil that was in it is oil: 50 JARS. ^{10]} |
| 17. gold, 10 staters for gold, ⁸ 8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs); | |

AR2

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The duty which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king: | 11. All the duty and other (items) which was collected from it and transferred |
| 2. gold, 12 staters for gold, [1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)]; | 12. to the house of the king: |
| 3. silver, [50] karsh, [12 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters)]; ¹¹ | 13. gold, 12 staters for gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs);] |
| 4. the portion ¹² of the oil which was found [in it is oil, . . .] | 14. silver, 50 [k]arsh, [5 sh(ekels), 20]+8 h(allurs); |
| 5. silver of the men ¹³ which was delivered to the king's house is: | 15. wine, 21 and a half containers; |
| 6. silver, 3[+2] sh(ekels), [15 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters)]; | 16. oil, 6[+3] JARS, [2 t(hirds)], 10[+5 YW]; ¹⁷ |
| 7. wine, 21 and a half containers; ¹⁴ | 17. wooden SUPPORT, 1; |
| 8. oil, 6[+3] and a h[alf] JARS; | 18. empty JARS, 30, [of which are not] COATED, 10. |
| 9. wooden SUPPORT, ¹⁵ 1; | 19. On 30th of Athyr, they inspected for Egypt |
| 10. [empty JARS, 30; of which not COATED, 10]. ¹⁶ | 20. 1 ship of [PN son of PN], |
| | 21. Ionian, PSLD/RŠY. |
| | 22. ³ SWT K[H]MWŠ a large ship it is]. |

AR3

1. The du[ty which was collected from it and delivered to the king's house]:
2. gol[d, 10 staters for gold, 8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs).];
3. si[lver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allur)s, 2 q(quarters).]
4. [All the ships which were inspected for Egypt in month Athyr are]
5. [3 ships; among which: large ship, 1.]
6. [°SWT KHMWS large ship, 2].
7. [The] du[ty which was collected from them and transferred to the house of the king:]
8. [gold, 32 staters for gold, 2 karsh,]
9. [6 sh(ekels), 36 h(allurs);]
10. [silver, 70 karsh, 17 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters);]
11. [the portion of the oil which was found in them is oil . . .]
12. [silver of the men which was delivered to the king's house]
13. [from 1 large ship from . . .]
14. [is silver, 5 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters);]
15. [wine, 21 and a half containers;]
16. [oil, 9 and a half JARS;]
17. [wooden SUPPORT, 1;]
18. [empty JAR]\$, 30; of [which are not COATED, 10.]
19. [All the duty and] other (items) [which was collected from them and transferred to the house of the king:]
20. . . .
21. from . . . [. . .] °SWT [. . .]
22. from it in accordance [with . . .]
23. gold, [32] state[rs for gold, 2 karsh, 6 sh(ekels), 36 h(allurs);]

BR1

1. [silver], 60[+10] karsh, 4[+1 sh(ekels)], 20[+13] h(allurs);
2. [wine, 21 and a half containers;]
3. oil, 4[+5] JARS, 2 t(hirds), 10 [+5] YW;
4. wooden SUPPORT, 1;
5. empty JARS, 30; of which not CO[ATED, 10].
6. Month Choiak,¹⁸ year 11 . . .
7. On 2nd of Choiak they inspected for E[gypt]
8. 1 ship of Mr.g.s, son of Pq.[. . .],¹⁹
9. Ionian, PSLD/RŠY.
10. °SWT K[H̄M]WŠ [large] shi[p it is].
11. The duty which was collected from it and transferred to
12. the house of the king:
13. [gol]d, 10 staters for gold, 8 sh(ekels), 10[+5] h(allurs);
14. [si]lver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters).
15. [On x of] Choiak they inspected for Egypt [1] s[hip of PN son of PN],
16. Ionian PSLD/RŠY.
17. [1 big boat] it is in ac[cordance with its measurements].
18. The oil which was found in it is o[il, 50 JARS].
19. The duty which was collected from it and transferred [to the house of the king:]
20. gold, 12 staters for gold, [1] kar[sh, 6 h(allurs)];
21. silver, 50 karsh, 12 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters);
22. portion of the oil which was found [in it is oil . . .]
23. half(?) [. . .]

(BR2–3 very faint)

CR1

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [empty JARS, 30; of which are not COATED, 10.] 2. [Month Tybi,²⁰ year 11.] 3. [On x of Tybi they inspected for Egypt] 4. [1 ship of PN son of PN, Ionian PSLD/RŠY.] 5. [1 large ship, it is in accordance with its measurements.] 6. [The oil which was found in it is oil, 50 JARS.] 7. [The duty which was collected from it and transferred to] the house of the king: 8. [gold, 12 staters for gold, 1 karsh], 6 h(allurs); 9. [silver, 50 karsh, 12 h(allurs), 2 q(arters);] 10. [portion of the oil which was found in it is] oil, HMWŠ²¹ . . . | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. [silver of the men which was transferred to the hou]se of the king is 12. [silver, 5 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs), 2 q(arters);] 13. [wine, 21 and a half containers;] 14. [oil, 9 and a half JARS;] 15. [wooden SUPPORT, 1;] 16. [empty JARS, of which] not COATED, 10.] 17. [All the duty and other (items) which was collected fr]om it and transferred to 18. [the house of the king:] 19. [gold, 12 staters for gold], 1 [kar]sh, 6 h(allurs); 20. [silver, 50 karsh, 4+]1 sh(ekels), 26[+2] h(allurs); 21. [wine, 21 and a half containers;] 22. [oil, 9 JARS, 2 t(hirds), 15 YW (?);] |
|---|--|

CR2

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|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. wooden SUPPORT, 1; 2. empty JARS, 30; of which not COATED, 10. 3. On 16th of Tybi they inspected for Egypt 4. 1 ship of Symenos/Somenes son of Simonides/Simondas,²² Ionian, PSLD/RŠY 5. [1 large] ship [it is] in accordance with its measurements. 6. The oil which was f[ound] in it is oil, [50 JARS]. 7. The duty which was collected from it and [transferred to the house of the king]: 8. g[old, 10+]1[+1 sta]ters for [gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)]; 9. [sil]ver, 50 karsh, [12] h(allurs), [2 qu(arters)]; 10. portion of the oil which was fo[und in it is] | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. oil, HMWŠ, 20[+?] YW; 12. silver of the men which was delivered to [the king's house is] 13. [silver], 5 sh(ekels), 12[+3] h(allurs), [2 qu(arters)]; 14. wine, 21 and a half JARS;²³ 15. oil, 9 and a half JARS; 16. wooden [SUPPORT, 1]; 17. empty JARS, 30; [of which are not COATED, 10]. 18. All the duty and o[ther (items)] which [was collected from it] 19. and transferred to the house of the king: 20. gold, 12 staters for [gold, 1 karsh, 6] h(allurs); 21. silver, 50 karsh, [5 sh(ekels), 28 h(allurs)]; 22. wine, 21 and a half JARS; |
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DR1

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [oil], 9 JARS, 2 t(hirds), 15 YW; | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. wooden SUPPORT, 1; |
|--|---|

3. empty JARS, 30; of which not COATED, 10.
4. On 18th of Tybi they inspected for Egypt
5. 1 s[h]i[p of PN son of PN, Ionian
6. [PSLD/RŠ]Y.
7. *SWT KḤMWŠ a large ship it is.
8. The d[uty which] was collec[ted from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
9. gold, 10 staters for gold, [8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs)];
10. silver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters).
11. All the ships which they inspected for Egypt
12. in month Tybi [are 3 ships. In it:] large ship, 2;
13. [*]SWT KḤMWŠ [large ship, 1].
14. [The duty which was collected from them and transferred to]
15. [the house of the king:]
16. [gold, 34 staters for gold, 2] karsh,
17. [3+]4[+1 sh(ekels), 27 h(allurs)];
18. [sil]ver, [1]10 karsh, 27 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters);
19. portion of the oil which was found in them
20. is o[il, ḤMWŠ . . .];
21. [silver] of the men which was transferr[ed to the house of the king]
22. from 2 large ships

DR2

1. from all [. . .] . . .
2. silver, [1 karsh, 31 h(allurs)];
3. wine, [43 x containers];
4. oil, 13[+3+]3 JARS;
5. wooden SUPPORT, 2;
6. empty JARS, 40[+20]; of which are not COATED, 20.
7. All the du[ty] and ot[her (items) which was collected and x transferred] to
8. the house of the k[ing]:
9. gold, [20+]11[+3] state[rs for gold, 2] karsh,
10. [7+]1 [sh(ekels)], 27 h(allurs);
11. sil[ver, 111 karsh, 1 sh(ekel), 18 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters)];
12. wine, [43 containers];
13. oil, [10+]9 [JAR]S, 2 t(hirds), 10[+2 YW];
14. [woo]den SUPPORT, 2;
15. [empty JARS, 60; of which are not] COATED, [20].
16. [Month of Mehir],²⁴ year 11.
17. [On 6th?] of [Mehir they inspected for] Egypt
18. 1 [shi]p of [PN son of PN, Ionian],
19. [PSLD/R]ŠY.
20. [*]SWT KḤ]MWŠ a large ship it is.
21. The [du]ty which was collected from it and transferred to
22. the [hou]se of the king:
23. [go]ld, 10 staters for gold, [8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs)];
24. [sil]ver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters).

DR3

1. [On 10th? of] Mehi[r they inspected for Egypt]
2. 1 ship o[f PN son of PN, Ionian],
3. PSLD/RŠY.
4. *SWT K[ḤMWŠ a large ship it is].
5. The duty which was collected from it [and transferred to the house of the king]:
6. gold, 10 staters for gold, [8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs)];
7. silver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 1[+1] q(quarters).
8. On 20th of Mehir they inspected for [Egypt]
9. 1 [ship] of Tmt.[. . .]²⁵ son of PN, Ionian],

10. PSLD/RŠY.
11. 1 large ship it is [in accordance with its measurements].
12. The oil which was found [in it is oil, 50 JARS].
13. The duty which was collected from [it and transferred to the house of the king]:
14. gold, 12 staters for [gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)];
15. [silver], 50 [karsh, 12 h(allurs), 2 q(arters);]
16. portion of the oil which [was found in it is oil],
17. H̄MWŠ, . . . [. . .];
18. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of the king is]
19. silver, 5 sh(ekels), [15] h(allurs), 2 q(arters)];
20. wine, 21 [and a half] containers;
21. oil, 5[+4 and a half] JARS;
22. wooden SUPPORT, 1;
23. empty JARS, 30; [herein of which are not COATED, 10];
24. All the duty and oth[er (items) which was collected from it]
25. and transferred to [the house of the king]:

(DR4 & DD1–9 very faint)

ER1

1. [portion of the oil] which was found in [it is oil, H̄MWŠ . . .];
2. [si]lver of the men which was transferred to the house of the [ki]ng [is silver, 5 sh(ekels), 13+]2 h(allurs), 2 q(arters);
3. [w]ine, [21 and a h]alf containers;
4. [oi]l, [3+]5[+1 and a ha]lf JARS;
5. [wooden SUPPORT, 1];
6. empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not COATED, 10.
7. All the duty and other (items) which were collected from it [and transferred t]o the ho[use of the ki]ng:
8. g[o]ld, 12 staters for gold, 1 karsh, [6] h(allurs);
9. [si]lver, 50 karsh, 5 [sh(ekels)], 20[+8] h(allurs);
10. [wine], 21 and a half JARS (error for 'containers');
11. [oil], 9 [JA]RS, 2 t(hirds), 15 YW;
12. [wooden SUPPORT, 1];
13. [empty J]ARS, [30]; he[rein, of which are not] C[OAT]ED, 10.
14. [On the] 7th of [Pa]hons²⁶ they inspected for Egypt
15. [1 s]hip [of] .gwt. [son of PN, Ionian, PSLD/RŠY].
16. [1] large [sh]ip it is in accordance with its measurements.
17. [The] oil which was found in it is oil, 20[+30] JARS.
18. [The] duty which was collected from it [and transferred t]o [the] house [of the king]:
19. gold, 10[+1+]1 staters for [gold], 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs);
20. silver, 50 karsh, 10[+1+]1 h(allurs), 2 q(arters);
21. portion of [the] oil [whi]ch was foun[d] in it is oi[l], H̄MWŠ, [ti]the²⁷ . . . ;
22. silver of [the] me[n which was delivered t]o [the] house of [the] k[ing is silver, 2] +3 [sh(ekels)], 10[+2+]3 [h(allurs)], 2 q(arters);
23. wine, 21 and a half contai[n]ers;

ER2

1. oil, [6+]3 and a half JARS;
2. wooden [SUPPORT, 1];
3. [empt]y J[A]RS, [20+]10; herein, of which are not COATED, [10].

4. All the duty and other (items) which were colle[ct]ed from it [and transferred to the house of the king]:
5. gold, [10+]2 staters for gold, 1 karsh, [6] h(allurs);
6. silver, [40+]10 karsh, 3[+2] sh(ekels), [28 h(allurs)];
7. [wine], 20[+1 and a half containers];
8. oil, 10 and a quart[er JARS];
9. wooden [SUPPOR]T, 1;
10. [empt]y JARS, 30; herein, of which are not C[OATED, 10].
11. On the 10th [of Pah]ons²⁸ they inspected for Egypt
12. 1 sh[ip] of P. tln,²⁹ son of Moschos, [Ionian, PS�D/RŠY].
13. Š[WT KHMWŠ] a large ship [it is].
14. The duty which was collected from it and transferred [to the house of the king]:
15. [gold], 10 state[r]s for gold, 6[+2] sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs);
16. silver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters).
17. [On the 15th] of Pahons³⁰ they inspected for E[gypt]
18. 1 [shi]p [of] PN son of Ergilo[s,³¹ Ionian, PS�D/RŠY].
19. 1 [larg]e ship it is in accordance with [its] me[asurements].
20. The oil [which was fo]u[n]d in it is o[il, 50 JARS].
21. The duty [whi]ch was collected from it and trans[ferred to the house of the king]:
22. go[ld,] 12 [sta]te[r]s for gold, [1] kar[sh, 6 h(allurs)];

KR1

1. [silver, 50 karsh, 12 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters)];
2. [portions of the oil which was found in it is o]il, [HMWŠ . . .];
3. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of] the [k]ing is
4. [silver, 5 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters)];
5. [wine, 21 and a half containers];
6. [oil, 9 and a half JARS];
7. [wooden SUPPORT, 1];
8. [empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not COATED, 10].
9. [All the duty and other (items) which were collected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
10. [gold, 12 staters for gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)];
11. [silver, 50 karsh, 5 sh(ekels), 28 h(allurs)];
12. [wine, 21 and a half containers];
13. [oil, 9 JARS, 2 t(hirds)], 15 [YW] . . .;
14. [wooden SUPPORT, 1];
15. [empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not COA]TED, 10.
16. [On the x of Pahons they inspected for] Eg[yp]t
17. [1 ship of PN son of PN, Ionian, PS�D/RŠY].
18. [ŠWT KHMWŠ a large ship it is].
19. [The duty which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
20. [gold, 10 staters for gold, 8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs)];
21. [silver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters)].
22. [All the ships which they inspected for Egypt in the mon]th of Pahons are
23. [5 ships; herein, large ship, 3];
24. [ŠWT KHMWŠ a large ship, 2].
25. [The duty which was collected from them and transferred to the ho]use of the king:

KR2

1. [gold], 52[+4] s[tater]s [for g]o[ld, 4 kar]sh,
2. [3+]4 [sh(ekels)], 13[+5] h(allurs);

3. [silver], 1[70] karsh, 1 sh(ekel), 16 h(allurs), [2 q(quarters)];
4. portion of the oil which was found in them is
5. [oi], [HM]WŠ . . . ;
6. [silver of] the men which was transferred to [the house of the king]
7. [from] 3 [la]rge ships from [. . .]
8. . . .
9. is silver, 1 karsh, 6 sh(ekels), [6] h(al-lurs), 2 q(quarters);
10. [wine, 6]4 and a half [container]s;
11. [oil, 28 and a half JARS];
12. [wooden] SUPPORT, 3;
13. [empty JARS, 90; herein], of which are not COATED, [30].
14. All the duty and other (items) which was collect[ed from] them and transferred to the house of the king:
15. gold, 56 staters for gold, 3[+1] karsh,
16. 7 sh(ekels), 18 h(allurs);
17. silver, 120[+20+]31 karsh, 7 sh(ekels), 23 h(allurs);
18. wine, 64 and a ha[l]f [cont]ainers;
19. [oil], 26[+1+]2 and 1 t(hird) JARS; tithe, 2[+?] JARS(?);
20. wooden SUPPORT, 3;
21. [empty JARS, 40+]50; herein, [of which are not CO]ATED, 30.
22. [Month of Pay]ni,³² [y]ear 11.
23. On the [3+]6 of Pa[y]ni³³ they inspected for Egypt
24. 1 [s]hip [o]f Timokedes son of Mik-kos,³⁴ Ionian, PSLD/RŠY.
25. 'SWT KHMWŠ a large ship it is.

KR3

1. [The] du[ty whi]ch was col[lected and transferred t]o the house of the king:
2. go[ld, 10 stater]s [for gold], 8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs);
3. si[lver], 10 [kar]sh, 2 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters).
4. [On 10+ of Pa]yni they inspected for Egypt
5. [1 ship of PN] son of .mn, Ionian, PSLD/RŠY.
6. [1 large ship] it is in accordance with [its] measureme[nts].
7. [The oil which was] found in it is oil, 50 JARS.
8. [The duty] wh[ich was collected from it] and transferred to the house of the king:
9. gold, 12 [state]rs for gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs);
10. [silver, 40+]10 [karsh], 12 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters);
11. [portion of the oil] which was found in it is oil, . . . ;
12. [silver of the men which was made over to the house of the king is]
13. [silver, 5 sh(ekels)], 10[+5 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters)];
14. win[e, 21 and a half containers];
15. oi[l, 9 and a half JARS];
16. wooden SUPPORT, 1;
17. e[mp]t[y] JARS, 30; [herein, of which are not COATED, 10].
18. All the duty and other [(items) which was collected and transferred to the house of] the [king]:
19. gold, 11[+1] staters [for gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)];
20. silver, 50 karsh, [5 sh(ekels), 20+]6[+2 h(allurs)];
21. wine, 21 and a half [co]ntainers;
22. oil, 10 (and) a quarter JARS;
23. wooden SUPPORT, 1;
24. empty JARS, 30; herein, [of which are not COATED, 10].
25. On the 17th of Payni,³⁵ [they] in[spected for Egypt]

KR4

1. 1 ship of [PN son of PN, Ionian, PSLD/RŠY].
2. *SWT KḤMW[Š a large ship it is].
3. the duty [which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
4. gold, 10 staters [for gold, 8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs)];
5. silver, [10] karsh, [2 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters)].
6. On the 20th of Payni³⁶ [they inspected for Egypt]
7. 1 ship of [PN son of PN, Ionian, PSLD/RŠY].
8. *SWT KḤMW[Š a large ship it is].
9. The du[ty] which was co[l]lected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
10. gold, 10 s[ta]te[r]s [for gold, 8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs)];
11. si[lver], 10 [ka]rsh, [2 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters)].
12. On the 20[+ of Payni they inspected for Egypt]
13. [1 DWGY QNRT³⁷ of PN, . . .]
14. [. . . which was found in it . . .]
15. [wine of year 10,³⁸ 1 thousand 100 containers] (16.–19. nothing restorable)
20. [. . .], 10;
21. bronze ŠLMW,³⁹ [10,000 karsh];
22. [. . .];
23. silver [. . .] . . . ;
24. [. . .]

(**KR5** very faint)

GR1

1. [wine, 21 and a half containers];
2. [oil, 9 and a half JARS];
3. [wooden SUPPORT, 1];
4. [empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not] COATED, 10;
5. [All the duty and other (items) which was collected from] them and transferred to the [house of the king]:
6. [gold, 42 staters for gold], 3 [karsh, 5] sh(ekels, [11 h(allurs)]);
7. [silver, 80 karsh, 5 sh(ekels), 3]5 [h(al-lurs)], 2 q(uarters);
8. [wine, 21 and a half containers];
9. [oil, 9 JARS, 2 t(hirds), 10+]3[+2 YW];
10. [wooden SUPPORT, 1];
11. [empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not CO]ATED, [10].
12. [The tithe . . . from] 1 DWGY QNRT⁴⁰:
13. [wine of year 10, 110 containers]; (14.–15. nothing restorable)
16. [bronze ŠLMW, 1 thousand karsh];
17. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of] the [k]ing is
18. [silver . . .],
19. [wine of year 10, 15 (and) 1 t(hird) containers],
20. [old OAR,⁴⁰ 1]
21. [All (the) silver of (the) men which was col]lected from it and transferred to the house of
22. [the king: silver, 1 karsh,] 1[+1 sh(ekels)], 3 h(allurs);
23. [wine of year 10, 1]25 and 1 [t(hird)] containers;

GR2

1. . . . , 10;
2. old OAR, 1.
3. All the duty {and other (items)}⁴¹

which was collected from them and transferred to the house of the king:

4. gold, 42 staters for go[ld], 3 karsh, [3+]2 [sh(ekels), 11 h(allurs)];
5. [silver, 84 kar]sh, [2 sh(ekels)], 7 h(al-lurs), [2] q(uarters);
6. wine, 146, 2 t(hirds), and a sixth [con]tainers; herein:
7. [wine of] Ionia, 21 and a half contai[ners];
8. [win]e of Sidonians, 125 and 1 t(hird) containers;
9. oil, 10 (and) a quarter JARS;
10. bronze ŠLM[W], 1 thousand [ka]rsh;
11. . . ., 10;
12. [SUPP]ORT, 1; old OAR, 1;
13. empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not COATED, 10.
14. Mo[n]th of Epiph,⁴² [year] 11.
15. [On the] 5th of E[piph]⁴³ they inspected for E[gy]pt
16. 1 ship of Glaphyr[os son of PN, Io]nian, PSLD/RŠY.
17. 'SWT KĪHMWŠ a [large] ship [it is].
18. The duty which was collected from it and [transferred to] the house of the king:
19. gold, 10 staters for gold, 6[+2] sh(ekels), [13+]2 [h(allurs)];
20. [silver], 10 [kar]sh, 2 h(allurs), [2 q(uarters)].
21. [On the] 7th of Epiph⁴⁴ they inspected for Egypt
22. 1 DWGY QND/RTŠYRY⁴⁵ of Sm. . h/h [. . .]
23. [. . .] . . . the things which were found in it [. . . are];
24. [wine] of year 11, 800 containers;
25. CLAY of ŠMWŠ,⁴⁶ 6 thousand karsh;
26. wood 'KD/RPK,⁴⁷ 2 thousand karsh;

GR3

1. [n]ew O[ARS, 300].
2. The tithe [which was col]lected from it and transfer[red to the house of] the king:
3. wine of year 11, 80 [cont]ainers;
4. CLAY of [ŠM]WŠ, [600] kar[sh];
5. wood of 'KD/R[P]K, 200 karsh;
6. ne[w] OARS, [20+]10;
7. silver of [the] me[n which was transferred to] the [house of [the] ki[ng is]
8. wine of y[ear 1]1, 8 and a half containers.
9. All the tithe which was collected from it [and transferred to]
10. the house of the king:
11. [wine of year] 11, 88 and a hal[f] containers;
12. CLAY of [ŠM]WŠ, [6]00 karsh;
13. wood of 'KD/RPK, [2]00 kars[h];
14. new OARS, 30.
15. On the 9th of Epiph they inspected for Egypt
16. 1 DWGY QNRT⁴⁸ [of PN]
17. . . .
18. [. . . which] was [f]ound in it [. . .];
19. [wine of y]ear 10, [1 thou]sand 20 containers;
20. iron of PKD/RN,⁴⁸ 20,000[+1] thousand karsh;
21. bronze ŠL[MW], 6 thousand karsh;
22. wood of 'KD/RPK, [1+]6 thousand karsh;
23. wood by number, 550; herein:
24. cedarwood BEAM, 50,
25. cedarwood BOARD, 500.

GR4

1. [The tithe which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
2. win[e of year 10, 102 containers],
3. ir[on of PKD/RN, 2 thousand 100 karsh];
4. bro[nze ŠLMW, 600 karsh];
5. woo[d of 'KD/RPK, 700 karsh];
6. woo[d by number, 55; herein],
7. [cedar]wood [BEAM, 5],
8. [cedar]wood [BOARD, 50],
9. silver [of the men which was transferred to]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 10. [the house of the king is] | 18. [bronze ŠLMW, 600 karsh]; |
| 11. [silver . . .] | 19. [wood of ʾKD/RPK, 700 karsh]; |
| 12. win[e of year 10, 15 (and) 1 t(hird) containers], | 20. [wood by number, 56; herein]: |
| 13. [old] OAR, [1]. | 21. [cedar]wood [BEAM, 5], |
| 14. All [the tithe which was collected from it and transferred to] | 22. [cedar]wood [BOARD, 50]; |
| 15. [the] ho[use of the king]: | 23. [old] OAR, [1]. |
| 16. [wine of year 10, 117 (and) 1 t(hird) containers]; | 24. On the [x of Epiph they inspected for Egypt] |
| 17. [iron of PKD/RN, 2 thousand 100 karsh]; | 25. [1] shi[p of PN son of PN], |

(GG1–3 very faint)

FR1

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| 1. [gold, 34 staters for] gold, [2] karsh, [8 sh(ekels), 23+]4 [h(allurs)]; | 12. [wine of year 11], 100[+42+]1 [container]s; |
| 2. [silver, 110 karsh], 1 sh(ekel), 24 h(al-lurs), [x] q(quarters); | 13. [bronze ŠLMW], 1 thousand [100 kar[sh]; |
| 3. [wine, 42+]1 [containers]; | 14. [iron of PKD/RN, 2] thousand 100 [karsh]; |
| 4. [oil], 60[+JARS (error for: 19 JARS, 2 t(hirds), 12 YW]; wooden SUPPORT, 2; | 15. [wood of ʾKD/RPK, 2+]7×100 (=900) [karsh]; |
| 5. [empty JARS, 60; herein, of which] are not COATED, 20. | 16. [tin, ⁵⁰ 200 karsh]; |
| 6. [Tithe(?) . . .sh]ips of KZD/R ^Y , ⁴⁹ 3; herein, | 17. [(wool of) Kefar . . .n, ⁵¹ 2+]5×100 (=700+)11[+3+1] karsh; |
| 7. [DWGY QNRT ^o , 1; DWGY QN]RTŠYRY, 2. | 18. [CLAY of ŠMWŠ, 600 karsh]; |
| 8. [The tithe which] was collected from it (correction: ‘them’) and transferred to the house of the king: | 19. [wood by number, 8]5; herein, |
| 9. [silver, 1 karsh, 2 sh(ekels), 3 h(allurs)]; | 20. [BEAM, 5; BOARD, 50]; |
| 10. [wine 24]5 [containers; he]re[in], | 21. [new OARS, 20+]10; old OARS, . . .; |
| 11. [wine of year 10], 101[+1 container]s, | 22. [silver of the men which was transferred] to the house of the king: |
| | 23. [. . .] . . . DWGY . . . |
| | 24. [. . .] . . . from them |

FR2

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. wine of year 10, 15 (and) 1 t(hird) containers, | 7. to the house of the king is |
| 2. old OAR, 1; | 8. silver, 1 karsh, 2 sh(ekels), 3 h(allurs), |
| 3. silver of the men which was transferred to [the house of] the [king] | 9. wine of year 10, [15 (and) 1 t(hird) containers], |
| 4. from 2 DWGY QNRTŠYRY of [. . . is] | 10. wine of year 11, [17] contai[ner]s, |
| 5. wine of year 11, [17] containers. | 11. [o]ld O[AR], 1. |
| 6. All (the) silver of (the) men which was collected from them and transferred | 12. A[ll] the duty and the tithe which was collected from them |

13. and transferred to the house of [the] king;
14. silver, 3 karsh, 6 sh(ekels), 12 h(allurs);
15. wine, [277 (and) 1 t(hird) co[n]tainers; herein],
16. wine of year 10, 11[7 (and) 1 t(hird)] containers,
17. wine of year 11, 160 containers;
18. [bro]nze ŠL[MW], 1 thousand 100 kars[h];
19. iron of PKD/RN, [2] thousand 100 karsh;
20. wood of 'KD/RPK, [3+]6×100 (=900) [karsh];
21. tin, 1[+1]100 (=200) karsh;
22. (wool of Ke[far]. n, 71[+1+]3 [karsh];
23. CLAY of ŠMWŠ, 600 kar[sh];
24. wood by number, 86; herein,
25. cedarwood BEAM, 5,
26. cedarwood BOARD, 50,
27. OARS, 30[+1], herein,

FR3

1. [new O]A[RS, 30; old OAR, 1].
2. [A]ll the duty [and other (items) which were collected from them and transferred]
3. t[o the house of the] king:
4. g[o]ld, [34] state[rs for gold, 2 karsh],
5. [3+]4[+1] sh(ekels), [27 h(allurs)];
6. sil[ver, 114 karsh, 7 sh(ekels), 30 h(al-lurs), 2 q(uarters)];
7. w[ine], 2[+1×100+20 (=320 and)1 t(hird)] containers(?); [herein],
8. [wine of I]onia, [43 cont]ainers,
9. [wine of Sidonians, 277 (and) 1 t(hird) containers; herein],
10. [wine o]f yea[r 10, 117 (and) 1 t(hird) containers];
11. wine of year 10[+1, 160 containers];
12. oi[l], 10[+9] JARS, [2 t(hirds), 12 YW];
13. bronze ŠL[MW, 1 thousand 100 karsh];
14. iron of PKD/RN, [2 thousand 100 karsh];
15. wood of 'KD/RPK, [900 karsh];
16. t[in, 200 karsh];
17. (wool of) [Ke]far .[n, 715 karsh];
18. [CLAY of ŠMWŠ, 600 karsh];
19. [wood by number, 88; herein],
20. [cedarwood BEAM, 5],
21. ce[darwood BOARD, 50],
22. n[ew] OARS, [30],
23. ol[d] OAR, [1],
24. wooden SUPPORT, [2];
25. empt[y] JARS, [60; herein, of which are not COATED, 20].

JR1

1. [Month of Mesore,⁵² ye]ar 11.
2. [On the x of Mesore] they inspected for Egypt
3. [1 s]hip [of] K/Prystn son of Prytkm,⁵³
4. [I]onian, PS[LD/R]ŠY.
5. [1 lar]ge [shi]p it is in accordance with its [measurements].
6. [The oil] which was found in it is
7. [oil, 50] JARS.
8. [The duty which was collected from it and transferred t]o [the hous]e [of the king]:
9. [gold 11+]1 [staters] for gold, [1] ka[rsh, 6 h(allurs)];
10. [silver, 50 karsh, 12 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters)];
11. [portion of the] o[il] which was found in it is o[il], [H̄MWS . . .];
12. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of the king is]
13. [silver, 5 sh(ekels)], 13[+2 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters)];
14. [wine, 21] and a half [containers];
15. [oil, 9 and a half JARS];

16. [wooden SU]P[PORT, 1];
17. [empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not COATED, 10].
18. [All the duty and other (items)] which was collected [from it and transferred to]
19. [the house of the king]:
20. [gold], 12 [staters] for gold, [1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)];
21. [silver], 50 [kar]sh, 2[+3 sh(ekels), 28 h(allurs)];
22. [wine], 21 and a half [containers];
23. [oil, 3+]3[+3 JARS, 2 t(hirds), 15 YW];
24. [wooden] SUPPORT, 1;
25. [em]pt[y JARS, 20+]10; [here]in of which are n[ot COATED], 10.
26. [On the x of Mesore] they inspected [for Egypt]
27. 1 [shi]p of Iokles son of š[. . .],
28. [Ionian], PSLD/RŠY.

JR2

1. [‘SWT K]HMWŠ [a large] sh[ip it is].
2. [The duty which] was collected from it [and transferred to the house of the king]:
3. [gold], 10 staters for [gold, 8 sh(ekels), 18 h(allurs)];
4. [silver], 10 [karsh, 2] h(allurs), [2 q(quarters)];
5. [On the x of Mesore they inspected for Egypt]
6. 1 ship of Phanes s[on of PN, Ionian, PSLD/RŠY],
7. [1 large] sh[ip] it is in accor[dance with its measurements].
8. The [o]il which was foun[d in it is oil, 50 JARS].
9. The duty which was collected from it [and transferred to the house of the king]:
10. [gold, 12] staters [for gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)];
11. si[lver, 50 karsh, 12 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters)];
12. [portion of the oil which was found in it is oil, HMWŠ . . .];
13. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of the king is]
14. [silver, 5 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs), 2 q(quarters)];
15. wine, [21 and a half] cont[ainers];
16. [oil, 9 and a half JARS];
17. [wooden SUPPORT, 1];
18. [empty JARS, 30; herein, of which are not COATED, 10].
19. [All the duty and other (items)] which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king:
20. go[ld, 12 staters for gold, 1 karsh, 6 h(allurs)];
21. [silver, 50 karsh, 5 sh(ekels), 28 h(allurs)];
22. wine, [21 and a half containers];
23. oil, 10 [(and) a quarter] JARS;
24. wooden SUPPORT, 1;
25. [empty] JARS, [30; herein, of which] are not COATED, 10.
26. On the 12th of Mesore⁵⁴ [they inspected for Eg]ypt

JR3

1. [1 DWGY QNRT⁵³ of PN son of PN, . . .]
2. [. . . which was found in it . . .]:
3. [wine of year 10, 450 containers];
4. [wool of Kefar Š^c, 20,000 1 thousand karsh];
5. [iron, 30,000 karsh; herein],
6. [SNY,⁵⁵ 10,000 karsh],
7. [PKD/RN, 20,000 karsh];
8. [The tithe which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
9. [wine of year 10, 45 containers];

10. [wool of Kefar Ṣ̌, 2 thousand 100 karsh];
11. [iron, 3 thousand karsh; herein],
12. [SNY, 1 thousand karsh],
13. [PKD/RN, 2 thousand karsh];
14. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of the king is]
15. [silver, . . .]
16. [wine of year 10, 15 (and) 1 t(hird) containers]
17. [old OAR, 1].
18. [All the tithe which was collected from it and transferred to]
19. [the house of the king]:
20. si[lv]er, 3 karsh, [6] sh(ekels), [12 h(allurs)];
21. [w]ine of year [10, 60 (and) 1 t(hird) containers];
22. [w]o[ol of Kefar Ṣ̌, 2 thousand 100 karsh];
23. [iro]n, 3 thousand karsh; [herein],
24. [SNY], 1 thousand karsh,
25. P[KD/RN], 2 thou[sand] karsh;

Reverse

JV1

1. [old OAR, 1].
2. [On the x of Mesore, they inspected for Egypt]
3. [1 ship of PN son of PN, Ionian],
4. [PSLD/RŠY].
5. [ŠWT KHMWŠ a large ship it is].
6. [The duty which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
7. [gold, 10 staters for gold, 8 sh(ekels)],
8. [15 h(allurs)];
9. [silver, 10 karsh, 2(hallurs), 2 q(uarters)].
10. [On the x of Mesore they inspected for Egypt]
11. [1 DWGY QNRTŠYRY of PN],
12. [. . .]
13. [. . . the things which were found in it . . . are]
14. [wine of year 11, 395 jars];
15. [wood by number, 970; herein],
16. [cedarwood PLANK, 530],
17. [cedarwood P'MY,⁵⁶ 240],
18. [new OARS, 200].
19. [The tithe which was collected from it and transferred to the house of the king]:
20. [wine of Sidonians, 33+]6 and a half [containers];
21. [silver of] the [men] which was transfer[red t]o the house of the [ki]ng is
22. [wine of] year 11, [8 and a half] co[ntai]ners;
23. [wood by number, 20+]72[+3+]2; herein,
24. [cedarwood] PLANK, 40[+13],
25. [cedarwood] P'MY, [23+]1,

JV2

1. [new OARS, 20].
2. All [the ships which they inspected] for Eg[y]pt in the month of [Mesore are 6 ships];
3. . . . [. . .] . . .
4. ships of [the] I[onians], PSLD/RŠY, [4]; herein,
5. large ship, 2; ŠWT K[ḤMWŠ a large ship, 2];
6. ships of [the KZD/ṚY(?), 2]; herein,
7. [D]WGY [QNRT⁶⁶ of . . .]; DWGY QNRTŠYRY
8. of . . .
9. The duty which [was collected from them and transferred] to the house of the king:
10. [. . . ships of] the Ionians, PSLD/RŠY, 4; herein,
11. [. . .] . . . [a la]rge ship, 2:

12. gold, [44] s[taters for gold], 3 karsh, [7] sh(ekels), [2 h(allurs)];
13. si[lver, 120 karsh, 30 h(allurs)];
14. [portion of] the oil which was fo[un]d in [th]em is oil [. . .];
15. [sil]ver of [the] m[en which was transferred to the house of the king from sh]ip
16. [large, 2; from all . . .];
17. [silver, 1 karsh, 31 h(allurs) +?];
18. [wine, 43 containers];
19. [oil, 19 JARS];
20. [wooden] SUPPORT, [2];
21. emp[ty] JARS, 20[+40; here]in, of which are not COATED (40 crossed out), 20.
22. All the duty and [other (items)] which were collected from them and transferred to the house of [the] king:
23. gold, [20+]14 (error: it should be 44) staters for gold, 3 karsh, 7 sh(ekels), [2] h(allurs);
24. [silver], 121 [karsh], 1 sh(ekel), 27 h(allurs);
25. [wine, 40+]3 [containers];
26. [oil, 19 JARS, 1+]1 [t(hirds)], 12 YW;
27. wooden SUPPORT, 2;

FV1

1. [empty JARS, 60; herein, of which are not COATED, 20.]
2. [The tithe which was transferred to the house of the king]
3. [from ships of KZD/RV, 2; herein]
4. [from 1 DWGY QNRT^c of . . .]
5. [from 1 DWGY QNRTŠYRY of . . .]:
6. [wine, 84 and a half containers; herein],
7. [wine of year 10, 45 containers],
8. [wine of year 11, 39 and] a half [containers];
9. [wool of Kefar Š^c, 2 thousand 100 karsh];
10. [iron, 3 thousand karsh; herein],
11. [SNY, 1 thousand karsh],
12. [PKD/RN, 2 thousand karsh];
13. [wood by number, 97; herein],
14. [cedarwood PLANK, 53],
15. [cedarwood P^cMY, 24],
16. [new OARS, 20];
17. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of the king]
18. [from 1 DWGY QNRT^c: silver, . . .]
19. [wine of year 10, 15 (and) 1 t(hird) containers],
20. [old OAR, 1];
21. [silver of the men which was transferred to the house of the king]
22. [from 1 DWGY QNRTŠYRY is]
23. [wine of year 11, 8 and a half containers].
24. [All (the) silver of (the) men which was collected from them and transferred to the house of] the [k]ing is

FV2

1. silver, 1 karsh, 2 sh(ekels), 3 h(allurs),
2. wine, 23, 2 t(hirds), and a sixth containers; herein:
3. wine of [year 10], 15 (and) 1 t(hird) containers,
4. wine of year 11, 8 and a half containers,
5. old OAR, 1.
6. All the duty and other (items) which were collected from them and transferred
7. to the house of the king:
8. silver, 3 karsh, 6 sh(ekels), 12 h(allurs);
9. wine, [1]00+4[+2+]2 and [1] th(ird) containers; herein:
10. wine of year 10, [40+]20 and [1] t(hird) containers,
11. wine of year 11, [48] containers;
12. wool of Kefar Š^c, 2 thousand 100 karsh;
13. iron, 3 thousand karsh; herein:
14. SNY, 1 thousand karsh,
15. PKD/RN, 2 thousand karsh;
16. [wood] by number, 96[+2]; herein:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 17. cedar[wood] PLANK, 50[+3], | 22. and tr[ansferred to the hou]se of the |
| 18. cedar[wood] P ^c MY, 23[+1], | king: |
| 19. new [OARS], 20, | 23. gold, [44] staters for gold, 3 karsh, |
| 20. old OAR, 1. | 24. [2+]1[+4] sh(ekels), [2] h(allurs); |
| 21. [A]ll the [dut]y [and other (items)]
which were collected [from them] | |

FV3

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. silver [124] kar[sh], 9 sh(ekels), [x]
h(allurs); | 13. cedarwood PLANK, 53, |
| 2. wine, [150+]1 (and) 1 t(hird) con-
tainers; herein: | 14. cedarwood P ^c MY, 24, |
| 3. wine [of Ionia], 43 [container]s, | 15. new O[A]RS, [20]; old OAR, 1; |
| 4. win[e of Sidonian]s, 108 (and) 1
t(hird) containers; herein: | 16. [wood]en SUPPORT, 1[+1]; |
| 5. wine of year 10, 60 (and) 1 t(hird)
containers, | 17. empty JARS, 60; herein of which are
not COATED, 20. |
| 6. wine of year 11, 48 containers; | 18. All the ships wh[ich] they inspected for
Egypt . . . |
| 7. oil, 19 JARS, 2 t(hirds), 12 YW; | 19. of [. . . I]onian, PSL[D/RŠY] . . . |
| 8. wool of Kefar Š ^c , 2 thousand 100 karsh; | 20. . . . |
| 9. iron, 2[+1] thousand karsh; herein: | 21. . . . [ship, 41+(?)]1; herein: |
| 10. SNY, [1] thousand karsh, | 22. . . . sh[i]ps of [I]onians, PSLD/RŠ[Y],
30[+6; herein]: |
| 11. PK[D/RN, 2 thousand karsh]; | 23. [all (told)] large ship, 19, |
| 12. [woo]d by number 1]00; herein: | 24. ŠWT KHMWŠ a large ship, 12[+5]; |
| | 25. ships of KZD/RN, 6 . . . |

(Three/four columns missing = **GGv**1–4)

GV2

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. [gold], 3[96+]2 [sta]ters | 12. PKD/RN, [1+]3 thousand 1[00] karsh; |
| 2. [for gold], 20[+13] karsh, [2+]3
[sh(ekels)], 9 h(allurs); | 13. bronze ŠLMW, [2 thousand karsh]; |
| 3. silver, 1 thousand 1[×100+30+]5[+?]
karsh, 10 h(allurs), 1 q(uarters); | 14. t[i]n, [200 karsh]; |
| 4. wine, 919 and a half containers; herein: | 15. [wool of] Kefar Š ^c , 2 thousand 100
[kar]sh; |
| 5. wine of Ionia, 40[8 and a half]
con[tainers], | 16. [wool of Kefar . . .N, 7]10[+1+]4
[karsh]; |
| 6. wine of [Si]donians, 510[+1 con-
tainers]; he[re]in: | 17. [wood of ŠKD/RPK], 900 [karsh]; |
| 7. win[e of] year 10, 30[3] containers, | 18. [. . .]; |
| 8. wine of year 11, 208 containers; | 19. CLAY of ŠMWŠ, 600 karsh; |
| 9. oil, 195 JARS; | 20. wood by number, 2[03+]1; herein: |
| 10. iron, 5 thousand 100 [karsh]; here[in]: | 21. cedarwood BEAM, 5, |
| 11. SNY, 1 thousand kar[sh], | 22. cedarwood BOARD, 50, |
| | 23. cedarwood PLANK, 53, |
| | 24. cedarwood P ^c MY, 24; |

GV3

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. OARS, 53; herein: | 4. wooden SUPPORT, 19; |
| 2. new OARS, 50, | 5. empty JARS, 570; herein |
| 3. old OARS, 3: | 6. of which are not COATED, 190. |

GV4

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. To the master ⁵⁷ of TLPT; ⁵⁸ | 3. To the master of ML . . . KN; |
| 2. To the master of M.LYN; | 4. To the master of [. . .] |

GV5

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. [All the duty which [. . .]
(ll.2–9 almost totally lost, except for a
numeral in l.6) | 18. [PN], Ionian, [PSLD/RŠY. The silver, the
customs duty (on) the value of the natron which] |
| 10. [All the ships which] they inspected
[for the sea ⁵⁹ . . . are] | 19. [they took out to] the [se]a in it, is
silver, [x karsh, . . .]. |
| 11. [x ships. The silver, the customs duty ⁶⁰
(on) the value of the natron ⁶¹ which
they took out] | 20. [All] the [ship]s which they inspected
[for the sea in the month of Athyr are] |
| 12. [to] th[e se]a in them [is silver, x karsh,
. . .] | 21. [2 ships]. The silver, the customs dut[y
(on) the value of the natron which they
took out] |
| 13. Mo[n]th of At[hyr, year 11]. | 22. to the sea in them, is silver, [x]
kar[sh, . . .]. |
| 14. [On the] 17th of [A]thyr ⁶² [they
inspected for the 1 ship of] | 23. [M]onth of Choiak, [year 11]. |
| 15. [. . .]. In, Ionian, [PSL/DRŠY. The silver,
the customs duty (on) the value of the
natron] | 24. On the [10th] of [Cho]iak ⁶⁴ they
inspected for [the] s[ea 1 ship of PN], |
| 16. which they took out to [the] sea in [it,
is silver, x karsh, . . .] | 25. Ionian, PSLD/RŠY. [The silver, the cus-
toms duty (on) the value of the natron
which] |
| 17. On the 26th of At[hyr ⁶³ they inspected
for the sea 1 ship of] | |

(Col. **KV1** entirely restored)

KV2

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. they took out to the sea in them, is sil-
ver, [x] karsh, [. . .] | inspected for the sea 1 [ship] of TM.[
. . ., Ionian, PS]LD/RŠY. |
| 2. Month of Phamenoth, ⁶⁵ year 11. | 6. The silver, the customs duty (on) the
value of the natron which [they] took
out to the sea in it is silver, [x] kar[sh, 5
sh(ekels), 20[+?] h(allurs)]. |
| 3. On the 10th of Phamenoth ⁶⁶ they
inspected for the sea 1 ship of . . .SY,
Ionian, PSLD/R[ŠY. The sil]ver, [the
customs dut]y (on) | 7. On the 25th of Phamenoth ⁶⁸ they
inspected for the sea 1 ship of [PN,
I]onian, PSLD/RŠY. |
| 4. the value of the natron which they took
out to the sea in it is, silver, 9 karsh, [y]
sh(ekels), [z h(allurs)]. | 8. The silver, the customs duty (on) the
value of the natron which [they] took |
| 5. On the 16th of [Phameno]th ⁶⁷ they | |

- out to the sea in it is silver, [x] karsh, 5 sh(ekels), 20[+?] h(allurs).
9. On the 30th of Phamenoth⁶⁹ they inspected for the sea 1 ship of [PN, Ionian, PS]LD/RŠY.
 10. The silver, the customs [duty (on) the value of the natron which they took out to] the [sea] in it is, si[lver, x karsh], 3[+6] sh(ekels), 23 h(allurs), 2 q(arters).
 11. All [the ships which they inspected for the sea in the month of Phameno]th [are 4] ships. [The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of the natron]
 12. [which they took out to the sea in it is silver, x karsh, x+]1 sh(ekels), 23[+?] h(allurs).
 13. [Month of Pharmuthi,⁷⁰ year 11].
 14. [On the x of Pharmuthi they inspected for the sea 1 ship of] MN[...], Ionian, PS LD/RŠY.
 15. [The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of the natron which they took out to the sea in it is, silv]er, 10 karsh, 6 sh(ekels), 18 h(allurs).
 16. On the [x of] Pharmu[thi they inspected for the sea 1 ship of] Spi-taka,⁷¹ Ionian, PS LD/RŠY. The silver,
 17. [the customs duty (on) the value of the na]tro[n] which they took out [to the sea in it is silver], 11 [kar]sh, 5 sh(ekels), 10 h(allurs).
 18. On the 21st of [Pharmu]thi⁷² [they] in[spected for] the sea [1] sh[ip of ...]KLS, Ionian, PS LD/RŠY.
 19. The [silve]r, the customs duty (on) the value of the natron which [they] t[ook out to] the sea in it is silver, 11 karsh, 8 sh(ekels), 3 h(allurs), 2 q(arters).
 20. On the [2]6th of [Phar]muthi⁷³ they inspected for the [s]ea 1 [sh]ip of Pro-tokles, Ionian, PS LD/RŠY. The silver,
 21. the customs [duty] (on) the value of the nat[ro]n which they took out to [the sea in it is si]lver, 6 karsh, 6 sh(ekels), 26 h(allurs), 2 q(arters).
 22. On the 30th of Pharm[uth]i⁷⁴ they inspected for [the] s[ea 1 ship] of Gla-phyros, I[o]nian, PS LD/RŠY. The silver, the customs duty (on)
 23. [the value of the nat]ron [which they took out to the sea in it is si]lver, 8 karsh, 5 sh(ekels), 10 h(allurs).
 24. [All the ships which they inspected for the sea in the month of Pharmuthi are] 5 ships. The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of the nat[ro]n which
 25. [they] took out to the sea in them is, silver, 49 karsh, 1 sh(ekel), 23[+]5 [h(allurs)].

KV3

1. [Month of] Pahons,⁷⁵ [year 11].
2. On the [10th of Pa]hons they inspected for the sea [1] sh[ip of ...] Myrsilos,⁷⁶ [Ionian, PS LD/RŠY].
3. [The silver, the cus]toms [duty] (on) the value of the natron which [they] took [out to the sea in it is silver, x karsh, ...].
4. [On the] 18th of Pahons⁷⁷ they inspected [for the sea 1 ship of PN, Ionian, PS LD/RŠY].
5. [The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of] the [natron which they took out to the sea in it is si]lver, [x] kar[sh],
6. [y sh(ekels), z h(allurs)].
7. [On the] 22nd of Pahons⁷⁸ they inspected for the sea [1] ship [of PN], Io[nian, PS LD/RŠY].
8. The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of the natron which [they] took out [to the sea in it is silver, x karsh, ...].
9. On the 27th of Pahons⁷⁹ they inspected for the sea [1] shi[p of PN, Ionian, PS LD/RŠY].
10. The silver, the customs duty (on) the va[lue of the natron which] they [took] out [to the sea] in it is [silver, x karsh],

11. 9 sh(ekels), 14 h(allurs), [...].
12. On the 30th of Pahons⁸⁰ they inspected [for the] sea [1 sh]ip [of] ... GL[S, Ionian, PS�D/RŠY. The silver],
13. [the customs duty (on)] the value of the nat[ro]n which [they] took out [to the se]a [in] it is silv[er, x karsh, ...].
14. [All] the ships which they inspected for the sea in the month of [Pa]hons [are 5] ships. [The silver, the customs duty (on)]
15. the value of the natron which [they] took out to [the] se[a] in them is silver, [x] ka[rsh, ...].
16. Month of Payni, [year 11].
17. On the 17th of Payni⁸¹ they [inspected] for the sea [1] sh[ip of PN, Ionian, PS�D/RŠY].
18. The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of the natron which [they] took out [to the sea in it is silver, x karsh, ...].
19. On the 21st of Payni⁸² they inspected for the sea 1 ship [of PN, Ionian, PS�D/RŠY].
20. The silver, the customs duty (on) the [va]lue of the natron which [they] took out to the sea in [it is silver, x karsh, ...].
21. On the 26th of Payni⁸³ they inspected for the sea 1 ship of [PN, Ionian, PS�D/RŠY].
22. The silver, the customs duty (on) [the value of] the natron which [they] took out to the sea in [it is silver, x karsh],
23. 6 sh(ekels), 4[+1+]2 h(allurs), 2 q(uarters).
24. On the 27th of Payni⁸⁴ they inspected for the sea 1 ship of [PN, Ionian, PS�D/RŠY].

EV1

1. [The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of] the [natron] which they took out to the sea [in it] is silver, [x] ka[rsh, ...].
2. [On the 30th of Payni] they [inspected] for the sea 1 DWGY QNR[T]⁸⁵ of SM ... N,⁸⁵ [...].
3. [Silver of taking out to the sea⁸⁶ is sil]ver, 2 karsh, 5 sh(ekels)
4. [silver of the ... men? is] silver, 1 karsh, 1 sh(ekel), 5 h(allurs),
5. [all (told) silver, 3 karsh, 1+]5 [sh(ekels)], 5 h(allurs),
6. [All the ships which they inspected] for the sea in the month of Payni are 5 ships. Herein:
7. [ships of the Ionians, PS�D/R]ŠY, 4 (amounting) to silver, 16 (or 26?) karsh, 27 h(allurs), [2] q(uarters),
8. [ship of a ...] ... [person?], 1 (amounting) to silver, 3 karsh, [3+]3 [sh(ekels)], 5 h(allurs),
9. [all (told) silver, x karsh, ... +]2, 2 q(uarters).
10. [The month of Epiph, year 11].
11. [On the x of Epiph] they [in]spected for the sea 1 ship of Glaphyros, Ionian,
12. [PS�D/RŠY. The silver, the customs duty (on)] the value of the natron which they took out to the sea in it
13. [is silver, x karsh], 6 [sh(ekels)], 15[+?] h(allurs).
14. [On the x of Epiph] they [inspected] for the sea 1 DWGY QNRTŠYRY of
15. [PN, ... Sil]ver of taking out to the sea for ʾD/R[H]BN⁸⁷ [...].
16. [On the x of Epiph] they inspected for the sea 1 DWGY QNRT⁸⁸ [of]
17. [PN ...]
18. [Silver of taking out to] the [sea is] silver, 2 karsh, 5 sh(ekels),
19. [silver of the ... men? is] silver, 1 karsh, [1] sh(ekel), 5 h(allurs),
20. [all (told) silver, 3 karsh, 6 sh(ekels), 5 h(allurs).

EV2

1. On the x of E]piph [they] in[pected for] the sea 1 ship [o]f Š[. . . , Ionian, PSLD/RŠY].
2. [The] si[lver, the customs du]ty (on) the value of [the natron whi]ch they t[oo]k out to the sea in it, [is silver, x karsh, . . .].
3. On the [x of] Epiph they inspected for the sea 1 ship of HPW[. . . , Ionian, PSLD/RŠY].
4. [The silver, the] customs duty (on) the value of the natron which they took out to [the sea in it, is silver, x karsh, . . .].
5. [On the x+]1 of Epiph they inspected for the sea [1] DWGY QNRTŠY[RY] of
6. [PN, . . .]. Silver of taking out to the sea for 'D/RyHBN . . .
7. [All the ships which] they inspected for the sea in the month of E[pi]ph are [6] ships. [Herein]:
8. sh[ips of the Io]nians, PSLD/RŠY, 3 (amounting) to silver, 22[+?] karsh, [. . .];
9. [ships of] the . . . [me]n, 3 (amounting) to silver, [x] karsh,
10. DWG[Y . . .].
11. All (told) silver [x] karsh, [. . . +]3 [. . .].
12. Month of Me[s]ore, year 10[+1].
13. On the [1+]8 of Mes[ore]⁸⁸ they inspected for the sea 1 [sh]ip o[f PN, Ionian],
14. [PSLD/R]ŠY. The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of the natron which they took [ou]t to the se[a in it, is silver, x karsh, . . .].
15. [On the 10th of] Mesore they inspected for [the] sea 1 ship [of] Iokles, Io[nian, PSLD/RŠY. The silver],
16. [the customs duty (on)] the value of the natron which they took out to [the sea in it, is [si]lver, [x] karsh, [. . .].
17. On the 2[2]nd of Mesore⁸⁹ they inspected 1 ship of Phanes, [Ionian, PSLD/RŠY].
18. The silver, the customs duty (on) the value of [the] na[tron] which they took out to [the sea in it, is silver, [x karsh, . . .].
19. On the 22[+2+]1 of Mesore⁹⁰ they in[sp]ected for the sea 1 DWGY QNRT of [PN, . . .].
20. [Silver of taking] out to [the sea is] silver, 2 karsh, 5 sh(ekels),

(DD1 very faint)

DV1

1. The [du]ty which was in y[ear 11]:
2. gold, [33 karsh, 5 sh(ekels), 9 h(allurs)];
3. silver, 1 thousand 100[+35 +?] karsh;
4. [wine, 9]19 [and a half containers; herein]:
5. [wine of Ionia, 2+]2×100+8 and a half [containers],
6. wine, 3+[2]00+11 containers;
7. oil, 1[×100+40+]55 JARS;
8. bronze ŠLMW, 2 thousand 100 karsh;
9. iron, 5 thousand 100 ka[rsh];
10. tin, 200 karsh;
11. wool of Kefar Š^c, 2 thousand 100 karsh;
12. (wool of) Kefar .BN, 715 karsh;
13. wood of [?]KD/RPK, 3+[6×]100 karsh;
14. [. . .];
15. CLAY of ŠMWŠ, [6]00 karsh;
16. BOARD, 50;
17. BEAM, 5;
18. [PLANK], 53;
19. [P^cMY, 20+]4;
20. OARS, [20+]33;
21. SU[P]PORT, 19;
22. [empty] JARS, [5×]100[+70];
23. [herein of which are] n[ot C]OATED, [160+]30

DV2

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The [du]ty which was surplus in year 10 ⁹¹ | 8. oil, 92 JARS; |
| 2. ov[er] the [d]uty which was in year 11: | 9. . . . [. . .] of JARS, 8; |
| 3. gold, 1 karsh, 9 sh(ekels), 1 h(allur), 2 q(uarters); | 10. wooden SUPPORT, 3; |
| 4. silver, 152 karsh, 9 sh(ekels); | 11. woo[l] of Kefar Š', [. . .]; |
| 5. wine of Ionia, 129 and a half JARS (mistake for 'containers'); | 12. bronz[e] ŠLMW, 900[+1+]3 karsh; |
| 6. wine of Sidonians, 150 containers, | 13. iro[n], 600[+?] karsh; |
| 7. 280 (or 233?) contain[ers]; | 14. . . . , 600[+?] karsh; |
| | 15. [iron of PKD/RN], 1 thousand 100 [kars]h; |
| | 16. CLA[Y] of ŠMW[Š], 100[+?] karsh; |

DV3

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1. PLANK, 10; | 3. BEAM, 5. |
| 2. BOARD, 3; | |

Notes

1. The erased text is written on eleven fragments of the scroll containing the Story of Ahiqar, which dates to the later fifth century. The original length was about 7.5 m with a width of 30+ cm, and contained sixty-four columns. Of these, forty columns have survived, twenty-four on the recto and sixteen on the verso (see the diagram, TADAE III, 82 & Foldout 1). For the method of reconstructing the complete account, see *ibid.* 282–8; Yardeni 1994: 67–9 (apart from col.1, I only give the clearer text here. Note that [] indicates faint letters.). The date of the customs account is not totally certain, although it was obviously written earlier than the Ahiqar text. Other features make it certain that it, too, must be placed in the fifth century. The entries date to the 11th year of a Persian king. This could be either Xerxes or Artaxerxes I, yielding a date of either 475 or 454. The editors themselves incline towards 475, in view of the political turbulence in Egypt between 464/3 and 454 (TADAE III, 292), although that is not a conclusive argument (Briant and Descat 1998: 61–2). The place where the boats docked and paid the custom dues is also unknown. Naucratis, Terenouthis, Thonis, Migdol, Daphne and Memphis have all been proposed, see Briant and Descat 1998: 91–2.
2. The Egyptian month Hathor = February–March 475 (or 454).
3. Indicating that the ships were entering Egypt.
4. The reading is not quite certain given the similarity of the letters *daleth* and *resh*. For the possibility that, if the reading is indeed PSLDŠY, it means 'from Phaselis' (on the Lycian coast), see Briant and Descat 1998: 63.
5. This term defines some types of Ionian boats (Ar. SPYNH RBH, 'big ship') more closely, in terms of size (smaller, despite the name?) and/or type (TADAE III, xx; Yardeni 1994: 77, n.14, cf. Briant and Descat 1998: 66).
6. Ar. MNDT', cf. Akk. *mandattu*, the chief due levied on Greek boats, cf. Briant and Descat 1998: 85–6.
7. Ar. BYT MLK', i.e. 'treasury', 'storehouse', see the references in Briant and Descat 1998: 87–8. See also Dandamaev 2000: 218, noting two men with Iranian names in Babylonia paying dues for the passage of goods through customs which will go to the 'house of the king'.
8. This is the regular rate at which these boats were taxed, with ten gold staters shown to be equivalent to 8 shekels, 15 hallurs, which comes to about 70 g. The rate seems to work out as $\frac{1}{200}$. For discussion and arguments that this gold standard harks back to the Saite king Amasis, which was equated with the Persian standard, see Briant and Descat 1998: 75–8.
9. 1 karsh (OP weight) = approx. 84 g, 1 shekel = approx. 8.4 g; 1 hallur = 0.21 g. So this (the standard levy on this type of smaller Greek boat) in silver is approx. 840.42 g in total.
10. Ar. *sp* clearly means some kind of vessel (cf. Akk. *šappu* and the Greek loanword *sipue*), but what

kind it might be is unknown, hence the editors use the convention of giving the word in capitals. The type of oil (Ar. MSH) being imported is also debated, although the likelihood in this instance is olive oil (see Briant and Descat 1998: 69–71).

11. These are the regular rates of gold and silver dues for this type of ship (as opposed to the type in **AR1**, ll.17–18).
12. Ar. MNT, ‘part’, ‘portion’ (of the oil). Contrary to the editors, Briant and Descat (1998: 78) argue that it was levied at the rate of $\frac{3}{200}$. In the case of 50 JARS this works out as 0.75 JARS.
13. Ar. KSP GBRY is not otherwise attested. A ‘tax of the men’ features in an Aramaic ostrakon from Memphis (Segal, no.19), but the meaning is not clear. Could it indicate a poll tax (see **14**, **no.1**) or is it a type of toll? The latter is perhaps more likely (see Briant and Descat 1998: 86). It is levied in silver and goods on all large ships, in goods only on small KZR-boats (see below) and not at all on the smaller Greek ships.
14. Ar. KND, means container in a general sense and can be quite small (see Avner and Eshel 1996). The word occurs in Hebrew, Phoenician and Ugaritic. It also appears in a Neo-Assyrian list of food supplies as a wine container (DUG.kandu; SAA 7, no.130: 9), and as a Greek loanword *kados* (see **4**, **no.10**(20) with n.7). For the possibility that, when it is a bearer of ‘Sidonian’ wine (e.g. below, **GR2**, l.8), it may be a specific Phoenician type in use in the Achaemenid period, see Bettles 2003: 254.
15. Ar. SMKT, indicates some kind of worked timber.
16. The fact that the JARS are quite often empty, together with the notation as to whether they are ‘coated’ or not (Ar. SPYT/ZY L’SPYTN), may imply that some were decorated (or painted) vases, being imported into Egypt as luxury vessels (Briant and Descat 1998: 71).
17. A liquid measure, not otherwise known.
18. Eg. Koyhak, March–April.
19. This name is difficult to render into Greek, and the designation ‘Ionian’ need not, of course, in every instance be identical with ‘Greek’ (Brinkman 1989).
20. Eg. Teobi = April–May.
21. Meaning unknown.
22. Ar. SWMN BR SMNDS.
23. Here and at l. 22 this is an error for KNDN, ‘containers’.
24. May–June.
25. One is tempted to read this as ‘Timotheos’; note that he reappears in **KV2**, l.5.
26. 23 August (475/454).
27. Ar. M’SR (elsewhere M’SR’), which is usually levied on boats from the Levant, not the Ionian ones. What it means here is unclear.
28. 26 August (475/454).
29. The name could be Pantaleon.
30. 31 August (475/454).
31. Ar. RGL[S]. Briant and Descat (1998: 65) observe that this rare name is attested at Epidauros and suggest that Carian Yrgilos might be a preferable reading.
32. September–October.
33. 24 September (475/454).
34. Ar. TMKTS BR MKS; Briant and Descat (1998: 65) suggest that this could also be Timachidas son of Makos (the latter a Lydian name).
35. 2 October (475/454).
36. 5 October (475/454).
37. Ar. DWGY is in origin a fishing boat, so this describes perhaps a light or coastal vessel, while QNRT (incorporating an Egyptian demotic element) describes it as ‘large’, see Yardeni 1994: 77, n.15. Briant and Descat (1998: 66) suggest an estimated tonnage of 60 for this type of ship, which comes from the Levant (‘Phoenicia’).
38. Two types of wine are distinguished: ‘of the current year’ and ‘of the last year’ (which in this case is year 10, either 476 or 455).
39. The editors see this, tentatively, as the place of origin, while Lipinski (1994: 66) suggests that it defines the quality (‘good’).
40. Ar. LQ TIQ, which Yardeni (1994: 70) suggests might have been the rudder. For the careful collecting of old materials in the royal stores, see **14**, **no.44**.

41. This is written above the line, having been initially missed out by the clerk.
42. Eg. Epipi = October–November.
43. 20 October (475/454).
44. 22 October (475/454).
45. As opposed to the previously mentioned boats (above, n.37), these are ‘small’ (Dem. tšyry), with a tonnage of about 40.
46. Ar. TYN ŠMWŠ. Briant and Descat (1998: 72–3) compare this to the imports of kaolin documented as an import into Egypt from Samos in the early Ptolemaic Zenon Archive. Kaolin was used in many domestic and industrial contexts, particularly in combination with natron (an Egyptian export, see below). But it should be noted that here the substance is part of the cargo of a Phoenician ship.
47. Meaning unknown.
48. This may describe either the quality or the place of origin. In two sixth-century Babylonian documents (Oppenheim 1967), imports of iron are described, respectively, as ‘Ionian’ and ‘from Lebanon’.
49. This appears to describe the ship’s place of origin, which is clearly the Levant/Phoenicia. For discussion of the possible identification of the place name, see Briant and Descat 1998: 63–4.
50. Ar. ṢS; Lipinski (1994: 65) prefers ‘metal powder’ (referring to Akk. nipsu). Tin (essential for producing bronze, source debated) was certainly traded around this time, see Oppenheim 1967 (where it enters Babylonia from ‘the west’).
51. Presumably describing place of origin, although such terms can become generic (cf. ‘tweed’).
52. November–December.
53. While the captain’s name remains uncertain, Briant and Descat (1998: 65) compare his father’s name with Paraudig(k)os, attested in fifth-century Halicarnassus.
54. 26 November (475/454).
55. Meaning unknown (Yardeni 1994: 73).
56. Meaning unknown (Yardeni 1994: 73).
57. Ar. B’L, ‘owner’ is also a possible translation.
58. This and the terms in the next two lines are unknown, see TADAE III, Glossary.
59. I.e. the boats leaving Egypt are being scrutinised.
60. Ar. TŠY, from Eg. t3 š3yyt.
61. The Wadi Natrun, west of the Nile Delta, was one of the most important sources of natron (sodium) and soda, used in medicine, cult (mummification) and crafts. It is the only substance that figures as an export in this set of accounts.
62. 6 March (475/454).
63. 15 March (475/454).
64. 29 March (475/454).
65. Eg. Pamenhotep = June–July.
66. 27 June (475/454).
67. 3 July (475/454).
68. 12 July (475/454).
69. 17 July (475/454).
70. Eg. Parmuti = July–August.
71. Iranian PN.
72. 7 August (475/454).
73. 12 August (475/454).
74. 16 August (475/454).
75. 26 August (475/454).
76. Briant and Descat (1998: 65) suggest that MRSLs could also be Lydian Morsolis.
77. 3 September (475/454).
78. 7 September (475/454).
79. 12 September (475/454).
80. 15. September (475/454).
81. Eg. Paoni: 2 October (475/454).
82. 6 October (475/454).
83. 11 October (475/454).

84. 12 October (475/454).
85. Lipinski (1994: 63) suggests the possibility of reading this SM(P)RWN, rendering the name Sumpheron. If so, then the captain of this Levantine ship has a Greek name.
86. Ar. KSP MNPQH LYM', either an export tax or a harbour due.
87. Perhaps a toponym. For the month, see n. 42.
88. Eg. Mesore: 23 November (475/454).
89. 3 December (475/454).
90. 9 December (475/454).
91. This entry notes the unused balance from the previous year (476 or 455).

11. Tax-farming in Babylonia

Babylonian tablet, TCL 13, no.196. Babylon, VII/1/26, Darius I (1 October, 496): Abraham 2004, no.142.¹

Translations: Moore 1935, no.196; Joannès 1990: 186, n.56; 2000: 156–9 [2004: 222–5]; Briant 1996a: 501 [2002b: 485].

With respect to the collection of the taxes in kind at the bridge and quay (of Babylon) on the boats going up and down (the Euphrates), payable to the bit *qiptu*,² which belongs to Guzanu, governor of the city of Babylon, and which is in the hands of Shirku, son of Iddinaia, descendant of Egibi, and Muranu, son of Nabu-mukin-apli, descendant of the Guardian of the Sacred Boat who have leased it for the monthly sum of fifteen shekels of fine silver with $\frac{1}{8}$ (impurity) per shekel, of *nuhhutu*-quality,³ for the half share – property of Guzanu, governor of the city of Babylon – of the revenues of the bridge which are held jointly by Muranu, son of Nabu-mukin-apli, and Nabu-bulissu, son of Guzanu, as well as Harisanu, Iqupu (and) Nergal-ibni, guardians of the bridge,⁴ to Bel-asua, son of Nergal-uballit, descendant of Mudammīq-Adad, and Ubar, son of Bel-ahhe-eriba, descendant of the Guardian of the Sacred Boat.

Bel-asua and Ubar will collect the taxes in kind which dock at the bridge. The silver, revenue (of the taxes) at the bridge each month, will go directly to Shirku⁵ and Muranu, the joint holders. Bel-asua and Ubar will not give it to anyone else without authority from Shirku. Any written instructions which may arise with respect to the bridge tax, Bel-asua and Ubar will present them to Shirku and the guards of the bridge.

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date.) Each has taken a copy.

Notes

1. A duplicate was published by T.G. Pinches, *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the Possession of Sir Henry Peek*, Bart, London 1888, no.18.
2. I.e. the duties levied on the use of the riverine installations were payable at a public office.
3. See Vargyas 2000b: 514, n.7 for the type of silver.
4. I.e. half the income of the tax served as payment for the three guards (Harisanu, Iqupu, Nergal-ibni), while the tax as a whole was at the disposition of the city governor, who had passed some of the interest in it to his son. Essentially, then, it served as a way of remunerating officials.
5. Shirku (also known as Marduk-našir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu) managed business affairs for the governor; his father and grandfather had also acted like this for Neo-Babylonian officials. Further on his activities, Abraham 2004.

12. A commercial tithe in Lycia

Bilingual Greek–Lycian decree: TAM I, 45; TL 45; Bousquet 1986.¹

(A) Pixodarus, son of Hecatomnus,² granted to the people of Xanthus, Tlos, Pinara, Kandaÿda a tithe of the h[ar]b[our . . .]³ in the cit[y . . .]⁴

(B) They will collect the due however they wish(?).⁵

Notes

1. Fragments of a stela from Xanthus, possibly part of a trilingual text (Lycian, Greek, Aramaic), see Bousquet 1986.
2. See **9, no.44**, n.5, for the creation of the Carian satrapy under the control of the local Hecatomnid dynasty and with powers in Lycia in the early fourth century. Pixodarus was satrap (very probably) between 341/0 and 336/5, see **17, no.33**.
3. Gr. *dekaten tes empo[rrias]*. The precise meaning is not clear, but certainly indicates the existence of a levy on trading places and/or commerce; cf. Briant and Descat 1998: 82 & n.81.
4. More than three lines almost totally destroyed.
5. Note also Hornblower 1982, M5, l.12 & p.162, where the *sungeneis* of Pelekos grant a tax exemption to a new community member, with the exception of the *apomoira* (agricultural tax), which was payable to the crown.

13. Registration and taxation of slave sales in Babylonia

(i) Babylonian tablet, from Babylon(?): BM 30126; Stolper 1989b: 94–5. Bit Sura(?), I/1/7, Darius II (4 April 417).¹

(ll.1–5 lost, apart from the name of the seller, a woman called Ahassunu)

When a claim arises concerning [the slave . . .], Ahassunu [will clear the slave of claims] and give him to Bel-ittiya-silim(?). Ahassunu [assumes] warranty for (any claims) that may ar[ise] concerning the said Ribat, (alleging that he has) the status of a free citizen,² a servant of the crown,³ a *šušānu*,⁴ or a [. . .]

[Ahassunu . . .] will clear the conveyance of that slave, Ribat, [to Bel]-ittiya-[silim?] through the royal tax office.⁵

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

(ii) Babylonian tablet: ROMCT 2, no.35. Hus-Sagibi, IX/1/10(?), Artaxerxes (27 November 455(?); or: 24 November 395(?); or: 25 November 349(?)).⁶

Zabuduya, son of Mushezib-ili, and Bel-shunu, son of Yazazu, of their own free will sold Patiridata,⁷ their slave, whose right wrist is inscribed with the name of Nana-iddin, his former owner, and whose other wrist is inscribed with the name of Zabuduya his owner, the seller,⁸ (as well as one) by name Kidinnu-Bel and Sananiqu, a total of two sons of Patiridata, whose right wrists are inscribed with the name of Zabuduya, their owner, a total of three slaves, to Paqaribbi, son of Abeshiya, for one mina ten shekels of fine silver,⁹ the purchase price of Patiridata, Kidinnu-Bel and Sananiqu from Paqaribbi and so are paid.

Should a claimant to the slaves arise, Zabuduya and Bel-shunu will satisfy the claim and pay (an indemnity) to Paqaribbi, in the presence of the judges.¹⁰ Zabuduya and Bel-shunu

guarantee (them) against (having the) status of free citizen, servant of the crown, temple slave¹¹ or šušnu and against the flight of the slaves for up to one hundred days.¹² They transferred the slaves in the royal tax office. Each acts as guarantor for the other for claim satisfaction.

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

(iii) Babylonian tablet: BM 62588; Stolper 1989b: 95–8. Gummanu, XI(?) / 21 / 35 Artaxerxes I(?),¹³ (8 March(?) 429).

[Ubar]ri, son of Balatu, of his own free will, [sold], Ashka'itu-tabat, [a slave woman of his, who]se right wrist has the name of her master Ubarri written on it, Nidintu, a slave woman of his [who]se right [wrist] has the name of her master Ubar written on it, Amat-Beltiya, [a slave woman of his who]se right wrist has the name of their master Ubarri written on it [– altogether, three] slave women in this (sale) – to Mamiya, son of Tahtamu(?), [servant] of Tattannu, for three minas of fine silver [as the] entire purchase price. He has received the said three minas of fine silver, the price of Ashka'itu-tabat, Nidintu, [and] Amat-Beltiya, the household slaves of [Ubaru, son of B]alatu, from Mamiya, son of Tahtamu(?), servant of [Tattannu], (and) he is paid in full.

Should a claimant [appea]r with a claim against those slaves, Ubar, son of Balatu, the seller, [will clear those] slaves of claims and [turn them over to] Mamiya, son of Tahtamu(?).

Ubar, son of B[alatu], will?) [clear the co]nveyance of those slaves to Mamiya, son of Tahtamu(?), in the royal tax-office.

Ubarri, the seller of the sla[ves, guar]antees that for [a hundred] days Ashka'itu-tabat, [Nidintu and Amat-Belt]iya, his household slaves, will not run away.

In the presence of Bel-ittannu, judge of the district of Bit Ukanu.¹⁴

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. For the likelihood that the document was originally deposited in the Hauptburg at Babylon, see Stolper 1989b: 95; for the place where the text was most probably drawn up, see Zadok 1985, s.v. Bit-Šura.
2. Akk. *marbanutu*, see CAD, M, s.v.
3. Akk. *arad-šarrutu*, see Dandamaev 1984b: 561–7.
4. On the fluid, not to say nebulous, nature of the term, see Stolper 1985: 79–82.
5. Akk. *bit mīksu*; see the discussion of this and the accompanying phrase by Stolper 1989b: 82–90. Where such an office was located (in the local temple?) is a moot point. What is clear is that it represents a new public institution in Achaemenid Babylonia.
6. The place where the text was drafted is in the vicinity of Nippur, see Zadok 1985, s.v. Hus-Sagibi. Dates in the reigns of Artaxerxes I, II or III are all possible, although formal considerations make the last two more likely, as does the Greek style of one of the seal-impressions (Stolper 1989b: 82, n.2; 87, fig.1b). Note also the presence of a partly erased Aramaic epigraph (*ibid.* fig.1a).
7. The name is Iranian; whether it indicates the slave's ethnicity or is an adopted name is not known (note that his sons have Babylonian names). For individuals with Iranian names at virtually all levels of Babylonian society in this period, see CAH VI, 254.
8. For a recent discussion of tattooing (or branding) the name of the owner on the wrists (or hands) of slaves, see Stolper 1998. Cf. also, 7, nos.12; 31; 16, no.65; 17, no.19; and Q.C. V, 5.6, describing Greek captives in Fars branded with 'barbarian letters'.

9. Akk. *kaspu qalu* (approx. 584 g). This quality of silver (of 916.66 fineness) was used in Babylonia from the time of Artaxerxes I to c.300; see Vargyas 2000b.
10. See Stolper 1989b: 87, arguing that this indicates the sellers' responsibility for clearing any claim on the slaves and registering the transaction.
11. Akk. *šerkilutu* (more usually, *širkutu*) describing the status of slaves dedicated to temples as an act of piety, see Dandamaev 1984b: 469–9. Instead of being marked with the name of the owner, they were marked with the symbol of the relevant deity.
12. The clause is rare in this period, Stolper 1989b: 82, n.4.
13. This is the date if the text belongs to the 'Tattannu Archive' (as seems likely), see Stolper 1989b: 98. Gummanu was perhaps near Borsippa, see Zadok 1985, s.v. Gummanu.
14. Not in Zadok's register of Babylonian place names; presumably it was close to Gummanu.

14. Receipt for tax paid on the installation of a wab-priest of Khnum at Elephantine

Demotic papyrus, Elephantine: PBerlin 13582; Zauzich 1978. Pharmuthi/–/35, Darius I (July–August 487).

Translations: Martin 1996, C35;¹ Fried 2004: 85.

Year 35, Pharmuthi of Pharaoh Darius.

Payment received for making the second wab-priest of Khnum,² (the) great, lord of Elephantine, [Djedhor], son of Paibs, one silver (*deben*)-hr³ makes . . . in accordance with the . . ., which Paibs, son of Petiese, his father, brought(?) to the collection box⁴ of Parnu, he of Tshetres,⁵ to whom Aswan is entrusted, amounting to 2 silver (*deben*)-hr,⁶ makes . . . in accordance with the . . ., (to) the collection box of Parnu, he of Tshetres, to [whom the] fortress of Aswan is entrusted.

They were received; they were delivered; (and) their payment which was made for him before was in them.

Wrote Espemet, son of Horoudja.

Notes

1. I thank Dr Martin for permission to use his translation.
2. Khnum was the ram-headed god of Elephantine; for wab-priests, see **9, no.78**, n.12.
3. Possibly 'refined silver'. The *deben* is an Egyptian unit of weight of 91 g.
4. Dem. 'fyt, normally the temple treasury at Elephantine, but here the provincial treasury at Elephantine is certainly meant, i.e. 'the house of the king', which bordered on the house of Anani, son of Azariah, see, e.g., TADAE II, B3.4:9.
5. I.e. governor of the southern district, perhaps the official with the OP title **frataraka* (cf. Wiesehöfer 1991).
6. I.e. payment was in two instalments.

(b) Mineral resources

15. Mines in Armenia

Strabo XI, 14.9.

There is a gold mine in Syspiritis near Caballa,¹ to which Alexander sent Menon together with soldiers; he was led there by the local people. There are also other mines, particularly one of so-called sandyx,² which they also call Armenian colour, like calche.³

Notes

1. In the north of classical Armenia. For arguments that this mine was exploited in the Achaemenid period, see Bernard 1999.
2. An arsenic ore, producing bright red pigment.
3. Purple dye.

16. Bitumen, salt and petroleum in Elam

Herodotus VI, 119.2–3.

Ardericca (is) about two hundred and ten stadia from Susa,¹ and forty from a well that has three sorts of products: men get from it bitumen,² salt³ and oil like this. It is drawn up with a lifting device, and attached to it is half a skin instead of a bucket. Someone dips with this, draws it up and then pours it into a container. From this it runs into another container, which has three separate channels. The bitumen and salt set immediately, but the oil [. . .]⁴ The Persians call this *rhadinace*. It is black and has a heavy smell.

Notes

1. Over 80 km.
2. Not to be confused with the bitumen deposits on the Euphrates near modern Hit in north-western Babylonia (Hdt. I, 179). Note the major bitumen source at Mamatain-e Bala, 10–15 km north-west of Ram Hormuz (eastern edge of Khuzestan plain), which was used at Achaemenid Susa (Wright and Carter 2003: 65).
3. Another source of salt noted by Herodotus was a lake in Greater Phrygia (Hdt. VII, 30). See also Ezra 7.22, as further possible evidence for salt as a royal resource.
4. Lacuna in text, see OCT, ad loc.

17. The stone quarries of Egypt

Hieroglyphic Egyptian rock inscription, Wadi Hammamat:¹ Posener 1936, no.18. IV/13/27, Darius I (1 April 495)²

Year 27, month 4 of Cultivation, day 13 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Darius, life, prosperity, health!

Chief of major works(?), chief of works in the quarries of the mountains of foreign lands,³ commander of soldiers, commander of the regiment,⁴ he who directs works in the whole land, chief of works of southern and northern Egypt, Khnemibre, son of the chief of works of southern and northern Egypt, Ahmose-[sa]-Neith, born of the lady Sanefertum, daughter of the divine father of Memphis, Psamtek. May he live (twice), may he endure (twice), before Min of Koptos, Harsiese, Great Isis, mother of the gods, and Great Harpocrates, first born of Amun, for eternity.⁵

Notes

1. The graywacke quarries of Wadi Hammamat are in the eastern desert, along the route leading to the Red Sea from Koptos in northern Upper Egypt. They were continuously exploited from the Old Kingdom into the Roman period.
2. This is one of eleven rock inscriptions recording quarrying expeditions by Khnemibre (Posener

- 1936, nos.11–12; 14–16; 18–23). The earliest dates from late in the reign of the Saite king Amasis (526), when Khnemibre accompanied his father; all the others date from the time of Darius I.
3. I.e. the mountains of the eastern desert.
 4. Khnemibre's workers and guards.
 5. The prayer is addressed in the first instance to the chief deity of the nearest city in the Nile valley, see **8, no.8**, n.1. Harsiese was a hawk-headed deity; Harpocrates, also regarded as a son of Isis and Osiris, was usually represented as a naked child.

18. Carmania's mineral wealth

Strabo XV, 2.14.

Onesicritus¹ says that a river in Carmania brings down gold dust; and that there are also mines of silver, copper and ochre. Also, there are two mountains, one of arsenic,² the other of salt.

Notes

1. Cynic philosopher and Alexander's chief pilot, who wrote a highly laudatory account of his campaign, scorned by Arrian for his fancifulness.
2. This is thought to be yellow orpiment.

19. Silver and gold

Ctesias, *Indica* = FGrH 688 F45(26); Lenfant, 177.

There is also a lot of silver there¹ and many silver mines near the surface; the deeper ones, they say, are in Bactria.² There is also gold in the Indian country, but it is not found washed down in the rivers like in the Pactolus,³ but in many high mountains inhabited by griffins.

Notes

1. In India.
2. In the Susa foundation charter, Darius I names Bactria and Lydia as sources of gold, with silver listed as coming from Egypt. Bactria (like Lydia) was famed as a gold source, so this statement is curious (see **11, no.13(i)**, paras.10–11 & n.11).
3. The important source of alluvial gold in Lydia, which continued to be exploited in the Achaemenid period (**13, no.29(i)**, n.1). Note the reported presence of alluvial gold in Carmania, **14, no.18**.

(c) Labour obligations

20. Transport service

(i) Babylonian tablet, VS VI, no.160. Borsippa, XI/21/33, Darius I (1 March 488): NRVU, no.569.

Translation: Joannès 1989b: 156.¹

The *urašu* service² of hauling (the boats to) the quay for the *upiyata* delivery³ of the town Shushan,⁴ from 1 Simanu of year 32 up to the end of month Ayaru of year 33, for the whole

fifth share owed by Nabu-kasir, son of Nabu-balassu-iqbi, descendant of Sha-1-luh, as well as the account(?) of the bow-land⁵ of year 32, Mushallim-Marduk, son of Iddin-Nabu, descendant of Iliya, has received in accordance with the order of Iddin-Nabu, the *gugallu*⁶ of Borsippa, son of Remut, descendant of Ardi-Ea. Each has taken one copy. (Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

(ii) Fragment of large Babylonian tablet, VS VI, no.302. Date⁷ and place lost: NRVU, no.898. Translation: Joannès 1989b: 152–3, n.8.

Eighteen registered [or removed] bow-lands⁸ [of] the *ḥaṭru*⁹ of the Kirkaeans¹⁰ due to fulfil [the . . .] of the quay, part of the service of Edarni-Bel, commander of the ci[tadel], Edarni-Bel [has requisitioned? them] to haul two boats as far as the *kamaru*¹¹ quarter of the festival temple of the god Mar[-biti . . .]

Notes

1. See the parallel text, TuM II/III, 222, dated around two weeks later, Joannès 1989b: 229–30 & 156.
2. The obligation to supply men for work incurred as a result of holding a land grant, which could be (and was) frequently, as here, discharged with a money payment, part of *ilku* (**14, no.9**, n.3); see the discussion by Joannès 1989b: 151–9.
3. Tax in kind owed to the king (Stolper 1977: 254–9), to which the holder of a land grant was also subject (Joannès 1989b: 154).
4. Susa, the royal city in Elam (C. Waerzegger, personal communication).
5. Sum. (*giš*)*ban* (cf. **14, no.9**, n.6), the grant to which the obligation was attached.
6. Traditionally translated ‘canal inspector’; for his actual functions, see Jursa 1995a: 49–53.
7. The appearance of the term *ḥaṭru* (see **14, Introduction; nos.9**, n.7; **31**, n.5) and the Iranian name Bagasaru (in uncertain context) place the text firmly in the Achaemenid period.
8. For the creation of a register of land grants around the middle of Darius I’s reign, see Stolper 1977: 259–66; 1985: 30–1.
9. See **14, no.31**, n.5.
10. It is uncertain whether this is a toponym (Carians? Cilicians?) or a profession, see Zadok 1985, s.v. Kirkaja; Kirku.
11. A wall or ramp.

21. Work on canals

(i) Babylonian tablet, BM 74463 (unpublished copy, Bertin 1692). Sippar XII/4/3, Cyrus (22 February 535): Jursa 1995a, Nr.67.

Kinaya, son of Zeriya, guarantees to Marduk-shum-iddina, *šangu* of Sippar,¹ the guarding of the canal, which he will open (for irrigation?). Should the water rise as far as the royal road,² he will incur the punishment of the king.³ (Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

(ii) Babylonian tablet, BM 61330. Sippar, II/30/4, Cyrus (16 June 535): Zawadzki 2000: 600.

6 spades, 4 sickles were brought to Bunene-shimanni (and) 10 sickles to Bel-silim (who are) at the sluice canal of the Cyrus River Canal.⁴ (Date)

Notes

1. Temple administrator, see Bongenaar 1997: 11–33. The text indicates that work on canals was an obligation imposed on local temples.
2. The existence of royal roads in Babylonia is attested from the late eighth century on, see Jursa 1995b: 155–6. The implication here is that maintenance of sections of the road was also a duty of the temples.
3. Akk. *hiṭu ša šarri*. This sanction only appears in Late Babylonian texts and seems to signal a serious offence; note also (Akk.) *hiṭu ša Gubaru* (governor of Babylonia in the early Achaemenid period), see CAH IV, 127.
4. The implication seems to be that the cost of digging this new canal was borne by the Ebabbar, chief temple of Sippar, see Zawadski 2000.

22. Road maintenance

(i) Measuring

Babylonian tablet, BM 79746. Sippar, X/7/8, Cyrus (2 January 530): Jursa 1995b.

Measurement of the royal road (at the) head of the field in the Fifty¹ of Til-gubbi,² (in the hands of) the erib-biti of Shamash,³ undertaken by Bel-uballit, *šangu* of Sippar:⁴ Tebetu, day 7, year 8, Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of lands.

4,400 (cubits)⁵ from the upper Fifty of Shamash-shum-lishir, son of Nabu-shum-iddin, descendant of Ilē'i-Marduk, up to the boundary (of the territory) of Shamash, bordering the (land of the) Hummaeans.⁶

88 measuring ropes; 26 datepalm beams, which Nabu-aplu-iddin received from Shamash-shum-iddin.

(ii) Clearing

Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 15.26.⁷

It is said that, on the second stage of the journey from Persian Susa to Media, there is such a mass of scorpions that, when the Persian king is going to be passing that way, he gives orders three days in advance that they be chased away, and he presents gifts to him who has caught the greatest number.

Notes

1. Akk. *hanšu* designates a system, whereby stretches of temple-land were assigned to individuals to work; see Jursa 1995a: 12–13.
2. Locality in the vicinity of Sippar, probably on the Euphrates; the *hanšu*-land was located here on either side of an irrigation canal, hence the 'upper' and 'lower' Fifty; see Jursa 1995a: 155–6; 231–4.
3. The 'temple-enterers' of the sun god's temple in Sippar (Ebabbar). They participated in temple cult and had access to sections of the temple out of bounds to others; see further, Bongenaar 1997: 147–65.
4. See **14**, **no.21**, n.1.
5. 2.2 km.
6. Near Sippar; add to the reference in Zadok 1985, s.v. Hummu, the further attestations in Jursa 1995b: 154.
7. The source of Aelian's story is unknown (Henkelman forthcoming).

23. Labour duty

Babylonian tablet, BM 49718. Dilbat, XII/27/10, Darius I (21 March 510): Zadok 1995a; Jursa 1995c.

In order to (fulfil) the call-up(-duty)¹ of Urash-le'i, son of Mushezib, Urash-ana-bitishu, son of Urash-iddin, will go to Elam.² For three months Urash-ana-bitishu will carry out the labour instead of Urash-le'i. If he does not go and does not carry out the labour in Elam until Ululu, Urash-iddin will give the silver for 3 months, (the cost of) the hired workers who are carrying out the labour service in Elam, to Nabu-balassu-iqbi.³

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

In Abu [and] Dumuzi in the mobilisation, which at Dilbat [. . .].⁴

Notes

1. Akk. *padašutu*; Jursa 1995c suggests that this is a rendering of OP **padaš(y)ut-*, lit. 'walker on foot', which he relates to the *ilku* duty, which again literally means 'a going', see **14, no.9**, n.3.
2. Urash-le'i has paid Urash-ana-bitishu to discharge the labour duty he is liable for on his behalf.
3. I.e. if Urash-ana-bitishu does not do the labour, the man responsible for seeing that the necessary workers are supplied (Nabu-balassu-iqbi) will have to hire workers instead. So Urash-ana-bitishu's father will compensate him for the expense.
4. Meaning unclear (the two months precede Ululu).

(d) The duty to supply the royal table

24. The Uruk temple provisions the king

(i) Babylonian tablet, AnOr 8, 67. Uruk, VII/28/2, Cambyses (23 October 528): San Nicolò 1949: 325–6.

Translation: Dandamaev and Lukonin 1988: 363.

By the 15th of Arahshamnu, year 2, Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of lands, Zeriya, son of Nana-eresh, and Arad-Bel, son of Sharru-ukin, the Cattle Chiefs of the Goat and Sheep Flocks of the Lady of Uruk,¹ will bring 100 each of ewes and nanny-goats giving suck, in all 200 head of sheep and goats, concerning which for the 28th of Arahshamnu there came an order of Parnak,² and have them ready for the king's meal in the palace which is in Abanu.³

If they do not bring the 200 sheep and goats on the 28th of Arahshamnu and do not have them ready in the palace which is in Abanu, they will incur the punishment of the king.⁴

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

(ii) Babylonian tablet, GCCI, II 120. Uruk VIII/12/2, Cambyses (6 November 528): San Nicolò 1949: 327–8.

Translation: Dandamaev and Lukonin 1988: 363.

[80] full-grown sheep, property of Ishtar of Uruk and Nanaya,⁵ [wh]ich Nabu-ahu-iddin, royal commissioner of Eanna,⁶ in accordance with the order of Gubaru, governor of Babylon and Beyond-the-River,⁷ has brought from the pens of Ishtar of Uruk and entrusted to Zeriya, son of Nanaya-eresh, for the provisioning of the king, he (sc. Zeriya) will take on

the 17th of Arahshamnu, year 2, Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of lands, and hand over to Nabu-mukin-apli, chief administrator⁸ of Eanna, and [Nabu]-ahu-iddin, royal commissioner of Eanna.

Should Zeriya not have brought these sheep, i.e. 80, to the house of royal provisioning and not handed them over to Nabu-mukin-ap[li] and Nabu-ahu-iddin by the appointed time, he will incur the punishment of Gubaru, governor of Babylon and Beyond-the-River.⁹
(Witnesses (including the two officials); scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. For the management of the temple herds of Eanna (the main temple of Uruk sacred to Ishtar) and this important position in particular, see Kümmel 1979: 48–53.
2. Akk. *šipirti ša parnakka*. San Nicolò (1949: 326) suggested that *parnakku* (lacking the ‘Personenkeil’ indicating a PN) was a rendering of OP *xvarnaka*, ‘majesty’. But elsewhere a PN is indicated, so reading it as the Persian name Farnaka (hell. Pharnaces) here is preferable (see Dandamaev 1992, no.222).
3. Alt. ‘Amanu’, located a little downstream from Uruk (Zadok 1985, s.v. Amanu), where there was a royal estate (Dandamaev 1984a). Note that a few months earlier (9 June 528) the Eanna temple had to supply considerable quantities of date wine for the king at Abanu.
4. Cf. **14, no.21**, n.3.
5. A goddess closely associated with Ishtar, RLA IX, s.v.
6. Akk. *ša reš šarri ša bel piqitti Eanna*; royal appointees who probably came from outside Uruk, see Kümmel 1979: 109.
7. Gubaru (Gobryas) held the position of governor of this enormous province from at least 536/5 to early Darius I (see CAH IV, 125–7).
8. Akk. *šatammu*; for this very high position, see Kümmel 1979: 137–8.
9. This is an alternative to the ‘punishment of the king’, see **14, no.21 (i)**; and above.

25. Supplying the king on campaign

Herodotus VII, 118–19.

Those Greeks who received the army and feasted Xerxes were reduced to great misery to the point of having to leave their homes. When the Thasians, for example, received and entertained Xerxes’ army on behalf of their mainland cities,¹ Antipater, son of Orgeus, a citizen as renowned as any, was picked and showed that he had spent four hundred silver talents² on the dinner.

(119) Those in charge in the other cities, too, showed similar accounts. For the dinner was organised like this: it was ordered a long time in advance and was an important matter. As soon as the heralds had delivered their message, the citizens in the cities divided up the grain and for many months ground it into wheat flour and barley meal. They bought the best cattle to be found and fattened them; they fed land- and water-fowl in coops and ponds for the reception of the army. They also made gold and silver drinking cups and bowls and all the other items necessary for the table settings. This last was done only for the king and his dining companions,³ as food only was prepared for the rest of the army. When the army arrived, a tent was erected ready for Xerxes to stay in, while the rest of the army camped in the open. When the dinner hour came, the hosts had a deal of trouble, while the guests just ate their fill, spent the night and next day pulled up the tent, took everything in it and so marched away, leaving nothing, but taking it all away.

Notes

1. Thasos lies just off the Thracian coast.
2. 12,000 kg.
3. See **12, no.42**.

26. Contributions for the royal entry

Babylonian tablet, UET 4, 48. Ur, -/x+4/6, Artaxerxes II (399/8).

Translation: Joannès 2000: 153 [2004: 217–18].

Kidin-Nabu, son of Shumaya, will set out and take the *bara*-contribution¹ required for the king's entry into Susa² in year 6 of King Artaxerxes and carry out the service of the obligated temple-slaves,³ and he will do this on behalf of Kusurea, son of Sin-ahhe-bullit; the payment of his wage and all of his equipment is equivalent to that of the obligated temple-slaves. Zakitu, his mother, daughter of Anu-uballit, stands surety that Kidin-Nabu, son of Shumaya, will set out and take the *bara*-contribution required for the king's entry into Susa in year 6 of King Artaxerxes on behalf of Kusurea, son of Sin-ahhe-bullit. If Kidin-Nabu, son of Shumaya, does not set out and take the *bara*-contribution required for the king's entry into Susa in year 6 of King Artaxerxes on behalf of Kusurea, son of Sin-ahhe-bullit, Kidin-Nabu, son of Shumaya, and Zakitu his mother must pay $\frac{1}{3}$ mina of fine silver⁴ to Kusurea, son of Sin-ahhe-bullit. They stand surety for this payment. Kusurea will be paid wheresoever he decides.

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. A tax payable in kind (Joannès 2000: 153).
2. Written 'ig-gur(ki)', which Joannès 1988 has shown to be the royal city of Susa in Elam.
3. For temple-slaves, See **14, no.13**, n.11; for the understanding of this passage, see Jursa 1995c.
4. About 166 g; for Akk. *kaspu qalu*, see **14, no.13**, n.9.

(e) Satrapal and royal levies**27. The wealth of Babylonia**

Herodotus I, 192.

I can illustrate the exceptional prosperity of the Babylonians in any number of ways, but this one is particularly telling. The entire territory over which the great king rules is divided up in order to maintain him and his army, over and above the tribute.¹ Of the twelve months of the year, the Babylonian region provides supplies for four, while the rest of Asia provides for the remaining eight. So, in terms of prosperity, the Assyrian region² is equivalent to one third of the whole of Asia. Rule of this region (which the Persians call a satrapy) is by far the most important of all of them. When Tritantaechmes, son of Artabazus,³ for example, held this province from the king, he received each day an artaba full of silver. (. . .)⁴ He had horses of his own, in addition to the war chargers, eight hundred stallions for mating, and sixteen thousand mares, each of the stallions serving twenty horses. And he kept so many

Indian dogs⁵ that four large villages in the plain were free of other taxes except for being assessed to provide food for the dogs. Such were the revenues of the governor of Babylon.

Notes

1. Gr. *parex tou phorou*, cf. **14, no.2**(97) & n.33.
2. See **3, no.28**, n.1; **14, no.2**(92) & n.16.
3. See **7, no.24**, n.3.
4. Herodotus here defines the Persian artaba (i.e. 30 litres).
5. Used for hunting. Note the Assyrian lion hunt relief from Nineveh (now in the British Museum), showing mastiffs (Strommenger and Hirmer 1964, pl.247).

28. The governor's bread

Nehemiah 5.14–18.

Also, from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Yehud,¹ from the twentieth to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes the king,² that is twelve years, I and my kinsmen have not eaten the bread of the governor.³ But the former governors, who preceded me, laid burdens on the people, and had taken from them for bread and wine, as well as forty shekels of silver, and their servants oppressed the people. (. . .) At my table there were one hundred and fifty Jews and officials, as well as those from neighbouring regions. Every day there was prepared for me one ox, six fine sheep and also fowl, and every ten days, skins of wine in quantity. Even so, I never claimed the governor's bread, since the people already had enough of a burden to bear.

Notes

1. The tiny administrative district (Heb. *medinah*), centred on Jerusalem and part of the satrapy Beyond-the-River.
2. Generally agreed to be Artaxerxes I; see the discussion in ABD II, 735–7.
3. As becomes evident, Nehemiah means by this the additional demands he could have imposed to have his daily food, as well as further luxuries (note the levy of forty extra silver shekels) supplied by the local population.

29. Animals levied over and above the tribute

Strabo XI, 13.8.

The report on the tribute squares with the size and strength of the region.¹ For Cappadocia provides the Persians annually, in addition to the silver tax,² with fifteen hundred horses, two thousand mules and fifty thousand sheep, while the Medes pay almost twice as much.³

Notes

1. Strabo is describing Media.
2. Gr. *argyrikon telos*.
3. See Strabo XI, 13.7, for Media's fame as a horse-raising country. It was, almost certainly, the source of the famous Nesaean horses used by the Persian kings, although some maintained

that they came from neighbouring Armenia (**11, no.24**, n.3). See also Xen. *Anab.* IV, 5.34, for Armenian villagers rearing horses for the king, and **10, no.37** (Aspendus supplying the Persians with horses).

30. The tribute of the Memphis garrison

Aramaic papyrus fragment. Saqqara, fifth century: Segal, no.24.

[. . .] 83 karsh¹ [. . .] Thoth until the month Parmuti² [. . .] that [. . .] we shall bring him men 200 . . . [. . . mo]nth Thoth until the month P[armuti . . .] remainder [. . .] at Memphis alabaster of Aswan³ 20,300 a(rtabas)⁴ [. . .] 130 homer 2 g(riwin)⁵ [. . .] and natron of the east⁶ [. . . will b]ring him silver, 3 karsh [. . .] tribute of the garrison⁷ [. . .]

Notes

1. 1 karsh = 84 g.
2. Thoth was the first month of the Egyptian year (December–January), Parmuti the eighth (July–August).
3. For this as the likely interpretation of Ar. ŠŠSWN, see Segal, 39, n.3 – although Aswan (Syene) is not known as a source of alabaster in Egypt.
4. The artaba is a capacity measure (see **14, no.27**, n.4); here it seems to be used as a weight. The heavy weight (about 600,000 kg) makes Segal's argument that the material is a stone more likely (see n.3, above).
5. 1 homer = 450 litres; 1 griw = 8.64 l.
6. For natron, see **14, no.10**, n.61. The richest source in Egypt was the Wadi Natrun in the Western Delta, so its description as 'of the east' is curious, although Segal (40, n.7) points out that there were other sources and it could indicate a source in the eastern desert.
7. Ar. MNDT HYL'.

31. The cost of soldiers borne by subjects

(i) Equipping valets accompanying the cavalry

Babylonian tablet, Dar.253. Babylon, V/10/9, Darius I (20 August 513): Joannès 1982: 18.

[x] minas, 24 shekels silver, campaign equipment for cavalry soldiers of the royal reserve(?), [for] 3 years:

1 mule, bought from Ina-Esagil-liša for 50 shekels silver;
 36 shekels for the mule's fodder;
 12 blankets;
 12 cuirasses;
 12 helmets;
 12 travel bags;
 12 pairs of shoes;
 1 pi oil, 2 pi salt, 2 pi cress,¹

equipment for 3 years, counting from Nisanu of year 9,² has been given to ———³
 Remut-Bel, Itti-Shamash-balatu and Akkadaia, who are leaving on campaign.⁴
 (Date)

(ii) Tenants of a bow-land take a loan in order to acquire their military equipment

Babylonian tablet, BE X, no.61. Nippur, -/18/2, Darius II (422/1): HAU, no.23.
Translation: Joannès 2000: 150 [2004: 213].

80 gur dates, belonging to Rimut-Ninurta, descendant of Murashu, are owed by Hannani' and Gubbaia, the sons of Ninurta-etir, Nadin and Arad-enlil, sons of Sa'ga', of the *haṭru*⁵ of the Shushanu-mar-hisanni.⁶ In month VII of year 3 of king Darius, they will deliver the 80 gur dates in the town of Hambari. The field planted with trees and fallow, which constitutes their bow-land in the town of Hambari, is surety for Rimut-Ninurta for the 80 gur dates. No other creditor has priority, as long as Rimut-Ninurta has not been paid his loan. They guarantee that the one nearest (to the place of payment) will pay for the others. The dates are equivalent to the silver which has been lent to them for clothing and military equipment for presenting themselves at Uruk.⁷

(Witnesses; place; date)

(iii) A Babylonian businessman makes a payment to discharge his obligation to supply military equipment and travel provisions

Babylonian tablet, BM 33928. Babylon, II/28/35(!), Darius I (25 May 487):⁸ Abraham 2004, no.75.

1 mina silver with $\frac{1}{8}$ (impurity) per shekel, of *nuhhutu*-quality,⁹ (paid) instead of the equipment for an expedition and the travel provisions,¹⁰ as much as is the share due from Marduk-nasir-apli, father of Nidinti-Bel,¹¹ until the end of Addaru of year 36 of King Darius¹² – Nabu-ahhe-bullit, son of Itti-Marduk-balatu, descendant of Egibi, has received from Nidinti-Bel, son of Marduk-nasir-apli. Each has taken one (copy of the receipt). Their *qinayatu*-duty,¹³ which is additional to the above, they have agreed with each other.

(Witnesses; place; date)

Notes

1. 1 pi/panu = 36 litres; for cress (Akk. *sahlu*), see Stol 1985.
2. I.e. April–May 513.
3. Part of the text has been erased.
4. The equipment is clearly intended to furnish twelve soldiers, which implies that, as Joannès argues, they would be valets accompanying mounted cavalry soldiers
5. These organisations grouped together holders of government land grants on which military service was owed (archers = 'bow-land', cavalry soldiers = 'horse-land' (**14, no.38**), chariot-eers(?) = 'chariot-land'), as and when required (cf. Jursa 1999: 182–3). When there was no call-up, the holders worked the land (or leased it out to be worked) and paid tax, although the military obligation did not lapse (see **14, no.38**). The system is analogous to that attested for Egypt (cf. **14, no.36**) and western Asia Minor (**6, no.35**; **16, no.71**), and illustrates a pattern of territorial occupation and defence (cf. RLA VIII, 205–6).
6. For discussion of *šušnu* (still poorly understood), see Stolper 1985: 79–82.
7. As **14, no.38** shows, Uruk was one of the mustering points in Babylonia.
8. The year written in the date formula is '25', which is clearly an error in view of Darius' 36th year mentioned near the start of the text, see Abraham 2004: 341, n. to l.21.
9. See **14, no.11**, n.3.

10. Akk. rikis qabli and sideti, see Abraham 2004: 20–32; the former can also mean providing the equipment needed by a worker carrying out labour for the state (see Jursa 1999: 100).
11. The largest number of texts preserved from the Egibi archive belongs to Marduk-nasir-apli; Nidinti-Bel seems to have progressively taken over the business dealings of his father in the later years of Darius' reign, see Abraham 2004: 13–15.
12. I.e. March 485, by which time Xerxes (acceded November 486) was on the throne.
13. This seems to be some kind of additional due, see Abraham 2004: 341, n. to l.11.

C. Precious metal payments

(a) Silver taxes

32. Account of silver taxes in Fars

Babylonian tablet, Persepolis: PT 85. IX/25/20, Darius I (30 December 502). No seal visible.¹

(Obverse)

Day 25 of Kislimu, year 20, Darius the king.

Silver, the remnant of [. . .] (partly erased) of Indukka, mother of Tutu,² chief of merchants: silver of $14\frac{5}{6}$ minas of white silver;³ of this per 10-shekel (piece), when it was refined, it was decreased by a quarter. Total: 9 and 3-quarters shekels came out. Total decreased: $\frac{1}{2}$ (mina), 2 shekels; and the remnant (is) 14 minas, 18 shekels, silver.

Silver, second (class). 9 minas, 53 shekels second-class silver; of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased by a quarter (and) an eighth. Total: $\frac{1}{3}$ (mina), 2 shekels, (and) a quarter it was decreased.⁴ Remnant: $9\frac{1}{2}$ minas, 3-quarters shekel, white silver.

And silver, third (class). 5 minas, 3 shekels; of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased by 1 shekel; total: 9 shekels. Total: [$\frac{1}{2}$ mi]na, $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{24}$ ⁵ (shekel) it was decreased. Total (remnant): $4\frac{1}{2}$ minas, 3 shekels, white silver.

Silver tax⁶ of [. . .] of

(Lower edge, obverse)

The third group. White(?) silver [. . .] shekels silver; of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased [. . .]; remnant: $6\frac{1}{3}$ minas, 3 shekels, an eighth [. . .]

(Bottom edge: jotted calculations)

(Reverse)

Silver, tax of Pattemidu, the Mede, son of the shepherd.

8 minas white silver; of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased by $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel. Total: $9\frac{1}{2}$ shekels. Total: $\frac{1}{3}$ (mina), 4 shekels. And the remnant (is) $7\frac{1}{2}$ minas, 6 shekels silver. (Paid?) from ditto (in) ye[ear 1+]9 and year 20.⁷

26 mina[s less] 5 she[kels, sil]ver, second grade. Of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased by $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel (and) an eighth; total: decreased by 9 shekels + $\frac{1}{4} + (\frac{1}{8})$. Total

(decrease): $1\frac{1}{2}$ minas, 9 shekels + $\frac{1}{24}$. And the remnant: 24 minas, $15\frac{1}{2}$ shekels + $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$ + $\frac{1}{24}$.⁸

8 minas, 55 shekels, silver third (grade); of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased by $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel (and) one eighth; total: 9 shekels + $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$. Total (decrease): $\frac{1}{2}$ mina, 3 shekels + $\frac{1}{4}$. Remnant: 8 minas + $\frac{1}{3}$, 1 shekel, 3-quarters, white silver. Second group.⁹

$2\frac{1}{2}$ minas white silver; of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased by $\frac{1}{24}$ shekel; total: 9 shekels, 3-quarters, one eighth, one twenty-fourth.¹⁰

(Bottom of obverse: jotted calculations.)

(Lower edge, reverse)

6 minas, 5[0] shekels, silver, second grade; of this per 10-shekel (piece), refined, it was decreased by $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel; total: $9\frac{3}{4}$ shekels. Total: 10 shekels, one quarter, decreased. And the remnant: $6\frac{1}{2}$ minas, 9 shekels, 3-quarters.

(Bottom of edge: jotted calculations.)

(Left edge)

Silver, tax of [. . .] shepherd. $2\frac{1}{2}$ minas silver, second grade; (of this per 10-shekel piece, refined,) it was decreased by $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel. Total: 7 shekels, 3-quarters,¹¹ decreased. 7 minas, 18(?) shekels silver, third (grade); (of this per 10-shekel piece, refined, it was decreased by) $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel $\frac{1}{24}$. Total: decreased by $\frac{1}{3}$ (mina), $5\frac{1}{2}$ shekels + $\frac{1}{24}$.

Notes

1. The text comes from the Persepolis treasury (the rulings are in the document). Because it is written in Akkadian, Cameron (PTT, 200–1) argued that it must have been written in Babylonia and did not provide evidence for the monetary economy of Fars. For rejection of these arguments, see the references at **14, no.2**, n.28. Note also the Neo-Babylonian slave-sale, part of the Fortification archive, written at Persepolis in Darius I's reign (**15, no.33(ii)**), and the evidence for simultaneous use of different languages in the Persepolis administration (e.g. **16, nos.13; 14; 35**).
2. Perhaps the same as OP *hindukka, 'the Indian', for both names, see Dandamaev 1992, s.v.
3. Akk. *kaspu pesu*, see Vargyas 2000b: 514, n.7 (1 mina = 500 g; 1 shekel = 8.4 g).
4. Remainder of line erased.
5. This should be one twentieth.
6. Akk. *mandattu*.
7. The last phrase is written on the ruled line.
8. Error of $\frac{1}{24}$ shekel.
9. This last written on the ruled line.
10. Error of $\frac{1}{24}$ shekel.
11. It should be $\frac{1}{2}$.

33. Land mortgaged to pay taxes in Yehud¹

Nehemiah 5.4–6.

There were also some who said, 'We have mortgaged our lands, our vineyards and our

houses in order to buy grain because of the shortage.’ And others said, ‘We have borrowed silver for the king’s tribute² upon our land and vineyards.’

Notes

1. See **14, no.28**, n.1.
2. Heb. *kesep lmidat hamelek*.

(b) Transmission of taxes

34. Silver transports to the central authority

(i) From Susa to Matezzish¹

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1342. IX/–/22, Darius I (November–December 500); PFS 21 & 1286. (Garrison and Root I, no.258).

8 BAR flour² allocations by Karma.³ Mannuya the treasurer⁴ took silver from Susa to Matezzish. 2 free men⁵ daily received each 1.5 qa;⁶ 2 servants⁷ received each 1 qa.

Month 9, (for) a period of 16 days, year 22.

(ii) From Babylonia to Persepolis

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1357. I/–/23?, Darius I (April–May 499?). No seal.

2 (BAR) 2 qa⁸ flour Battessa⁹ together with 1 companion received for rations. Each received 1.5 qa. And their 8 assistants¹⁰ received each 1 qa. 2 rations. They carried the Babylonian ‘treasury’,¹¹ and (were) going (to) Persepolis. He carried a sealed document of Bakabana.¹² Month 1, year 23(?).

Notes

1. For the location of Matezzish, very close to (and possibly the original core of) Persepolis, see Koch 1990: 25–30; **11, no.10**, n.3.
2. 80 litres.
3. Karma figures in several other transactions at Persepolis; the tablet is sealed with PFS 21, to be published in Garrison and Root II. The philological analysis of his name is uncertain.
4. El. *kazabarra* rendering OP **qanzabara*, ‘treasure bearer’. For full discussion of title see Enclr X/3: 286–8. His PN could be Iranian (Mayrhofer, s.v.).
5. El. *šalur* (singular), translated ‘gentleman’ by Hallock.
6. 1.5 litres.
7. El. *libap*, see **11, no.68**, n.6.
8. 22 litres.
9. This PN is probably Elamite, Mayrhofer VIII, 274.
10. El. *puhu*, see Giovino 1995.
11. El. *kapnuški* is the regular word for a treasury or government storehouse, but must mean simply ‘treasure’ here.
12. OP Bagapana (Gr. Megapanos), perhaps the satrap of Susiana as he frequently authorised supplies for travellers from there (for the argument, with references, see Briant 1996a: 956 [2002b: 931]). For the authorisation, see **12, no.29**, n.12.

35. Egyptian tribute is brought to Babylon

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford: AD 10; TADAE I, A6.13. Egypt, late fifth century.¹

Translations: DAE, no.71; Whitehead 1974: 90–4; Lindenberger 1994, no.44.

From Arsham to Nakhthor,² Kenzasirma³ and his colleagues.

And now, Varuvahya the prince⁴ says to me here thus: ‘They are bringing me nothing from the estate in Egypt, which was given to me by my lord.⁵ If it please my lord, may a letter be sent from my lord to Nakhthor the steward⁶ and the accountants that they issue orders to (the one) called Hatubasti,⁷ my steward, that he collect the rent⁸ on these estates and bring it to me with the rent being brought by Nakhthor.’

Now Arsham says thus: ‘You order Hatubasti, Varuvahya’s steward, that he collect the rent on the estates of Varuvahya in full and with interest and that he bring it when he comes with the treasure⁹ which I commanded to be brought to Babylon.’

Artavahya knows this order. Rashta is the scribe.

Address: From Arsham to Nakhthor the steward, Kenzasirma and his colleagues the accountants in Egypt. [. . .] concerning instructions [. . .]¹⁰

Notes

1. Part of the clutch of letters acquired in Egypt, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, provenance unknown. They were written in either Babylon or Susa (cf. **15, no.4**, n.1). AD 11 is a letter from Varuvahya himself following up Arsham’s order.
2. OP Arshama (Gr. Arsames) was the satrap of Egypt, see **8, no.34**, n.1; Nakhthor was the Egyptian steward of his estates there.
3. Anatolian name. From the covering address (see below), it emerges that he was in charge of the accountants (Ar. HMRKRY’, an OP loanword, see AD, p.75).
4. Ar. BR BYT’, see **13, no.13**, n.3; the name is clearly Iranian.
5. I.e. Arshama.
6. Ar. PQYD’.
7. Egyptian name.
8. Ar. MNDR is one of the regular words for tax, see **14, nos.10**, n.6; **32**, n.6, but is more likely to mean rent in this case (note the uncertainty evinced in TADAE I, and Grelot’s translation (DAE) simply as ‘tax’).
9. Ar. GNZ’ (OP **ganza*), lit. ‘treasury’, cf. **14, no.34**, n.11.
10. Followed by a demotic notation. For the transmitters of the order, see **16, no.64** and n.7.

D. The system in practice

(a) Records of grants and duties

36. A military land grant in Egypt

Fragmentary Aramaic papyrus, AP 16; TADAE I, A5.2. Elephantine, reign of Artaxerxes I.¹
Translation: DAE, no.18.

[. . .]²

[. . .Na]ttun son of [. . .] our [com]pany³ held this field in tenure⁴ from year 24 until year 31 of [King] Artaxerxes.⁵ [. . .] I was questioned before Tarwuh⁶ and the judge and I said

before the judge: ['. . .] I ploughed the field but did not receive/take . . .⁷ from them.' Those judges [of the province⁸ . . .] and an injustice was done {to me}.⁹ And I said before Tarwuh and the judge how [. . .] from year 24 until 31. And Bagafarna, Nafaina {and Mannuki, the judges}¹⁰ entered Aswan¹¹ and to[ok] the foremost(?) (aides) of Nafaina, garrison commander¹² of Aswan, and the judges of the province, how [. . .] took [. . . Because of] this I have sent to my lord, saying, 'An injustice has been done to me.'

And now, [if it please my lord, let] him ask Tarwuh and the judge about this. Let not an injustice be done to me, and [. . .]

Notes

1. This was perhaps the copy of the request sent to Memphis by the petitioner.
2. The opening lines are missing. Cowley restored the satrap Arshama as the chief addressee, which is possible as it emerges that the petition was addressed to 'my lord'.
3. Ar. DGL, a detachment of perhaps a thousand soldiers. Although primarily attested in Egypt (Porten 1968: 28–35), it also appears among the ostraca from Arad in southern Palestine (**15, no.15(i)**).
4. Ar. MHHSN, i.e. the field was held as a concession by the detachment of soldiers. The holding was registered so that dues and duties could be exacted as and when required (Briant 1996a: 429 [2002b: 417–18]). Cf. also Segal no.31 referring to 'fields of the garrison' in the Memphis region. It also explains government involvement in land disputes, as here; conversely, it imposed obligations on the authorities (**14, no.44**); cf. also **17, no.33(iii)**.
5. This can only be Artaxerxes I as Egypt was lost to the Achaemenid empire at some point between 401 and 399 (**9, 57**, n.5). The years here are thus 441–434.
6. Porten (1968: 47) thought this could be an Iranian name, but Grelot (DAE, no.133, n.e) has argued that it is Egyptian.
7. Grelot suggests reading Ar. KSP, 'silver', 'money'.
8. Ar. MDYNT⁷, the subdivisions of satrapies attested in Egypt and Beyond-the-River (Briant 1996a: 423–4 [2002b: 412]).
9. Written above the line.
10. The bracketed words are written above the line. Bagafarna and Nafaina are both Iranian names, Mannuki Akkadian. A Nafaina was also garrison commander in Aswan around 410 (see **17, no.32**), but it is unlikely that the two are identical.
11. Aswan/Syene (Ar. SWN) was the chief garrison site on the bank of the Nile to which the Elephantine military unit was attached.
12. Ar. RB HYL⁷.

37. Request for a land grant from the satrap

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford: AD 8; TADAE I, A6.11. Egypt, late fifth century.¹

Translations: DAE, no.69; Whitehead 1974: 77–84; Lindenberger 1994, no.42.

From Arsham to Nakhthor, Kenzasirma and his colleagues.²

And now, (one) named Petosiri, the 'official'(?),³ my servant, sent to me. He speaks thus: 'There is (one) named Pamun, [my father. When] there was unrest in Egypt,⁴ my father named Pamun perished. And his domain⁵ of 30 ar(tabu)⁶ seed capacity, which (he) named Pamun, my father, held as a grant⁷ was abandoned because all our household staff⁸ pe[rished]. My father Pamun's domain [was not assigned] to me. May one take thought for me. May they give (it) to me. May I hold it as a grant.'

Now Arsham speaks thus: 'If it is as Petosiri has sent [to me, (i.e.) that] (he) named

[Pamun], his father, perished with [his household] staff when there was unrest in Egypt [and] the domain of that Pamun his father, of 30 ar(tabā) seed capacity was abandoned and not made (over) [. . .] or given by me to another servant,⁹ then I give the domain of Pamun to Petosiri. You notify him; let him hold it as a grant and fulfil the dues to my estate¹⁰ just as formerly his father Pamun had fulfilled them.

Artavahya knows this order. Rashta is the scribe.

Address: From Arsham to Nakhthor, the steward, [Kenza]sirma and his colleagues the [account]ants¹¹ who are in Egypt.

(Demotic notation: About the fields of Pamun which I have given to Petosiri.)

Notes

1. See **14, no.35**, n.1.
2. See **14, no.35**, nn.2–3.
3. Petosiri is clearly an Egyptian name, as is that of his father. The meaning of Ar. WRŠBR is uncertain; the last element renders OP *bara, describing various professions, as in OP *ganzabara (see **14, no.34**, n.4). Driver (AD, p.67) suggested ‘forester’, while Grelot (DAE, no.63, n.g) preferred ‘groom’; ‘mounted officer’ has also been suggested. Porten and Yardeni (TADAE) translate ‘plenipotentiary’ and Lindenberger ‘tenant farmer’. The word is almost certainly the same as El. ‘maršaparra’ in the Persepolis Fortification archive, for which Hallock (PFT, Glossary, s.v.) tentatively gives ‘nurseryman’ (see **12, no.29(ii)** & n.8).
4. This has been taken as a reference to an Egyptian revolt, otherwise unattested. Briant 1988a: 139–43 has argued convincingly that such passing references to ‘unrest’ relate to localised chronic problems, not major revolts (cf. **8, no.34**, n.7).
5. Ar. BGH, cf. OP bag-, baji-, ‘apportion’, ‘apportionment’, i.e. a granted piece of land.
6. About 900 litres.
7. Ar. MHHSN, see **14, no.36**, n.4.
8. This is the more likely translation, as opposed to ‘women of the household’, see Whitehead 1974: 82.
9. The implication is that the land parcel might have been added to Arshama’s own property and, further, that registers were kept of all land grants, which could be consulted.
10. Ar. [W]HL[K] . . . YHŠL’L BYT’ ZYLY ‘let him carry out the ilku service to my estate’. For ilku, see **14, no.9**, n.3; for holders of grants ‘embedded’ in large estates supplying the attached obligations at the behest of the estate holder (as here), see Stolper 1985: 99–100.
11. See **14, no.35**, n.3. For the transmitters of the order, see **16, no.64** and n.7.

38. Registration of a Babylonian cavalry soldier

Babylonian tablet, Lutz 1928. Nippur, X/18/2, Darius II (8 January 421): Cardascia 1951: 179–82; Ebeling 1952.

Translations: CANE, 1481; Briant 1996a: 615–16 [2002b: 598].

Gadalyama, son of Rahim-ili, spoke of his own free will to Rimut-Ninurta, son of Murashu, as follows:

‘Because Rahim-ili adopted your brother Enlil-shum-iddina, you now possess the share of Barik-ili in the field planted and in stubble, held in tenure as horse-land¹ by Rahim-ili.² (Now,)

1 horse together with its reins and harness

1 suhattu-coat³

1 iron corselet with 1 hood

1 neck-cover of the *suhattu*
 1 hood of the *suhattu*
 1 quiver of copper
 120 arrows, some with heads, some without
 1 sword(?) with its scabbard
 2 iron lances
 and 1 mina of silver for provisions,⁴

give me, (so that) I may go to Uruk in fulfilment of the royal order and (in return for this) I will fulfil the duty which rests on the horse-land as much as is your share.'

Upon (this) Rimut-Ninurta heard him. 1 horse and the battle-equipment, all as it has been written down above, and 1 mina of silver for travel provisions he gave him; so that, in accordance with the royal command, he will go to Uruk to fulfil the duty on the horse-land mentioned.

The guarantee not to give this to someone else is borne by Gadalyama. Gadalyama will show it for registration by Zabin, the foreman of the scribes of the army.⁵ To Rimut-Ninurta, the son of Murashu, he will give (the deed of registration as proof).

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. Akk. *bit sisi*, i.e. a parcel of land, the holder of which was obliged to supply a cavalry-soldier, cf. *bit qašti*, **14, nos.9**, n.6; **31**, n.5.
2. The situation is that, through a series of adoptions, several individuals share access to a military land grant on which cavalry service is owed, for which Rimut-Ninurta has received the call-up. Instead of serving himself, he contracts to equip Gadalyama, who will discharge the service for him.
3. Exact meaning not known, but given the hood and neck-cover that go with it, a garment worn over the iron corselet that could be pulled up over the head is indicated. Joannès 1982: 17, n.3, suggests that it would be very like the Persian *mitra* (see **11, no.22**, n.11).
4. About 500 g.
5. Akk. *sipiru ša uqu*. The text shows that there was a mustering point at Uruk, where annual(?) reviews were held (Briant 1996a: 1006 [2002: 980]; cf. **14, no.31(ii)**).

39. Local recruitment of troops

Herodotus VII, 96.

The men who served with the fleet and those who served with the army had their own local officers; but, as it is not necessary to my story, I will not mention their names.¹ Some of them were far from distinguished, and each people had as many officers as it had towns. In any case, these local officers were not really commanders² – like the rest of the troops, they merely served under compulsion. The names of the Persian generals, who had the effective power and were at the head of the contingents sent by the various peoples, I have already noted.

Notes

1. This comes at the end of Herodotus' roll call of the empire's forces in 480 (see **11, no.25**).
2. Gr. *strategoí*. The passage reflects the fact that people were recruited for the army on the basis of the

system illustrated by **14, no.38**, with the effective higher military command in the hands of Persian officers.

(b) Management of resources and revenues

40. Access to water regulated and taxed

Herodotus III, 117.¹

There is a plain in Asia enclosed on all sides by mountains, with five ravines in it. This plain used to belong to the Chorasmians, and is on the border of the Chorasmians themselves, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangians and Thamanians.² But when the Persians gained control, it became the king's. A great river flows from the enclosing mountains, called the Aces.³ Before, it divided into five and watered these five countries, each through its own ravine; but when it came under Persian control, this is what was done. The king built and erected gates at each of the ravines in the mountains. As this blocked the passage of the water into the plain, the area within the mountains became a sea, given that the river flowed in but could not get out anywhere. And so those who used to use the water now do not have it and are in a great quandary. For in winter rain falls for them as for all other people, but in the summer the millet and sesame they sow needs water. So when they do not receive water, they go to the Persians together with their wives, post themselves at the palace doors and howl loudly. The king then orders the gates opened that lead to those who need it most. When the earth has had its fill from drinking the water, these gates are again closed and he orders the others to be opened for the rest in need. As I have heard it, he makes a lot of money from opening the gates, over and above the tribute.⁴

Notes

1. Although this story cannot be taken literally (it may be part of a folktale circulating orally), it illustrates nicely the kind of changes wrought by the incorporation of territories into the Persian empire, and the effects of royal regulation. Significantly, it is linked to Herodotus' description of the king's resources and tributes (see further, Briant 1996a: 427–8 [2002b: 415–17]).
2. All located in eastern Iran and Central Asia, although at a considerable distance from each other.
3. Several identifications of the river have been proposed but, as How and Wells (1912, ad loc.) say, 'it is better to regard (it) as imaginary'.
4. For crown management of irrigation in Babylonia, see Stolper 1985: 36–51; Cagni 1988: 162–3.

41. A royal concession for providing irrigation

Polybius X, 28.1–4.¹

Arsaces² had expected him (sc. Antiochus) to come as far as this region, but not to risk crossing the adjoining desert with such a large force, particularly because of its lack of water. Because in this region no water is visible on the surface, but there are, even in the desert, a number of underground channels connected to wells not known to those unfamiliar with the topography.³ A true story is told by the locals about them, namely, that at the time when the Persians ruled Asia they granted to those who supplied water to previously unirrigated land the right to use the land for five generations.⁴ Given that many large streams flow down the Taurus,⁵ people went to a lot of expense and trouble making the underground channels

reach a great distance, so that nowadays those who use the water have no idea where the water in the channels comes from.

Notes

1. The context of the description is Polybius' account (of which excerpts only are preserved) of Antiochus III's campaign against the Parthian occupation of north Iran in 210.
2. The Parthian ruler.
3. This is the system of underground water channels (*qanats*) used widely in Iran (see **fig.14.2**), and introduced in Egypt's Kharga oasis in the Achaemenid period; see the contributions in Briant 2001b.
4. Plainly a fixed-period concession, revocable at royal command.
5. Obviously the Elburz mountain range in this instance.

42. Ring-fenced revenues

(i) The queen's shoes

Herodotus II, 98.

Among these, Anthylla¹ is a famous city and is given expressly to the wife of the current ruler of Egypt for shoes.² Such has been the custom ever since Egypt has been subject to the Persians.

(ii) Darius I's camel

Strabo XVI, 1.3.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, so named it (sc. Gaugamela), having given it as an estate³ for the maintenance of the camel which helped most on the journey through the desert of Scythia with the loads which contained the sustenance and support for the king.⁴

Notes

1. The location is unknown, except that it was in the Delta, somewhere between Canopus and Naucratis (Lloyd 1975–88, ii: 392).
2. This does not mean that the town's revenues were expended, literally, on the queen's footwear, but rather reflects the fact that revenues were visualised (and expressed) in terms of the expenses incumbent on the king. The incomes assigned to Themistocles (**13, no.40**) and to members of the royal family (**16, no.66(iii) & (iv)**) and court worked largely in the same way (Briant 1985a). For comparison, note the 'domain of the throne' (Akk. *bit kussi*) and 'domain of the table' (Akk. *bit paššuri*) with attached workforce (Akk. *šušamu*), in a Babylonian slave sale (VS V, 128, late fifth century).
3. Gr. *oikos*; see further **16, no.50**, n.1.
4. Strabo's etymology for Gaugamela ('Camel's House') is spurious, and a single camel is unlikely to have had the resources of an entire estate devoted to it. What his report may reflect is that the revenues were earmarked to meet the expense of maintaining the army's essential camel corps.

43. A royal land grant rented out to a Babylonian temple

Babylonian tablet, OECT 12, pl.xlviii, AB 243. Dilbat II/1(?) / 5, Artaxerxes (30(?) April 460; or 26(?) April 400; or 28(?) April 354): Stolper 1992b: 125–7.

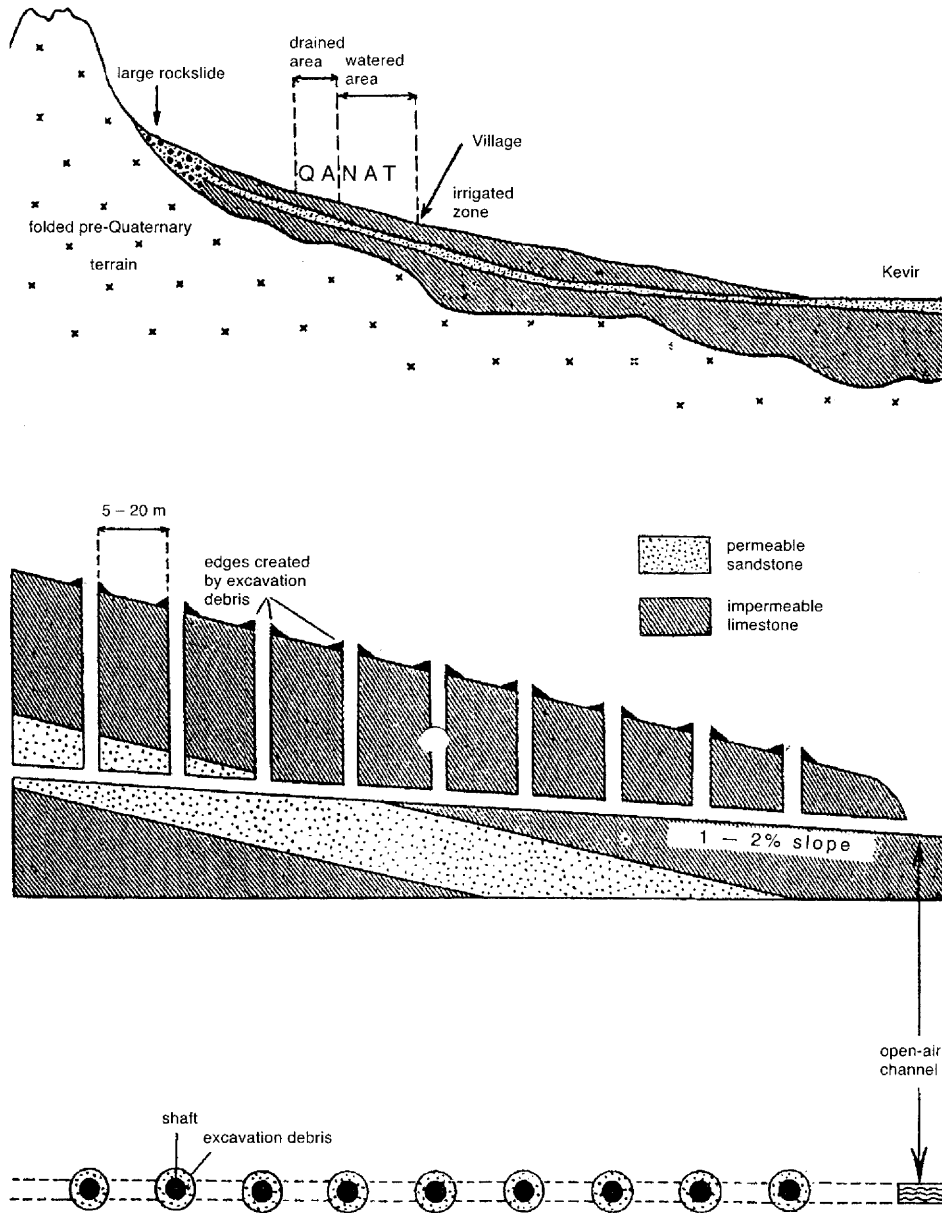


Figure 14.2 Diagram of a qanat. The channel taps the underground water on a mountainside, which is accessed through vertical shafts. The work and upkeep do not require enormous resources, either physical or financial, in contrast to the irrigation systems in a place such as Mesopotamia. The technique, which has been used for centuries in Iran (Wulff 1966: 249–56), probably predates the Achaemenid régime, but was implemented under their aegis in the Kharga Oasis at Ayn Manawir. (After Wuttman in Briant 2001b.)

Madanu-ittanna, son of Zabudu, acting on the authority of his father Zabudu, has received [. . .], all of the rental(?) due on the arable land in Dilbat, the king's gift given to Parshagu,¹ for year 4 of King Artaxerxes,² from Sha-Bel-eresh, son of Ea-bullissu, (and?) the accountants and the overseer³ of (the temple) Imbianu. Madanu-ittanna will register (that payment) with his father [Zabudu] in favour of Sha-Bel-eresh.

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. Akk. *nidintu šarri*, translated 'crown grant' by Stolper, who points out that it could include fields, orchards and urban property (see further, Stolper 2000a). The holder's name is Iranian, while the son of his Babylonian steward is collecting the rent due on it.
2. There is no way at present of determining which of Artaxerxes I–III this might be.
3. Akk. *tupšarru ù bel piqittum*, showing that the individuals were acting for the temple; see further Stolper 1992b: 127.

44. The satrap authorises repair of a boat in Egypt

Aramaic papyrus, AP 26; TADAE I, A6.2. Elephantine, 13/X/12, Darius II (5 January 411).¹
Translations: DAE, no.61; Whitehead 1974: 119–54; Lindenberg 1994, no.49.

From Arsham to Wahpremahi:²

Now, Bel-[. . ., title, and PN, title, sent me word saying as follows . . .] to us: 'Thus says Mithradates the boatman: "Psamsineit [and PN, boatmen of] the fortress,³ said as follows: 'The time has come to make repairs on the boat which we hold in tenure.' " ' "⁴

[Arsham was notified and he said as follows:]

'Let it be brought onto dry land. Let word be sent to the treasury accountants. They and estimators [. . .] are to be shown [the boat . . .], and are to make an estimate of it.⁵ Let word be sent to whoever there is (in charge), and let them give materials, its paint, etc., [. . .]. Let its repairs, etc. concerning which I sent word to them, be made immediately.'

They sent back word [. . .]. '[. . .] the sand which is in front of the fortress [. . .]. Mithradates has shown us the boat. We report that it (i.e. the boat) was brought up on dry land by Psamsineit and [PN], both boatmen of the fortress. We reported to Shamash-Shillek⁶ and his colleagues the estimators, and Shamaw son of Konufi, the chief carpenter, from Sepit,⁷ and they said as follows: "The time has come to make its repairs. This is the material which is required to do its repairs:

New wood of cedar and ʾR:

TP	10 cubits
ŠYM for BTQ	80 cubits by 3 handbreadths
including SGNN	12 cubits
ŠP	15 each one, 10 cubits
S ^c BL	70 cubits
HNN for the hold	3
QL ^c S for the mast	1

wood for the gunwale(?):

TRIBUTE, TAX, IMPOSTS

	60 cubits
mooring post for prow(?) 1	2 cubits
stanchions under the gunwale(?)	5
bronze and iron nails	200

wood of aged strong cedar:

panelling(?)	20 cubits
--------------	-----------

As for all the above, let old and broken materials which they have replaced be brought to the treasury:

thick linen cloth	180 karsh
metal overlay	250 karsh

New cedar wood:

HNN	2, each 5 cubits 3 handbreadths by 3 handbreadths
-----	---

bronze nails for the gunwale:

	150 each 3 handbreadths
	275 each 10 fingers
total nails	425
bronze plates	20 cubits
their nails	200

wood of old RSWT cedar:

MSN	1 talent 10 mina
-----	------------------

With respect to all the above add:

sulphur	10 karsh
and arsenic	100 karsh

They shall add to the lumber which is to be delivered:

to TP	in length each 3 hands HPWŠ to width and thickness 2 fingers to the width;
to ŠYM	in length each 3 hands HPWŠ to width 2 fingers
to SP and HNN	in length each 1 hand
to S'BL, wood for the gunwale (and the) panel sections,	in length each 3 hands HPWŠ to width 1 finger

Let the linen cloth, the plating, the arsenic (and) the sulphur be delivered by the Persian (standard of) weight.

Let word be sent: 'Let these materials be given to Shamaw son of Konufi, the chief carpenter from Sepit(?), in the matter of the repair of this boat and let him make them do it immediately, as soon as the order has been given.' '

Now, Arsham says the following: 'You do just as the accountants say, as order is (hereby) given.'

Anani is the scribe-chancellor.

Nabu-aqab wrote (it).⁸

Wahpremahī [. . .] as order has been given [. . .] wrote(?)

(Demotic:) Sasobek wrote.⁹

(Address:) [From] Arsham who is in E[gypt to Wahpremahī . . .]

Nabu-aqab is the scribe.

On 13 Tebet, year 12, King Darius.

Notes

1. The large (26.5 × 31 cm) papyrus is relatively well preserved, although several technical terms remain obscure. The stages of the action are as follows:
 - (a) *The situation is reported:* Psamsineit and partner (Egyptian boatmen at Elephantine) report the need for repair to their boat which they hold as an allotment from the state (i.e. as a result of holding it they are required to use it for state needs; in turn they are entitled to have it repaired by the state); this report goes to another (presumably superior) boatman, Mithradates (Iranian name). Mithradates reports the request to a group of superiors, Bel-x et al., who inform Arshama himself of the situation. Arshama, as satrap (see **8, no.34**, n.1), has to authorise the repair and the issue of required materials from the 'treasury' at Elephantine.
 - (b) *Satrap orders need for repair and estimate of required materials to be worked out:* Arshama tells Bel-x et al. to order Mithradates to have Psamsineit and partner put the boat in dry dock. Then they are to get the treasury accountants and estimators (Shamash-Shillek et al.) and the chief carpenter (Shamaw-bar-Konufi from Sapet) to confirm that the repair is necessary and provide a detailed inventory of what materials precisely are needed to effect it.
 - (c) *The satrapal order is carried out:* The boat is put in dry dock and a detailed list of required materials provided, together with a recommendation that the old materials from the boat be taken back to the treasury and that some of the materials be measured according to the Persian weight-system. All this is communicated to Arshama by treasury officials for approval.
 - (d) *Final authorisation:* Arshama now orders Wahpremahī (position unclear: presumably connected with treasury at Elephantine) to see that the necessary materials be issued to chief carpenter so that he can repair the boat.
2. An Egyptian name.
3. Ar. HKRYYM, 'of the Carians', is the reading of Porten and Yardeni. I have kept to the more usual translation, which seems to make better sense (see discussion by Whitehead 1974: 141 & n.1).
4. Ar. MHHSN, see **14, no.36**, n.4.
5. Ar. HMRKRY' ZY GNZ' HMW 'M PRMNKRY'; for the OP loanword *hamarakara, see AD, p.75; for OP loanword *framankara, cf. El. pirramankuraš, PTT, 43; PFT, s.v.
6. A Phoenician name.
7. Both are Egyptian names. Ar. SPYTKN could be translated 'whitener'.
8. Anani's position is (Ar.) SPR' B'L T'M, an important position in the bureaucracy, attested in other regions in the Achaemenid period, too (Palestine; Babylonia, see **16, no.60**; possibly Fars and Media). 'It belongs to the imperial elements of provincial government, elements found throughout the empire' (Stolper 1989a: 298–303). Anani is a Hebrew name, while the scribe's is Aramaic.
9. The demotic notation suggests that there was a duplicate account in Egyptian.

ROUTES AND COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

Introduction

The central authority's ability to control the conquered lands, proclaim its presence, collect and monitor its profits, and maintain security, depended on an efficient system of communication. The Persepolis Fortification archive provides the most important information on several relevant aspects (**15, no.1; fig.15.1**). First, it reveals that the entire empire was linked together by a network of roads. The issues of travel rations note destinations (conversely starting points) of parties en route, so we can see that the roads reach to India, Afghanistan, Areia, Bactria, Carmania, Media, Elam, Lydia, Babylonia, Egypt and the Syrian steppe. Particularly valuable is the fact that they note travellers going to, and coming from, the empire's eastern and south-western regions. This balances Herodotus' description of the 'royal road' from Sardis to Susa (**15, no.3**), expanding the geopolitical perspective to cover the whole empire. We also have the physical remains of a way-station of the type mentioned by Herodotus. It was sited along the main road leading from the Mesopotamian plain past Bisitun to Ecbatana in Media (**fig.15.2**). Documents from the early hellenistic period ([Arist.] *Oec.* 2.2.14b; RC 18; 20) add some further information on stretches of the Persian road system in Caria and Phrygia.¹ Another important point to note is that Ctesias, writing in the 390s, ended his work with a description (unfortunately not preserved) of the roads, way-stations and distances from Ephesus in the west to Bactria in Central Asia (**15, no.2**). This shows clearly that Achaemenid control of its eastern regions had not been eroded by the fourth century, despite the loss of Egypt (**9, Section C(b)**). The conclusion must be that this all-embracing communication network was maintained throughout the empire's existence.

Secondly, the texts from the Persepolis archive make it plain that official authorisation was needed to draw on the supplies at the stopping points along routes, and that such issues were carefully logged. Only one example of such a 'passport' (El. *halmi* or (OP loanword) *miyatukkam*, 'sealed document') has survived (**15, no.4**). The signatory addressed the officials in charge of the way-stations within their sub-provinces by name and specified what provisions, how much and for how long were to be issued to the traveller carrying the sealed letter of credit. The expenditures were noted and debited to the name of the authoriser. As the Persepolis material shows, these records were collected (by the relevant provincial authorities) and the disbursements entered into account books (see **16, Section A(b)**), where the supplier's account was credited and that of the authoriser debited. We also learn that some travel parties and high-status individuals were escorted by official 'guides'. Presumably they would have provided protection and ensured that

arrangements for the reception of travellers at the stopping points along the route were in place.

In addition to the well-provisioned royal roads, there were also other, less hospitable, routes. Arrian describes the hostile, waterless region of northern Arabia (**15, no.5**), which could only be traversed using camels, carrying water supplies, and by night, given the daytime heat. Only in special circumstances, he suggests, would they have been used. Xenophon paints a graphic picture of the difficulties encountered by Cyrus the Younger's troops in 401 (**15, no.6**). As he was leading an army against his royal brother, Cyrus avoided the regular, well-stocked and heavily guarded regular road running through the Jezirah (northern Mesopotamia, **fig.15.3**), and chose to follow the course of the Euphrates. It was not totally bereft of resources, but settlements lay at some distance from each other, more usually on the opposite river bank, and the region was a poor, semi-arid zone. The result was that food resources ran low, game had to be hunted for meat, prices charged by the merchants accompanying the army rose to prohibitive levels and many of the pack animals died.

Rivers, many of them wide and fast-flowing, and canals were obstacles to free movement. The limited number of safe crossing points – in the shape of permanent bridges,² ferries, fords and pontoons (**15, nos.3; 8**) – which could be, and were, guarded, as were mountain passes (**15, nos.3; 10**) – restricted and determined the choice of routes. Water could also, at times, be diverted to obstruct the advance of an enemy (**15, no.9**). In mountainous terrain, with few resources and hostile populations, it could become advisable to circumvent the danger by taking to the sea (**15, no.7**). Diodorus gives us an interesting glimpse of an age-old route that was still in use. Sailing along the Cilician coast, the traveller reached north Syria. From there he moved by land to the Euphrates ford at Thapsacus and then sailed downriver to Babylon (**15, no.11**).

When government forces moved into uncharted areas (as, for example, on campaign), engineers were sent ahead to clear and level the ground (**15, no.12(iii)–(iv)**). The Persepolis Fortification archive, too, has references to 'road counters', who surveyed the roads at royal command (**15, no.12(i)–(ii)**). Everything points to the existence of an official organisation working to expand, modify, repair and plot the complex road system. How the roads actually looked is uncertain. It is unrealistic to visualise anything like a modern tarmac road, with a camber to help drainage. Any fine surfacing would have been limited to sections of road at gates and inside cities (cf. the Neo-Assyrian evidence, Luckenbill 1924: 152–3, ll.14–23). But they were clearly wide enough and sturdy enough to accommodate, and support the weight of, chariots and wagons, as the repeated use of the Greek term, *hodos harmaxitos*, shows. Note that when Cyrus the Younger avoided the royal road and proceeded along a scarcely used track, his chariots became stuck in the mud (**15, no.6**). Sections of what are thought to be Achaemenid period roads have been found in Fars (Stronach 1978, pls.141–3). They suggest that roads were cut into the sides of slopes to allow passage and probably graded, to make them suitable for wheeled traffic (**15, no.6** & n.9). But their dating remains uncertain.

The military purpose of the roads is evident. For soldiers to respond to call-ups without delay, they were crucial. When armies were on the move, commanders needed to be able to rely on sufficient stores for men and animals. As in the Assyrian empire (TCL 3, ll.52–3), this was the responsibility of the local governors (**15, no.13**), as was the maintenance of roads (**14, no.22**). Providing water for routes through desert regions, such as the Sinai peninsula, which were in regular use was another duty of the relevant satrap and his staff (**15, no.14**).

Achaemenid period ostraca from the Negev Desert of Israel (**15, no.15**) reveal garrisoned stretches of road, with locally supplied depots.

All the evidence shows, as we have seen, that tight control of the network was a constant and necessary feature, to safeguard supplies and depots (**15, no.15(i)**) and protect against attacks (**15, no.19**). Official travellers needed (armed) escorts (above, pp.730–1) and could not contemplate undertaking a lengthy journey without official support (**15, no.16**, cf. **15, nos.4; 19; 8, no.32**). This explains the inscription, set up in Athens, recording the city's profound gratitude to the Sidonian king for helping a civic embassy reach the Persian court safely (**15, no.17**). The system also ensured that the movements of individuals were monitored, which served to maintain security. Evading this constant watchfulness was a tricky and dangerous business. Two colourful anecdotes describe ingenious ways of trying to avoid official scrutiny (**15, no.20; 6, no.32(35)**). Although they are almost certainly ahistorical, the point of each story hinges on the well-known fact that the Persian roads were closely watched. The Persepolis material indicating that way-stations were located at a distance of one day's travel from each other is a reminder of how dense was the web embracing the imperial territories.

The speed and efficiency of the Achaemenid communication service, with its relays of fast mounted messengers, was legendary. Herodotus' description (**15, no.21(i)**), echoed by Xenophon (**15, no.21(ii)**), famously inspired the New York City Post Office to emulation.³ The messengers engaged in such sensitive and urgent state business were trusted individuals, enjoying the king's confidence and, hence, great prestige. There are indications that the title 'royal messenger' may have become purely honorary, indicative of high rank (**15, no.22**, n.8). The Persepolis material illustrates some details of the system (**15, no.22**). With one exception, all the individuals attested in the express service were either travelling with royal authorisation or on their way to the king himself. Whereas many travellers moved in parties accompanied by trains of servants (e.g. **12, no.32**) and/or guides, the fast mounted messengers operated either singly or, at most, in groups of three. The horses used for the high-speed communications were clearly stabled and fed separately. This, in turn, suggests that they were specially selected, bred and trained.

Other means of communication existed. Diodorus describes a system of vocal signalling between guard-posts in Fars, that was used to muster soldiers at speed (**15, no.23**). More widely attested (and, of course, not peculiar to the Achaemenid empire) was the use of beacons and torch signals to relay public proclamations (**15, no.24**) or summon help at speed (**16, no.71**). Note that in 315, Antigonus organised communication by beacons and messengers in the eastern territories he controlled. There can be little doubt that he was here making use of surviving elements of an Achaemenid system (D.S. XIX, 57.5).

Evidence reveals something of the organisation of communications at a local level, including private and informal ones. In Babylonia, the boats (and crew) essential for transport were hired by officials from private individuals for government service, as and when needed (**15, nos.25–6**). In Egypt, where the Nile was the chief artery for communications, a document illustrates the way in which the garrisons were supplied with the foodstuffs to which they were entitled (**15, no.27**). Most lively are the letters about very personal affairs exchanged between relatives, when one family member was stationed far from home on government service (**15, nos.28–30**). Even more immediate are the short messages on ostraca exchanged between people living on the Nile island of Elephantine and those on the river bank at Aswan (**15, no.31**). These exchanges were clearly

mediated through the ferrymen, who made the regular crossing each day. Here we see how a system serving official business could be used to communicate private, intimate concerns.

A Babylonian document found in southern Jordan reveals links across a much longer distance (**15, no.32**). The circumstances and details remain unclear, but the fact that people were involved in business transactions over a distance of more than 1,000 km is clear. Most striking is the growing evidence for the way members of the Babylonian business community took advantage of the opportunities offered by the régime's requirements, as well as the security of communications created by the Achaemenid empire. The activities of the Murashu family (**14, Introduction**) inside Babylonia have been known for a long time. The fact that members of the family also operated in Susa is now amply established (Stolper 1992c). There is also documentation for Babylonians in other royal Persian centres, Ecbatana and Persepolis (**15, no.33**). Although the documented transactions do not reveal for what business reasons they were in the capitals, their presence is indisputable, as is the fact that their normal residence was Babylonia. The well-protected road system created by the Persian conquerors and their dependence on private entrepreneurs opened the way for some of their subjects to make profits (see further, Abraham 2004).

Notes

1. See Debord 1995, for a branch of the 'royal road' running from Abydos through Dascylium to Gordium.
2. Fixed stone bridges are attested archaeologically: (a) in Babylon, where a stone bridge had been built across the Euphrates in the Neo-Babylonian period; (b) at Pasargadae, where an elaborate bridge spanned the canal (**fig.3.5b**).
3. Paraphrased as: 'Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds.'

A. The road system

(a) Royal roads

1. The imperial roads¹

(i) From India to Susa

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1318. II/—/23, Darius I (May–June 499); PFS 49 (Garrison and Root I, no.23) & PFS 84.

11 BAR flour Abbatema received.² (For) his own rations daily he receives 7 BAR. 20 men receive each 2 QA.³

He carried a sealed document⁴ of the king. They set out from India. They went to Susa.

Month II, year 23.

Ishbaramishtima (is) his 'elite guide'.⁵ The seal of ditto was applied.

(ii) From Arachosia to Susa

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1351. V/—/28, Darius I (August–September 494); no seal.

1 BAR 1 QA flour, allocation by Katukka, Kamena received,⁶ and 4 men each 1.5 QA, 5 'boys'⁷ received each 1 QA.

He carried a sealed document of Bakabadush.⁸ They went from Arachosia to Susa.
Month V, year 28.

(iii) From Susa to Kandahar

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1550. II/–/22, Darius I (April–May, 500); PFS 213 (Garrison & Root I, no.140) & PFS 940 (Garrison & Root I, no.81).

1 QA wine supplied by Karkashsha.⁹

1 woman went from Susa (to) Kandahar. She carried a sealed document of the king, and she received (it).

Zishandush (is) her 'elite guide'.¹⁰

Year 22, month II.

(iv) To Areia

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1361. XII/–/22, Darius I (February–March 499); PFS 10 (Garrison and Root I, no.251) & PFS 1290s.

1.5 QA flour Ammamarda received.

He carried a sealed document of Bakabana.¹¹ He went to Areia.

Year 22, month XII.¹²

(v) To Sagartia

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1501. IX/–/–, Darius I; PFS 37 & PFS 1399.

6 QA flour Nariyapikna, and 4 free men received each 1.5 QA.¹³

He carried a sealed document of the king. They went to Sagartia.¹⁴

Month IX.

(vi) To Egypt

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1544. IX/–/23, Darius I (December–January, 499/8); PFS 40 & PFS 262s.

1 QA beer Ushtana together with 1 companion received.¹⁵

He carried a sealed document of Parnaka,¹⁶ and they went to Egypt.

Year 23, month IX.

(vii) Arab visitors to the court

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1477. VIII/–/22, Darius I (October–November 500); PFS 10 (Garrison and Root I, no.251) & PFS 298s (Garrison and Root I, no.236).

1.5 BAR 2.5 QA flour Ishbakatukka received, and 8 men each received 2 QA, 1 man received 1.5 QA. (They are) Arabs.

He carried a sealed document of Bakabana.¹⁷ They went to the king.
Year 22, month VIII.

(viii) From Bactria to Susa

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1555. II/–/22, Darius I (April–May 500); no seal.

2.4 mārīš wine, allocation by Parsauka, Munna received, and 24 men received each 1 QA.

He carried a sealed document of Irdabanush,¹⁸ and they went from Bactria to Susa.
Year 22, month II.

Notes

1. For other destinations, see **12, no.32(i)**; **14, no.34(i)** (road between Susa and Persepolis); **12, no.37(ii)** (Carmania); **12, no.32(ii)** (Media); **14, no.34(ii)** (Babylon); **6, no.41** (Sardis). See also **fig.15.1** and Briant 1996a: 369–71 [2002b: 357–9].
2. About 110 litres are issued to this individual, which indicates high status. In PF 1317, Abbatema is described as an Indian.
3. I.e. each man in Abbatema's retinue is allotted 2 litres of flour per day.
4. For El. *halmi*, see **12, no.29**, n.12; **15, Introduction** and cf. **15, no.4**.
5. El. *p/barrišdama*; these appear to have been official guides who escorted certain travellers, see PFT, 42. Ishbaramishtima is probably an Iranian name, Mayrhofer, s.v.
6. The supplier (11 litres) may have an Iranian name, while the recipient's name is of uncertain etymology, see Mayrhofer.
7. El. *puhu*, perhaps 'pages', 'valets'; see Giovinazzo 1995.
8. Ir. Bagapates, thought (in this context) to have been in control of tax collections in the south-eastern section of the Persepolis region, and perhaps the user/owner of PFS 34, see Garrison and Root I, no.73. For the 'sealed document', see above, n.4.
9. See Mayrhofer for the probably Iranian name of this wine supplier; PFS 81 may be his seal.
10. See above, n.5, for the title.
11. While Ammamarda's name cannot be explained satisfactorily, Bakabana is certainly OP Bagapana (Gr. Megapanos), who is thought to have been the satrap of Elam (**14, no.34**, n.12).
12. The seal on the tablet (PFS 10) indicates that the supplier was Haturdada (OP Atr-data = Gr. Atradata).
13. For the Iranian name, see Mayrhofer (8.1246, 8.1248). The status of El. *šaluip* (see PFT, Glossary) is indicated as higher than that of the 'boys' by the level of rations they receive.
14. Somewhere in central Iran; for the uncertain location, see **5, no.1**, n.70.
15. O.P. Ushtana (Gr. Hystanes) played an important role in grain production in the Elamite region. El. *akkayeše* denotes, in the Persepolis texts, a person of equal rank.
16. See **12, no.29**, n.2; **16, no.11**.
17. El. *miyatukkaš*, used here, is the OP loanword equivalent to *halmi*-. For the name of the authoriser, see above, n.11. The name of the recipient is probably Iranian, but of uncertain etymology (Mayrhofer, s.v.).
18. Koch (1993: 34) suggests that OP Rtabanush (Gr. Artabanus) may be Darius' brother and the later honoured adviser of Xerxes (**7, no.9**), as well as perhaps the governor of Bactria. For the uncertain etymology of the supplier's and recipient's names, see Mayrhofer.

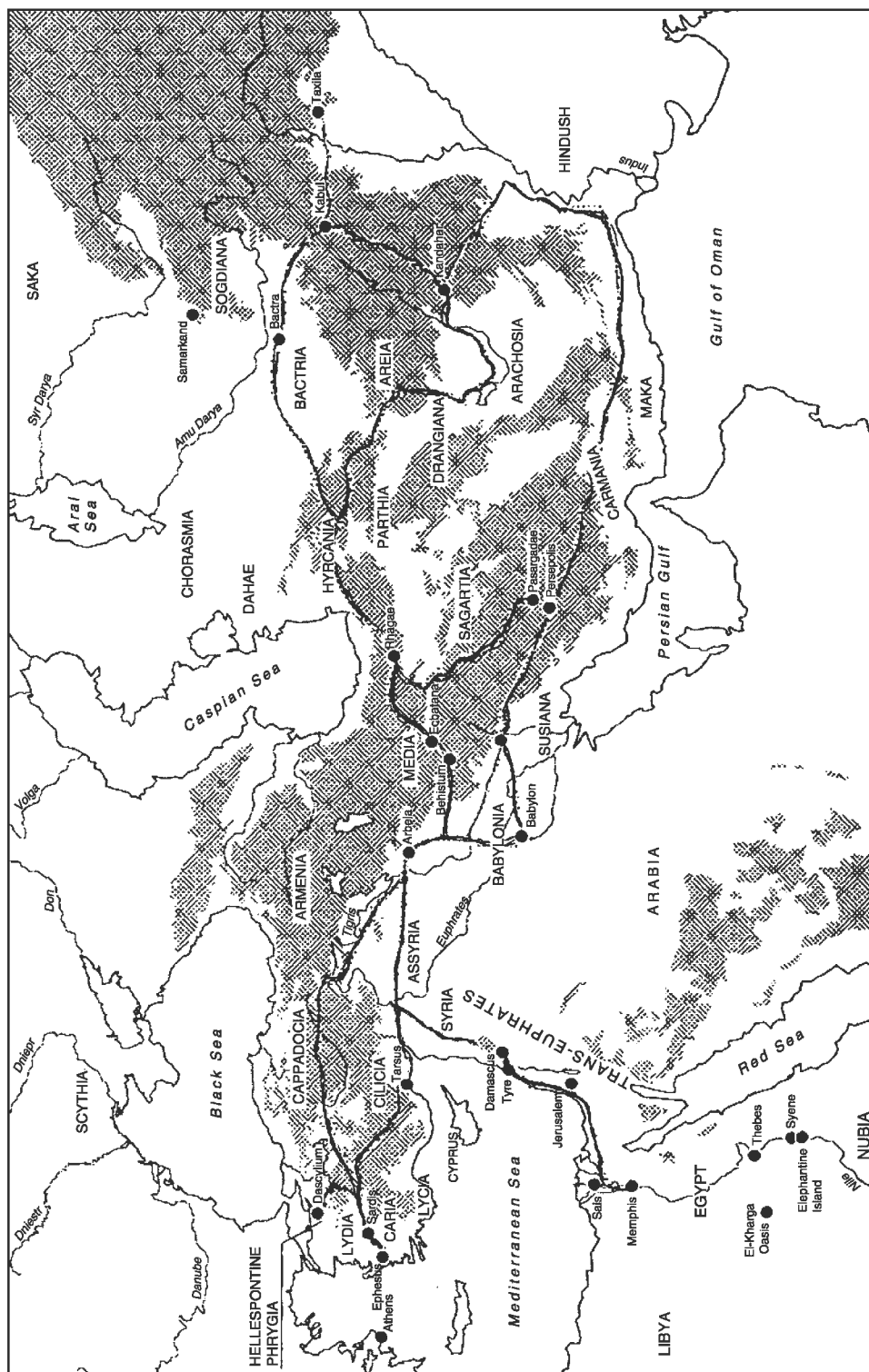


Figure 15.1 Sketchmap showing the principal routes of the empire. (After Briant 1996a [2002b].)

2. From west to east

Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F33; Lenfant, 165.

He (sc. Ctesias) enumerates the stations, times, distances from Ephesus to Bactria and India.¹

Note

1. This description of the imperial road system, followed by a list of all the kings from Ninos to Artaxerxes II, came at the end of Ctesias' *Persica* (Book 23).

3. The stations on the road from Sardis to Susa

Herodotus V, 52–4.

Because this is what the road is like.¹ All along it are royal staging posts² and excellent resthouses and, as it runs through inhabited country, the entire road is safe. There are twenty stations on the stretch through Lydia and Phrygia, which is ninety-four and half parasangs.³ After Phrygia comes the Halys river,⁴ where there are gates,⁵ which have to be gone through before crossing the river where there is a large manned fort. After crossing into Cappadocia and travelling through as far as the Cilician frontier, there are twenty-eight stations (making) 104 parasangs.⁶ At the frontiers are two gates to be gone through⁷ and two manned forts. Having passed these, there are three stations along the road through Cilicia, (i.e.) fifteen and a half parasangs.⁸ The frontier between Cilicia and Armenia is the navigable river called Euphrates.⁹ In Armenia are fifteen staging posts with lodges, fifty-six and a half parasangs, and a manned fort in them.¹⁰ Four navigable rivers flow through it, all needing to be crossed by ferry. The first is the Tigris; the second and third are both called Zabatus, but they are not the same river nor do they come from the same source, because the first mentioned flows out of Armenia, the latter from the Matieni.¹¹ The fourth river is called Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty channels.¹² From here in Armenia one enters the country of the Matieni, where there are three<four stations, (i.e.) 137 parasangs>.¹³ From there, crossing into the Cissian¹⁴ country, there are eleven stations, (i.e.) forty-two and a half parasangs, up to the River Choaspes – it, too, a navigable river, on which the city of Susa is located.¹⁵ The total number of stations is 111 and there are as many lodges as there are stations as one goes up from Sardis to Susa.

(53) If the royal road has been measured correctly in parasangs and the parasang is taken as equivalent to thirty stadia¹⁶ – and that is what it is – then it is 13,500 stadia from Sardis to the so-called Memnonian palace,¹⁷ which is four hundred and fifty parasangs.¹⁸ If one hundred and fifty stadia is taken as each day's journey for those using the road, then the journey is exactly ninety days.

(54) So when Aristagoras of Miletus told the Spartan Cleomenes that the journey to the king took three months, he was correct. If even more precision is wanted, I will give that too – because the road from Ephesus to Sardis must be added on.¹⁹ So I must say that the total stadia from the Greek sea to Susa (as the Memnonian city is called) is 14,040. For there are five hundred and forty stadia between Ephesus and Sardis, and so the three-month road is extended by three days.²⁰

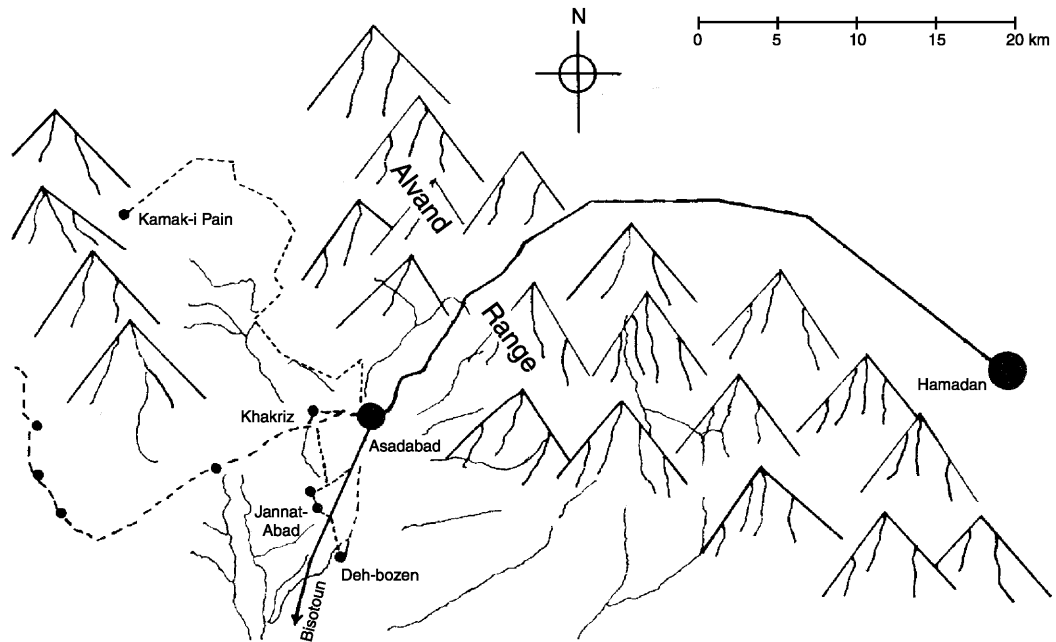


Figure 15.2 (a) Sketchmap showing location of the Deh-Bozan way-station on the route between Bisitun and Ecbatana. The remains suggest that it consisted of a six-columned, wooden roofed lodge.

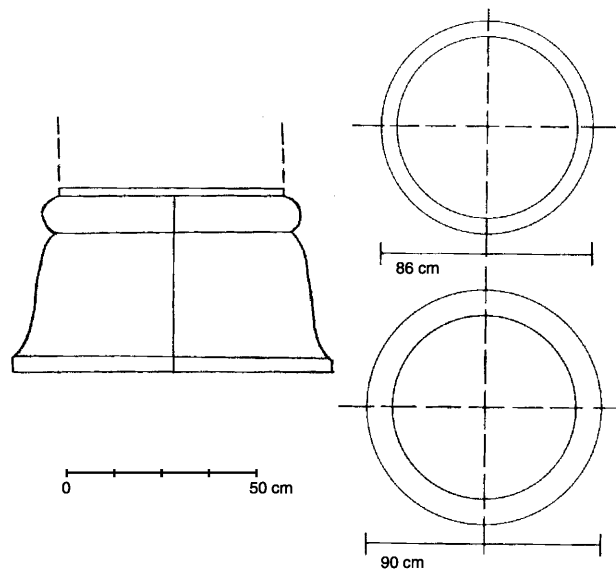


Figure 15.2 (b) Drawing of bell-shaped column base, made of polished black stone, Deh-Bozan. The column shafts were probably of wood. (After Mousavi 1989.)

Notes

1. The account follows Aristagoras' failure to persuade the Spartan king to support the Ionian revolt (**6, no.33**). The source of Herodotus' rather detailed information is unknown, but something like the map Aristagoras showed to the Spartans is presumed to underlie his account.
2. Gr. *stathmoi*, 'stations'; 'stopping places', located at one day's journey from each other. For physical remains of an Achaemenid way-station, see Mousavi 1989; **fig.15.2**.
3. Just under 520 km.
4. The precise course of the road through Anatolia is disputed, see most recently French 1998.
5. I.e. a narrow pass.
6. About 572 km.
7. The famous Cilician Gates through the Taurus mountains; cf. **15, no.10(i)**.
8. A bit over 85 km.
9. For the importance of this riverine route, see Briant 1996a: 395–6 [2002b: 381–3]; **15, no.11**.
10. A little under 311 km. It is hard to tell from Herodotus' phrasing whether he means there is a guard-post at each station, or only in one, although one would assume that each post must have had guards.
11. These are the Upper and Lower Zab, tributaries of the Tigris. For the Matieni (Zagros range), see **3, no.28**, n.5.
12. The Diyala river, see **3, no.28**.
13. Around 753.5 km. For the transposition and emendation in the ms., see the Herodotus Oxford Text, ad loc.
14. I.e. the inhabitants of Susiana (**11, no.25**, n.10).
15. Just under 234 km to the Kerkha river. For the complex hydrology of the Susa region, see *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sue, A.2.
16. 1 stadion = 190.5 m.
17. For this characterisation of the Susa palace and its connection with the Memnon legend, see Lloyd 1975–88, iii: 28.
18. 2,475 km.
19. Note that Ctesias' description of the Achaemenid road network began at Ephesus (**15, no.2**).
20. Around 100 km.

4. Authorisation to draw supplies for a journey

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford: AD, 6; TADAE I, A6.9. Egypt, late fifth century.¹

Translations: DAE, no.67; Whitehead 1974: 59–68; Lindenberger 1994, no.41; Brosius 2000, no.184.

From Arsham² to Marduk, officer in 'G.KD/R; Nabudalani, officer³ in Lahiru;⁴ Zatuvaḥya, officer in Arzuhina; Upastabara, officer in Arbela, HL. and Matalubash;⁵ Bagafarna, officer in Salam;⁶ Fradafarna⁷ and HW[. .]T, officers in Damascus.

Now, he called Nakhthor, my steward,⁸ is going to Egypt. You are to give him rations charged to my estates in your provinces daily:⁹

white flour, 2 'handfuls';¹⁰
 rami flour,¹¹ 3 'handfuls';
 wine or beer, 2 'handfuls';
 sheep(?), one.

Also to his ten servants, each per day:

flour, 1 'handful';

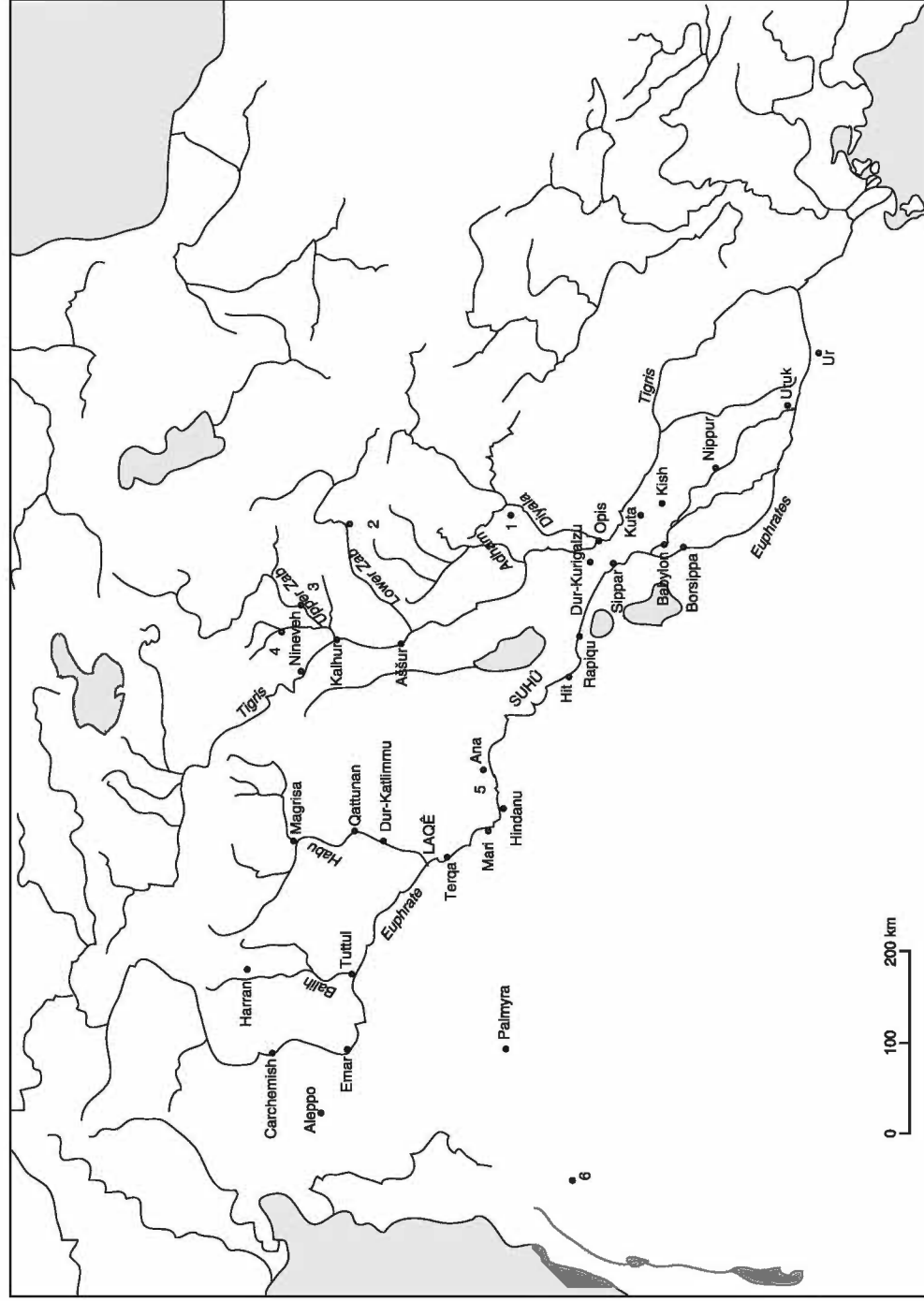


Figure 15.3 Sketchmap of Upper Mesopotamia, showing the route taken by Nakhthor (15, no.4).

Key: 1 = Lahiru; 2 = Arbela; 3 = Arzuhina; 4 = Halahhu; 5 = Talmish; 6 = Damascus. (After Fales 1996 and Joannès 1995.)

fodder for his horses.

Give rations to the two ‘Cilicians’¹² and one craftsman – all three are servants of mine who are going to Egypt with him – each man per day:

flour, 1 ‘handful’.

Each officer in turn, according to the route from province to province until it reaches Egypt, is to give him these rations. If he should be more than one day in a place,¹³ then for these days do not give them any rations.

Bagasrava knows this order. Rashta is the scribe.¹⁴

Notes

1. For the collection to which this document belongs, see **14, no.35**, n.1; for the date, **8, no.34**, n.1. The permit itself is the only surviving example of the authorisations (El. *halmi*; *miyattukkam*, see **15, Introduction; no.1**) regularly referred to in the records of disbursements made to travellers contained in the Persepolis Fortification archive (‘Q’ texts); see discussion by Whitehead (1974: 60–4).
2. Arshama, satrap of Egypt (see **8, no.34**, n.1), at this moment in either northern Babylonia or Elam.
3. Ar. PQYD³; both names are Babylonian.
4. See **fig.15.3** for the location of the places and route.
5. Talbish/Talmeshu on the Euphrates, see Kuhrt 1995b: 244–5; Fales 1996.
6. Salam is still not identified, but must be somewhere along the steppe route to Damascus.
7. The last four officers’ names are Iranian.
8. The title of Arshama’s Egyptian servant (see **14, no.35**, n.2) is the same as that of the officers addressed; its semantic range is broad.
9. Ar. PTP MN B[YT³] ZYLY ZY BMDYNTKM. This has been taken to indicate that Arshama owned estates the whole length of Nakhthor’s route. But, as Whitehead shows, Arshama’s instruction is addressed to regional officers, whose functions were to oversee the issue of supplies to travellers at road-stations. The transaction was recorded, the authoriser noted and the latter’s account debited (cf. **15, Introduction**). For Aramaic PTP, **12, no.8**, n.2.
10. This should be taken as equivalent to 1 QA, i.e. 1 litre; it is definitely a capacity measure, as wine and beer are measured in the same way.
11. This grade of flour is unknown.
12. See **8, no.34**, n.3.
13. See **15, no.3**, n.2.
14. Both names are Iranian. For this recurring phrase and its bureaucratic implications, see **14, no.44**, n.8; **16, no.60**, n.3.

(b) Alternative routes

5. Through the desert

Arrian, *Indica* 43.1–5.

On the right side of the Red Sea beyond Babylonia is the main part of Arabia.¹ Some of it stretches to the sea of Phoenicia and Palestinian Syria;² on the west, towards the inner sea, the Egyptians share a border with Arabia. By Egypt a gulf, running from the great sea, shows that, as the gulf is linked to the outer sea, it is possible to sail round from Babylon into the

gulf which reaches up to Egypt.³ But no one has ever sailed around this way because of the heat and desert, except those who cross the open sea.⁴ But the survivors of Cambyses' army, coming from Egypt to Susa,⁵ and those sent by Ptolemy Lagus to Seleucus Nicator in Babylon,⁶ crossed an isthmus in Arabian territory in a total of eight days – a waterless and desert region – riding with speed on camels and carrying water for themselves on the camels and moving by night; for in the daytime they were unable to be in the open air because of the heat.⁷

Notes

1. Arrian normally distinguishes the Red Sea from the Persian Gulf (cf. Ind. 19.9), but here uses it to describe the Gulf as, e.g., Herodotus does.
2. For the close links of these regions, particularly Gaza, with the Arabs, see **10, no.23** and nn.3–4.
3. Arrian's 'gulf' here is clearly the Red Sea, while his 'great' and 'outer sea' describe the Arabian Sea.
4. Arrian's statement is not true of his own time (second century AD), when the coastal trade around the Arabian peninsula was well established (see Brunt 1976–83: 430–1, n.2). He is reflecting his source (probably the third-century scholar Eratosthenes of Cyrene). For the difficulties of sailing round Arabia before the Roman period, see **6, no.3**, n.3; **11, no.6**, n.5.
5. For Cambyses' Egyptian campaign, see **4, Section C**.
6. For Ptolemy's military support for Seleucus I, see D.S. XIX, 90.1.
7. The precise topography is unclear. For another instance of use of this desert route, see Diodorus' account of the flight of the deposed Egyptian king, Tachos, in 359/8 (**9, no.69** & n.6).

6. Problems encountered off the beaten track

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 5.4–8.

Marching on through the region they arrived at the Mascas river, which has a width of a plethrum.¹ There in the desert was a large city named Corsote, completely surrounded by the Mascas.² There they stayed for three days and took on provisions. From there, Cyrus marched thirteen desert stages, ninety parasangs,³ with the Euphrates river on the right, and arrived at Pylae.⁴ Along these stages many of the baggage animals died from starvation, as there was no fodder or any tree, but the land was completely bare. The inhabitants quarried and made mill-stones along the river, took them to Babylon, sold them and bought grain in exchange.⁵ The troops ran out of grain and could not buy any except in the Lydian market with Cyrus' barbarian army – four *sigloi* per *kapithe* of wheat- or barley-flour.⁶ (. . .)⁷ He (Cyrus) made some of the stages very long, whenever he wanted to reach water or forage.

On one occasion, when they came to a narrow and muddy place, hard for the wagons to get through, Cyrus stopped with the nobles and dignitaries in his retinue and ordered Glus and Pigres⁸ to take some of the barbarian troops to help pull the wagons out. But when he thought they were going at it too slowly, he commanded, apparently in a rage, the Persian nobles in his entourage to join in getting the wagons out quickly.⁹ And then one saw an example of good discipline. Each, where he stood, stripped off his purple coat,¹⁰ and they went, as though trying to win a race, down an extremely steep hill, wearing their expensive tunics and multicoloured trousers – some with necklaces round their necks and bracelets on their wrists.¹¹ With this finery, they instantly plunged into the mud and lifted the wagons clear, faster than one would think possible.

Notes

1. The Khabur, tributary of the Euphrates, described as roughly 30 m wide. Xenophon is describing Cyrus the Younger's route in 401, after crossing the Euphrates, along its left bank and avoiding the main route through Upper Mesopotamia (**15, no.3**), as well as the more inhabited right bank; further, Joannès 1995.
2. For its identification with Neo-Assyrian Qurashute, near Ana(t), mentioned in the documents from Dur Katlimmu (see **fig.15.3**), see Kessler 2003. The Greek describes it as 'polis ereme', which should mean 'a deserted city' and has been translated as such. However, the fact that the army was able to provision itself here suggests that it was, at the very least, a functioning agricultural settlement, so perhaps 'isolated' or 'desert town' is more appropriate.
3. 495 km.
4. The Mesopotamian name is not known; the distance suggests that it was in the vicinity of Rapiqu (see **fig.15.3**).
5. The manufacture of mill-stones along the mid-Euphrates, and their acquisition by Babylonian merchants, is already attested in the Old Babylonian period (c.2000–1600, Stol 1979).
6. I.e. about 34 grams for about 2 litres, estimated to be around fifty times the contemporary price in Athens. The traders accompanying the army were able to exploit the shortage to their advantage.
7. Xenophon here gives the Attic equivalents and says that the soldiers were forced to subsist on meat (see Joannès 1995: 186–8, for the game that could be hunted in this area).
8. Pigres was Cyrus' interpreter, and probably a Carian; for Glus/Glos, son of Tamos (a Carian from Egypt), see **9, nos.8**, n.4; **53**, n.3; **58; 63**.
9. As opposed to the 'royal roads', which were suitable for wagons and chariots (see **15, Introduction**), this tricky secondary road caused problems for the four-wheeled wagons.
10. Using the OP loanword *kandys*; see **11, no.22**, n.5.
11. See **13, Section B(c)**.

7. The advantages of going by sea

Xenophon, *Anabasis* V, 6.10.

So I think that journey is not only difficult for you but totally impossible.¹ But if you go by sea, you can sail along the coast from Sinope to Heraclea.² From Heraclea there is no problem either by land or sea, because there are many ships at Heraclea.

Notes

1. Hecatonymus, negotiating with the Greek mercenaries who had fought for Cyrus the Younger and had now reached Sinope on the Black Sea on their return, has been describing the tremendous problems they would face trying to move overland through hostile Paphlagonia (see **9, no.39**, n.12).
2. Heraclea-Pontus (Black Sea), possibly part of the territory of Hellespontine Phrygia, see Bosworth and Wheatley 1998.

(c) Rivers and mountains

8. pontoons, bridges, fords

(i) The Maeander crossing

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.5.

With the troops I mentioned, Cyrus¹ set out from Sardis. He marched three stages through Lydia, (i.e.) twenty-two parasangs,² to the Maeander river. Its width is two plethra.³ There was a bridge across it made of seven boats.

(ii) Cyrus' army fords the Euphrates at Thapsacus⁴

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 4.11, 18.

From there⁵ he marched three stages, (i.e.) fifteen parasangs,⁶ to the Euphrates river, which is four stadia wide.⁷ And a large and prosperous city was located on it, called Thapsacus. There he stayed five days. (. . .)⁸ After doing this, he crossed and the whole of the rest of the army followed him. And not one of those crossing the river was wetted by it above the breast. And the people of Thapsacus said that it had never been possible to cross this river on foot except on this occasion, but only in boats,⁹ which Abrocomas,¹⁰ marching ahead, had burned to stop Cyrus crossing.

(iii) Canal crossings in Babylonia

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 4.13.

From there¹¹ they (the Greek soldiers) went two stages, eight parasangs.¹² And they crossed two canals, one by a bridge, one by seven boats linked together.

(iv) A pontoon on the Tigris

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 4.24.

After this,¹³ they (the Greek soldiers) rested; however, they sent a guard to the bridge. No one attacked them from any direction, nor did any of the enemy approach the bridge, as the guards reported. When dawn came, they crossed the bridge, consisting of thirty-seven boats yoked together, very much on their guard.

Notes

1. I.e. Cyrus the Younger in 401, as in all these passages; see further **9, Section A**.
2. About 120 km.
3. About 60 m.
4. The precise location of Thapsacus is debated (cf. **9, no.18**, n.1; Bosworth 1980: 222; Gawlikowski 1996), but it must have been somewhere in the vicinity of Carchemish (see **fig.15.3**). Note that remains of a Persian period garrison have been found a few kilometres to the south (Moorey 1980). See also the proposed identification of GN *Tapsuhu*, attested in Neo-Babylonian texts, with Thapsacus; Graslin and Lemaire 2004.
5. I.e. the *paradeisos* of Belesys, governor of Syria (**12, no.46 (iii)**), near the headwaters of the Dardas river, perhaps the modern Sajur, which flows into the Euphrates at Til Barsip – another important crossing point, south of Carchemish.
6. About 82 km.
7. Just over 760 m.
8. It was here that Cyrus revealed to his Greek mercenaries that he was, indeed, marching against the king, his brother.

9. Crossing seems normally to have been by ferry. Note that when Alexander had to cross here in 330, he constructed a bridge (Arr. *Anab.* III, 7.1–2).
10. See **9, no.16**, n.2.
11. The setting is the aftermath of the Battle of Cunaxa, with Cyrus dead, and the Greek mercenaries trying to extricate themselves. At this stage, they are moving around in the area of the 'Median Wall', between Sippar and the Tigris (**9, no.20**, n.4).
12. About 44 km.
13. The Greeks are moving north along the Tigris towards Opis.

9. Water diverted to obstruct enemy progress

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 3.10, 13.

The king's heralds then led the way,¹ but although Clearchus had concluded a truce, he kept the army in battle order as he moved and commanded the rear himself. And they kept encountering trenches and canals full of water, which could not be crossed without bridges. But they constructed means for crossing them out of date palms, which had fallen or which they cut down. (. . .) But Clearchus was in a very great hurry because he suspected that the trenches were not always filled with water like this, because it was not the season for watering the plain. Rather, he suspected that, in order to show to the Greeks at the very start many things to make them fear their journey, the king had let the water into the plain.²

Notes

1. The Greek mercenaries, after Cyrus the Younger's defeat and death in 401, were having to negotiate and find their way out of northern Babylonia under their commander, Clearchus.
2. For a similar use of water to delay the progress of enemy forces in the same area, note Seleucus I's action against Eumenes in 317 (D.S. XIX, 13.2).

10. Guarded mountain passes

(i) The Cilician Gates

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.21.

From there¹ they prepared to enter Cilicia. The access was by means of a wagon-road,² very steep and unmanageable for an army facing opposition. And it was said that Syennesis³ was on the heights guarding the approach.⁴ So Cyrus stayed for a day in the plain.

(ii) The Syrian Gates

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 4.4–5.

From here (Issus in Cilicia) he (Cyrus the Younger) marched one stage, five parasangs,⁵ to the gates between Cilicia and Syria. These were formed by two walls: the one on this side, towards Cilicia, was held by Syennesis and a Cilician garrison; that on the other, towards Syria, was said to be guarded by a royal garrison. Through the middle flows a river called Carsus, with a width of one plethrum.⁶ The whole distance between the walls was three stadia.⁷ And to cross it by force was not possible, as the pass was narrow and the walls

stretch down to the sea, while above there were precipitous rocks. Moreover, on both the walls towers had been erected. Because of this pass, Cyrus had sent for the fleet so that he might disembark the hoplites inside and beyond the gates and so overpower the enemy should they be guarding the Syrian Gates, which Cyrus thought Abrocomas⁸ would be doing as he had a large army.

Notes

1. Cyrus the Younger had been in Cappadocia.
2. Gr. *hodos hamaxitos*, indicating that it was graded to allow wagons to pass along it.
3. The local dynast of Cilicia, see Casabonne 2004: 165–85.
4. Cf. **15, no.3** for guards and forts at river crossings and passes. Note also **10, nos.30(i); 32** (Persian and Caspian Gates).
5. 27.5 km.
6. 30 m. There seems to be a confusion here, as the Kara Su actually flows a little to the east of the Syrian Gates.
7. About 570 m.
8. See **9, no.16**, n.2.

11. The way to Babylon

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 81.4.

The Persian admiral Conon¹ put the Athenians Hieronymus and Nicodemus in charge of the fleet, while he himself set out to negotiate with the king. He sailed along the coast of Cilicia; from there he reached Thapsacus in Syria² and sailed down the Euphrates river to Babylon.³

Notes

1. For his appointment, see **9, no.31**.
2. See **15, no.8(ii)** & n.4.
3. See Kuhrt 1995a: 302–3; 315–16, for the Euphrates route linking Babylonia to north Syria and the Mediterranean in the second millennium. Note also Herodotus' remark (I, 185.2): 'So now, those going from the sea to Babylon, as they sail down the Euphrates river (. . .)'. Clearly, the sea–land–river route was well established and frequented.

(d) Constructing and provisioning roads

12. Surveyors and road-building

(i) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 19. Reign of Darius I; PFS N–44 & PFS N–22.

2.1 (BAR of) flour, allocations by Ambadush, Irdabada the spear-bearer together with his 5 companions received (as) rations. They 'computed' (surveyed?) the road.¹
He carried a sealed document of Parnaka.²

(ii) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 30 (8–10). VIII/–/21, Darius I (October–November 501/0); PFS 120 (Garrison and Root I, no.49; **fig.16.2**).

3 (marriš wine) Ambadush (and) his 4 companions, spear-bearers (and) ‘road counters’ (surveyors?), (who) previously went across (and) ‘computed’ the Ramitepe road, then at his (the king’s?) order(?) came and waited (at) Hadaran³ until the king came – they received (it as) rations. For 6 days in month VIII, year 21, they received each 1 QA (daily).

(iii) Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VI, 2.36.

And you, commanders of the road-builders,⁴ have, written down by me, those of the spearmen, archers and slingers that have been removed from the list. Those who were spearmen must be required to have a woodcutter’s axe on the march, those who were archers a mattock, and those who were slingers a shovel. They are to proceed in squads with these ahead of the chariots, so that when road-building is necessary, you may get to work immediately, and if I should need them, I will know where to locate them as the need arises.

(iv) Herodotus VII, 131.

He (Xerxes) spent many days in Pieria,⁵ because one-third of the army was hewing the Macedonian mountain, so that the whole army might pass through it into Perrhaebian territory.⁶

Notes

1. See Hallock 1978: 112 & 114–15 for discussion of this and the next text. Ambadush’s title is El. *dattimara* ‘road counter’, which appears in the next passage. The spear-bearers were clearly also involved with the work of surveying and maintaining roads, cf. (iii), below. Ambadush’s PN may be Iranian (Mayrhofer VIII, 61); Irdabada is certainly OP *Rtapata- (Gr. Artab/pates).
2. See **15, no.1**, for this authorisation and Parnaka.
3. See **16, no.10**, n.1; **fig.16.5(1)**, for location.
4. Gr. *hodopoioi*.
5. Region west of the Thermaic Gulf.
6. For the remains of a road near Pasargadae which may date back to the Achaemenid period, see Stronach 1978: 166–7 & pls.141–3. For evidence of road maintenance in the provinces, see **14, no.22**. Note the repeated emphasis placed by Assyrian kings on the successful creation of roads to overcome physical obstacles. A fine poetic example comes from Sargon II’s 8th campaign (714):

Simirria – a great finger of a mountain – which rises up like a spear-point and raises its head higher than the mountain in which Belet-ili lives, whose two summits lean against the heaven above and whose roots reach into the midst of the underworld, (where), as on the back of a fish, from one side to the other there is no path and the ascent in front and behind is extremely difficult, whose sides have been deeply gouged by the beds of mountain streams, and when one looks at it with (one’s) eyes, it is clothed in frightfulness; for the ascent of war-chariots (and) the untamed rush of horses it is not suitable, and (even) for the march of infantry its paths are difficult. By means of the intelligence and the wide knowledge, which Ea and Belet-ili have determined for me – the (gods, who) have opened my legs in order to crush the land of the enemy – I caused my sappers to carry strong, bronze axes and they destroyed a massive needle of rock like limestone and thus created a good road. I placed myself at the head of my troops and caused chariots, riders, infantry (and) my guard to fly over it like warlike eagles. The *hupšu*-troops and the couriers(?) I caused to follow behind them and the camels and baggage-donkeys leapt up its peaks like mountain goats which have been brought up in the mountains. The massed troops of Ashur

I caused to climb safely up its dangerous precipices and on top of this mountain I set up my camp. (TCL 3, ll.18–27).

13. Depots on the royal road

Xenophon, *Anabasis* III, 4.31.

In these villages¹ they remained for three days, both for the sake of the wounded and because they had abundant supplies – flour, wine, and great stores of barley, which had been gathered for horses. They had been collected by the satrap in charge of the district.

Note

1. Located on the main road in northern Mesopotamia, east of the Tigris, where Cyrus the Younger's mercenaries stopped in 401.

14. How the Persians provided water in the Sinai desert

Herodotus III, 5.3–7.1.

Between Ienysus and the Casius mountain and Serbonian marsh,¹ a not insubstantial stretch of about three days' journey, it is dreadfully waterless.

There is something noticed by few travelling to Egypt which I am going to tell. From all Greece and Phoenicia jars filled with wine are imported into Egypt every year,² yet not a single empty wine jar is to be seen there. What, you may ask, is done with them? I shall explain that, too. Each district head is obliged to collect all the jars from his own town and bring them to Memphis, whence, filled with water, they are taken to the Syrian wastes. In this way the jars that come to, and are emptied in, Egypt find their way to Syria to join all the others. This is how the Persians, immediately they had conquered Egypt, provided for access to Egypt by filling jars with water.³

Notes

1. See **fig.15.4**; Ienysus is probably to be located between Gaza and Rinocorora (How and Wells 1912: 257).
2. Cf. the long customs document, **14, no.10**.
3. For how Cambyses overcame the problem of the crossing the Sinai, see **4, no.7(ii)**.

15. Storage centres

(i) Supplies for soldiers in the Negev

Aramaic ostrakon: Naveh 1981, no.12. Arad (Israel), fourth century.¹

10 donkey drivers(?)² . . . from the town/province³ of . . . From the military unit of 'Abdnanay⁴

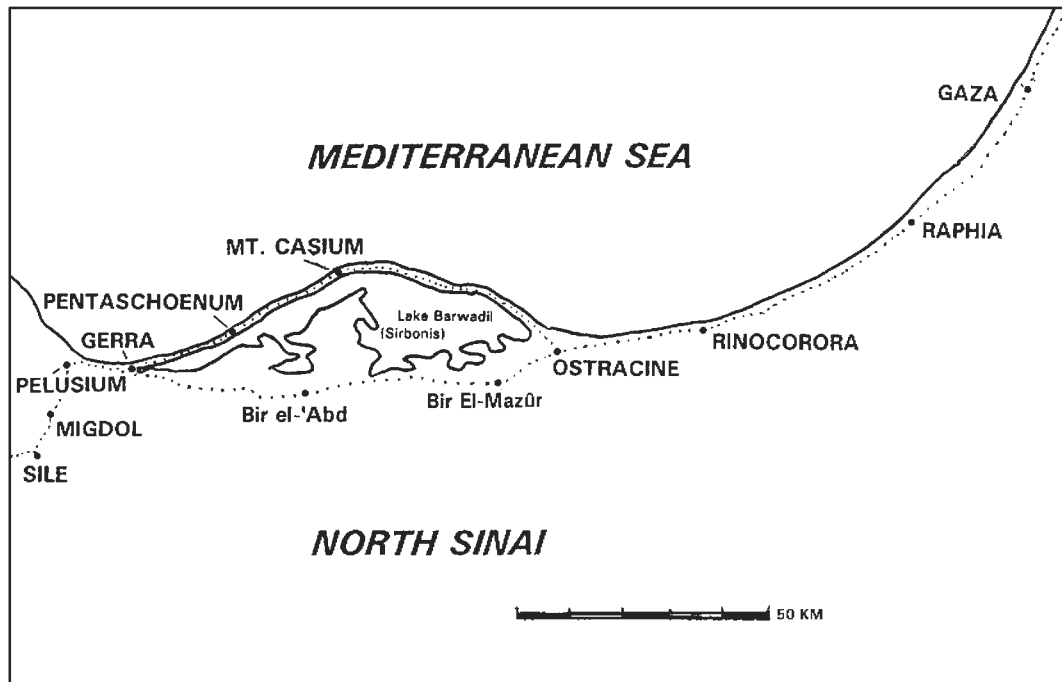


Figure 15.4 Sketchmap of the main route from Gaza to the Egyptian Delta. (After Graf 1994.)

‘Aqabiah⁵ . . . 3 donkeys
 Barley: 4 seah, 4 qab.⁶
 Yaddua⁷.

(ii) Deposit of grain

Aramaic ostrakon: Eph^{al} and Naveh 1996, no.13. Idumaea (Israel), IV/16/4, Artaxerxes III (21 July 355).⁸

On 16 of Tammuz, year 4 of Artaxerxes, the king Halfat,⁹ brought barley: 1 kor, 12 seah, 3 qab; wheat: 1 kor, 5 seah, 4 qab.¹⁰

Notes

1. Arad was inhabited from the Chalcolithic to the early Islamic period, with a long hiatus between the Early Bronze and Iron Ages. It was excavated in the 1960s by Y. Aharoni, in the course of which over a hundred early Hebrew ostraca were found, as well as eighty-five Aramaic texts (of which thirty-seven are legible), most dating to the mid-fourth century, of which this is one. In the first millennium Arad was a small fort located on one of the routes through the Negev (fig.15.5). This fits the impression gained from the Aramaic ostraca which suggest that it functioned as one of the fortified storage centres guarding and policing a road (cf. 15, no.3). Many ostraca have been found in this general area, which was part of the province of Idumaea (south of Judah), including some of the territory of the earlier kingdom of Edom (Stern 2001: 443–54).
2. For this tentative translation, see Naveh’s commentary.

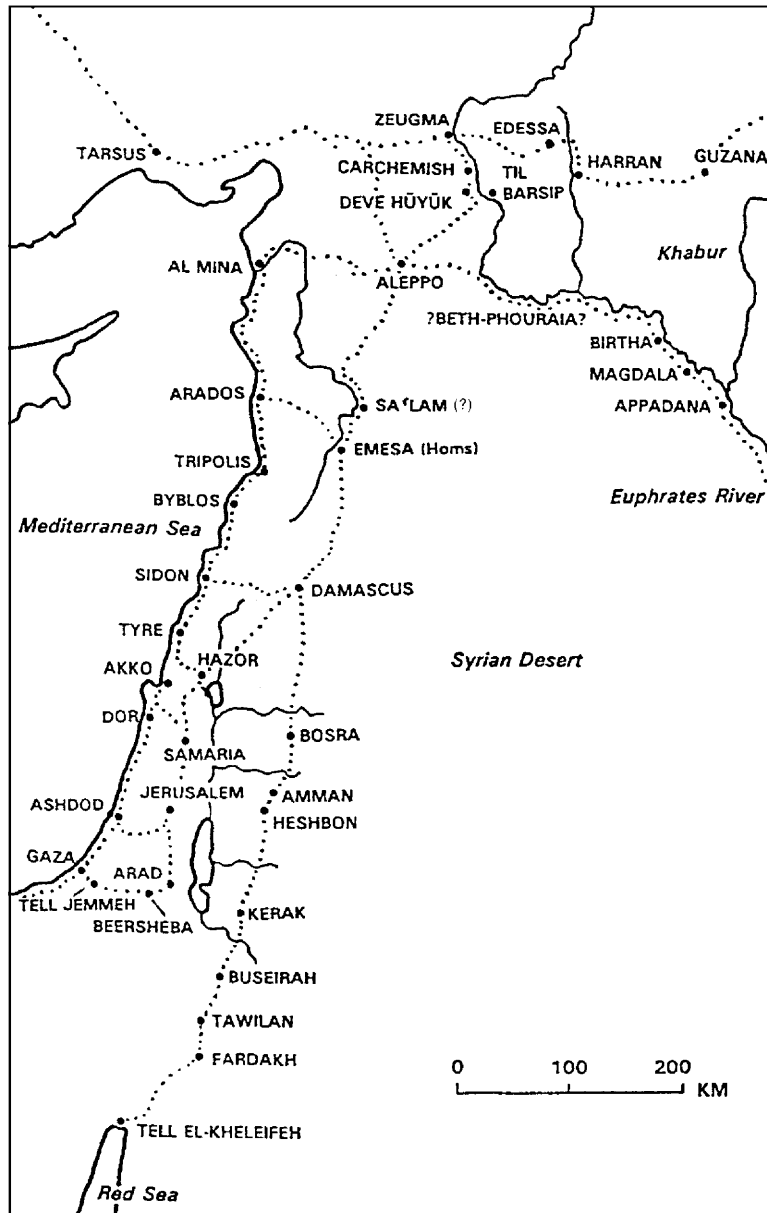


Figure 15.5 The main routes in Syria-Palestine during the Achaemenid period; see further, Tal 2005. (After Graf 1994.)

3. Ar. MDYNT.
4. Ar. DGL (see **14, no.36**, n.3); the name of the commander is West Semitic.
5. A Hebrew name; he may be in command of the donkey drivers.
6. 6 qab = 1 seah (12 litres).
7. The name occurs frequently in the Arad ostraca, so he may have been the local commanding officer.
8. Several hundred Aramaic ostraca have been acquired in recent years through the antiquities market, and are now largely published (see discussion by Briant 2001a: 160–1). Internal evidence, such as names, indicates that they, too, come from the region of Idumaea. The ostraca date to the period from Artaxerxes III to that of Alexander IV (317–306/5). The contents suggest that they are the records of receipts and disbursements of a provincial centre, perhaps to a garrison connected with policing communications.
9. Halfat appears in thirty-six ostraca, dated between 360 and 355; see Eph'al and Naveh 1996: 10, para.4.
10. 1 kor = 360 litres; for seah and qab, see above, n.6.

B. Communication and control

(a) Guarding the network

16. Official support for travel

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 11.3–4.

As Pharnabazus did not give Alcibiades an escort to get to the royal centre, says Ephorus,¹ he set out to the satrap of Paphlagonia, in order to make the trip with his aid.²

Notes

1. According to Diodorus' source, Ephorus (**9, no.10**, n.1), the Athenian Alcibiades (**8, no.31**, n.1) tried to enlist the help of Pharnabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (**8, no.26**), so that he could go and tell Artaxerxes II of his brother's plot to topple him (**9, no.10**). According to the story, Pharnabazus himself informed the king, leaving Alcibiades high and dry.
2. Pharnabazus is said to have pursued and murdered Alcibiades. What is clear from the anecdote is that it was extremely difficult to make journeys without official permits and backing (see also **8, no.32**).

17. The king of Sidon facilitates the passage of an Athenian embassy to Persia

Greek inscription on a marble stela; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: IG II² 141; Tod, no.139. Athens, first half of fourth century.¹

Translations: Harding 1985, no.40; Bertrand 1992, no.49.

[. . .] of the Atheni[ans] and he saw to it that the ambassadors to the Persian king, whom the people had sent, were conducted as splendidly as possible. And there shall be a reply to the man who has come from the king of the Sidonians that, if he continues in the future to be a good man towards the people of Athens, he will not fail to get things he may want from the Athenians. And he shall be *proxenos*² of the people of Athens, (that is) Straton, the king of Sidon,³ both himself and his descendants. This decree is to be inscribed by the secretary of the council on a marble stela within ten days, and is to be placed on the Acropolis. For the inscription of the stela the treasurers shall give to the secretary of the council thirty

drachmas from the Ten Talents.⁴ In addition the council is to commission tokens⁵ for the king of the Sidonians, so that the people of Athens may know if any communication is sent by the king of the Sidonians, when he wants (something) from the city, and the king of the Sidonians may know whenever someone is sent to him by the people of Athens. Invitations shall be issued for hospitality to the man who has come from the king of the Sidonians at the *prytaneion*⁶ for tomorrow.

Menexenos⁷ made the motion; all the rest as proposed by Kephisodotos.⁸ (With respect to) all those Sidonians with permanent residences in Sidon and holding citizenship, who reside for the purposes of trade at Athens, it shall not be permitted in their case for the resident aliens' tax to be levied, nor for the *choregia* to be assigned to anyone, nor for the property tax to be assessed at all.⁹

Notes

1. The precise occasion for this honorific decree is dated variously, and cannot be determined exactly (see the discussions cited in Harding 1985, ad loc.). All that is clear is: (a) that at this point both the Sidonian king and Athens must have had reasonably good relations with the Persian king for the embassy to be successful; (b) that Athens and Sidon had close commercial relations. The fact that the Sidonian king had been instrumental in helping the Athenian embassy to get to the Persian court (cf. **15, no.16**) suggests that its route would have been by sea to the Phoenician coast and thence either by land through Upper Mesopotamia or by boat down the Euphrates (see **15, no.11**).
2. See **7, no.48**, n.3.
3. Straton I (Phoen. 'BD'ŠTRT, 'servant of Astarte') was king of Sidon between 376–370 and 361–358. The magnificent 'Weeping Women' sarcophagus (Istanbul Archaeological Museum) is attributed to him.
4. This is presumed to be a special fund reserved for certain public expenses (Rhodes 1972).
5. Gr. *sumbola*, intended to authenticate communications, see Tod, p.118.
6. The communal centre of the Greek city, containing the symbolic hearth, flame and dining hall, to which publicly honoured visitors could be invited.
7. Mentioned in a treaty of 362 as mover of another decree.
8. For this Athenian politician, see Xen. *Hell.* VI, 3.2; VII, 1.12ff.
9. The Sidonian merchant community would, as resident aliens (Gr. *metoikoi*), have been subject to all these regular tax burdens and obligations (*choregia* involved paying for the chorus in dramatic productions) in return for the right to carry on their business. For another reflection of Phoenician commercial links with Greek centres, see **9, no.33**.

18. Watchers on the roads

Plutarch, *Themistocles* 30.1.

On one occasion, when Themistocles was travelling to the coast to deal with Greek affairs,¹ a Persian called Epixyes, satrap of Upper Phrygia, plotted to assassinate him. He had previously hired some Pisidians, who were to kill Themistocles when he arrived to rest at a village called Leontocephalae.² But, the story goes, as he was sleeping at noon the Mother of the Gods³ appeared to him in a dream and said: 'Themistocles, avoid the lion's head, so that you do not become the victim of a lion. But in return for this, your daughter Mnesiptolema should become my temple servant.' Themistocles was very disturbed. After offering up a prayer to the goddess, he left the main road,⁴ took a side road and, passing by the village, encamped when it was dark in open country.

Notes

1. For Themistocles' position at the Persian court (certainly exaggerated by classical writers), see **13, no.40**.
2. 'Lion's Head', in fact a stop on one of the main roads through Asia Minor (**9, no.39**, n.9). The Pisidians supposedly sent to kill Themistocles were, almost certainly, part of the regular road patrols.
3. Probably Cybele, see **6, no.35**, n.4.
4. Gr. *leophoros*, meaning a much used road.

19. Protection for travellers

Nehemiah 2.7–9.

Then I said to the king:¹ 'If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors of the province Beyond-the-River, that they may grant me passage until I arrive in Judah;² and a letter to Asaph, keeper of the royal forest,³ ordering him to give me timber to make beams for the gates of the temple fortress, and for the walls of city, and for the house that I shall inhabit.' And the king gave me what I asked, for the gracious hand of my god was upon him.

Then I came to the governors of the province Beyond-the-River, and gave them the king's letters. Now the king had sent army officers and cavalry with me.⁴

Notes

1. The book of Nehemiah is written in the form of a personal memoir (cf. Grabbe 2004: 78–80). Here Nehemiah, cup-bearer to Artaxerxes (I), describes how he obtained permission to go to Jerusalem (further, Williamson 1991).
2. I.e. Nehemiah is asking for a passport (El. *halmi*; alt. (OP loanword) *miyatukkam*) of the type issued by Arshama on behalf of his steward (**15, no.4**).
3. Probably meaning a royal *paradeisos*, see **11, no.21**.
4. Cf. the 'élite guides', with retinues, in the Persepolis texts, **15, no.1**, n.5, and PFT, 42.

20. How to send a secret message¹

Herodotus VII, 239.2–3.

At the time when Xerxes decided to attack Greece, Demaratus² was in Susa, and when he heard about it he wanted to let the Spartans know. But it was dangerous, should he be discovered, so he had no other means of doing it, but to use the following device. He took a hinged tablet and scraped the wax off,³ and then wrote the king's plan on the wooden surface of the tablet. Then he melted the wax back over what he had written, so that as the tablet was carried it would reveal nothing to the guards along the road.⁴

Notes

1. This anecdote, like the story of Histiaeus' subterfuge (**6, no.32(35)**), is ahistorical, but illustrates well the general awareness of how closely the communication network was monitored by the authorities.
2. The exiled Spartan king, see **7, no.2**.
3. The use of hinged wooden (sometimes ivory) writing boards, covered in wax, is well attested in the Near East. An ivory triptych (with gold hinges – it probably had more leaves originally) was

- found in a well in Neo-Assyrian Nimrud (now in the British Museum), and a wooden diptych from the Late Bronze Age was recovered from the Cape Gelidonya wreck (Symington 1991).
4. Gr. *hodophulakoi*.

(b) Modes of communication

21. The postal system

- (i)** Herodotus VIII, 98.

At the same time that Xerxes was doing this, he sent to Persia an announcement of the current disaster.¹ There is nothing in this world faster than this system of messengers. This is how it is organised by the Persians. They say that for as many days as the whole journey takes, as many horses and men are stationed, with a horse and a man ready for each day's journey. Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor night prevents them from completing their assigned task as fast as possible. The first in the run hands over what he has been given to the second, the second to the third. From there what is to be transmitted passes through to the end from one to another, just like the torch-race in honour of Hephaestus among the Greeks. The Persians call this course with horses 'angareion'.²

- (ii)** Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII, 6.17–18.

He (Cyrus) worked out what distance a horse could cover in a day when ridden hard but without collapsing. Then he set up horse relays at just those distances, and placed horses and grooms there. At each spot he appointed an appropriate man to receive the despatches delivered and pass them on, take in the exhausted horses and men and send on fresh ones.

They also say that sometimes this service is not interrupted by nightfall, with the day-messengers replaced by night-messengers. When that happens, some say, the service covers the distance faster than the cranes. Even if this is not true, it is plain that this is the fastest land travel on earth. And it is excellent to be apprised of everything as quickly as possible so that one can deal with it at top speed.

Notes

1. I.e. the Persian defeat at Salamis (**7, no.43**).
2. For a discussion of the term, see Pontillo 1996.

22. The express service

- (i)** Fast messengers for the king

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1315. X/–/27, Darius I (December–January 495/4); PFS 55 & PFS 1260s (Garrison and Root I, no.184).

4 QA flour,¹ allocations by Haturdada;² Harماسula³ and his companion each receive 2 QA. He carried a sealed document⁴ of Mishmina,⁵ and they went to the king. Year 27, month X. (Belonging to) the express service.⁶

(ii) A royal messenger

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1335. IX/–/–, Darius I; PFS 132 (Garrison and Root I, no.69) & PFS 1278s.

1.5 QA flour,⁷ allocations by Kamishdana, Umayā the fast messenger received.⁸

He carried a sealed document of the king. (To) Persepolis from Susa he carried (it).

Month IX [. . .]

(iii) Feeding horses in the express service

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1672. –/–/19, Darius I (503/2); PFS 29 (Garrison and Root I, no.302) & PFS 1521.

1,008 (BAR) grain,⁹ allocations by Ammamarda, Zikkuku¹⁰ received and gave (it) to horses in the express service.

[56?] horses; each consumes daily 1(?) QA. For a period of 6 months they received.

Year 19. He received it at the storehouse of Hishema.¹¹

Notes

1. 4 litres.
2. OP Atrdata = Gr. Atrdates. His seal, impressed on the tablet and replacing an earlier one, will be published in Garrison and Root III.
3. For discussion of his possible Iranian name, see Mayrhofer.
4. El. *halmi*, see **12, no.29**, n.12; **15, no.4**.
5. See Mayrhofer, for the uncertain etymology.
6. El. *piradazziš*; for possible etymology and further discussion, see PFT, 42. Note that the people involved in the service never escort travellers, but are clearly moving at speed, either alone or with a maximum of three companions. With one exception, they either have a royal authorisation on them or are noted as 'going to the king'.
7. 1.5 litres.
8. See Mayrhofer for the uncertain Kamishdana; Umayā is OP Humaya (Gr. Hymaies). *Piradazziš* here seems to be used as an official designation. The title of royal messenger clearly carried great prestige with it – according to Plutarch (*Alex.* 18.7), Darius III held the position (called *astandes* there) before he became king (further, Briant 1996a: 791–2 [2002b: 771–2]). But Umayā's title here may be purely functional.
9. 10,080 litres.
10. The etymology of both names is uncertain, although Zikkuku may be Elamite (cf. Mayrhofer).
11. In Elam, on the road from Persepolis to Susa, see Koch 1990: 302.

23. Voice signals

Diodorus Siculus XIX, 17.6–7.¹

Some of the Persians were at a distance of a thirty-day journey, yet they heard the summons the same day thanks to the ingenious arrangement of the guard-posts – a matter that should not be omitted. Persis is traversed by narrow valleys and has many lookout posts that are high up and close together, on which those inhabitants with the loudest voices were stationed.² As these places are separated from each other by the distance over which a voice can

be heard, those receiving the message transmitted it in the same way to others, and these again to others, until it had been passed right up to the satrapal frontier.³

Notes

1. Diodorus (using the contemporary historian, Hieronymus of Cardia) is describing the confrontation between Peucestas, Macedonian satrap of Fars, and Alexander's general Antigonus the One-Eyed in 317.
2. For the value placed on having a loud voice, see **6, no.12**(141); **7, no.23**, and note that voice production is said to have been part of the élite education (**13, no.8(ii)**).
3. Systems of communication by voice over long distances are attested, particularly in mountainous places, e.g. La Gomera (Canary Islands: whistling); Switzerland (yodelling). For this passage, see Graf 1994: 168.

24. Beacons

Herodotus IX, 3.1.

A great yearning had seized him (Mardonius)¹ to take Athens a second time. Partly this was arrogance, partly he wanted to show the king in Sardis by beacons across the islands that he held Athens.²

Notes

1. The Persian commander left in Greece in 479 to pursue the war (**7, no.45**).
2. For communication with torches, see **16, no.71**.

(c) Interconnections

25. Hire of boat with crew

Babylonian tablet: AO 8165, TBER, pl.20; Joannès 1982, no.90. Babylon, XI/16/8 Artaxerxes I/II/III (1 February 456/27 February 396/28 February 350).¹

[. . .] Nabu-[. . .], son of Arad-Tashmetum, [. . .] Bel-apal-iddin, [son of B]el-iddin, (has given) the boat for rent [from] 16 Shabatu of year 8 of King Artaxerxes, [for a monthly (rental) of] 6.5 shekels. 3 qa flour² per day [(will be) the ration of the boatm]en; each month, they shall be free for 3 days.³ [. . .-ze]r(?)-lishir, Bel-nasir, Bel-uballit [. . .] bel piqitti.⁴ (Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. It is impossible to determine to which Artaxerxes the text is dated.
2. 3 litres.
3. While rations for the crew are specified in other texts, the clause stipulating days off is, so far, unique.
4. The occurrence of this official (see **14, no.24**, n.6) suggests that the boat rental was connected to official business.

26. Transport of royal offerings

Babylonian tablet: Princeton Theological Seminar 2965; Frame 1986, no.6. Uruk, I/1/3, Cyrus (24 March 538).

From the first day of the month Nisanu of year 3, Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Lands, Marduk-sharra-usur, *bel pihati* of Yabatamru,¹ and Aha-iddin, the boatman, have given (their) boat to Eanna² for 5 shekels of silver per month. They will load the boat with(?) royal offerings.³ (Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. Governor of a provincial region. Yabatamru is not known otherwise, but was presumably somewhere near Uruk.
2. Sanctuary of Ishtar in Uruk.
3. Given the date, one is tempted to connect the offerings with the Babylonian New Year festival, suggesting that the Persian kings participated to the extent of providing supplies for the occasion (cf. Seleucus III in 224, see ABC 13b, ll.3–8).

27. Grain delivery for a garrison by a Nile boatman

Aramaic papyrus: AP 2; TADAE II, B4.4. Elephantine, Paopi/28/3, Xerxes (17 February 483). Translation: DAE, no.54.

On 28 of month Paopi, year 3, King Xerxes.

Hosea, son of Hodawyah, and Ahyab, son of Gemaryah [said] to Espemet¹ [. . . of(?) Ta]hpanes the region,² saying: ‘You gave into our hands bar[ley, x artabas, 1(?) G(RIW)], 5 h(andfuls) and lentils, 11 artabas to barley [x] artabas. [All lentils (=) 20(+?) artabas.(?)]³ Total barley and lentils mixed: 54[+?] artabas, [1(?) G(RIW) 5 h(andfuls) of the century of Betheltaqum,⁴ 11 . . . [. . .] persons: 2. For each person, barley, 2 artabas, 2 G(RIW), [x] h(andfuls)] . . . the century of Nabushaliw,⁵ 2 persons to barley, [x] artabas. [You gave (them) into our hand] and our heart was satisfied.’⁶

We shall bring this grain [to Aswan to the chief of] this garrison(?)⁷ of the century of Betheltaqum and of the ce[ntury of Nabushalliwh] which are written in this document. We shall give . . . [. . . and we shall distribute for you by amount(?)] (at) the house of the king⁸ and before the scribes of the depot thi[s grain which you gave] into our hand to bring to these persons who are written [above. And if we do not distribute] for you by amount at the house of the king and before the scribes of the d[epot this grain], we shall be liable to you (for) silver, 100 karsh, silver z[uz⁹ to the ten, by the stone of Ptah] the god.¹⁰ And you have the right to our allotment at the house of the king¹¹ [and (to) a brick house which you will find] (belonging) to us,¹² you have the right to seize (them) until you have full (payment) for [this] grain [which is noted above].

Hosea wrote upon the instruction of Ahyab.

The witnesses: Kaya son of Eskaishu; Nushkuidri son of N[abenathan; x son of x;] Rochel son of Abihu; Shuri son of Kurz; Attaidri son of [x; Bagadata son of Psamshek]; Arvaratha son of Jeh(o)nathan; Shabbethai son of Kibd/ra.¹³

Hosea and Ah[ya]b wrote for Espe[met].

Notes

1. The first two have Hebrew names, while Espemet is clearly Egyptian. The latter and his father were both boatmen transporting goods through the Nile cataracts. They had a house on Elephantine, as shown by AP 6, 10; 8, 7–8; 5, 13.
2. I.e. Daphnae in the Eastern Delta, where there was another garrison. This is Porten and Yardeni's most recent reading, replacing an earlier one of '[. . . of H]anani, the chief' (Porten 1968: 200; DAE, no.267, n.d.)
3. The reconstruction, here and elsewhere, is based on the (partly preserved) copy made out for Hosea and Ahyab (AP 3). For most of the measures used, see **Table 4**; 'handful' is a translation of Ar. HFN (cf. **15, no.4**, n.10).
4. Ar. Mṭṭ', subdivision of a DGL, see **14, no.36**, n.3. The grain is being supplied to the soldiers forming part of a garrison unit. The name is Aramaic.
5. A form of the Babylonian name Nabushallim.
6. Formal statement of receipt.
7. The reading is uncertain, but could be Ar. DGL (above, n.4), alternatively Ar. HYL', military detachment.
8. The government storehouse of the district in Aswan.
9. Zuz is half a shekel, i.e. 4.2 g.
10. Several weight standards are invoked in the Aramaic documents from Egypt. The most usual is the royal one and, as here, the weight of the god Ptah of Memphis.
11. This shows that the members of the garrison and those involved in government service at Aswan and Elephantine received pay (in the form of rations) from the royal storehouses, which here they agree to forfeit should they fail to make the stipulated delivery.
12. The copy (AP 3) lists more objects subject to forfeit.
13. Kaya's name is Egyptian, Rochel and Shabbethai Hebrew, Nushkuidri, Attaidri and Shuri, Aramaic. While Bagadata and Arvarathra have Iranian names, the patronymic of the former is Egyptian, that of the latter Hebrew.

28. A father in the Eastern Delta writes to his son away on service

Aramaic papyrus: Padua 1; Bresciani 1960: 11–24; TADAE I, A3.3. Egypt, c.475–450.

Translations: Gibson 1975, no.28; DAE, no.14; Lindenberg 1994, no.10.

[Greetings] to the temple of Yahweh in Elephantine.¹ To my son Shelomam from your brother² Osea. [I send you (greetings)] of welfare and good health.

[And now], from the day that you went on that caravan, my heart is not glad. Likewise your mother. Now may you be blessed [by the god Yahweh that he may sh]ow me your face in peace.

Now from the day that you left (Lower) Egypt, the salary has not been p[aid to us here. And when] we complained to the officials³ about your salary here in Migdol,⁴ we were told this: '[You must complain] about this before the scribes and it will be paid to you.' Now, when you come to (Lower) Egypt . . . [. . .] all your salary which has been withheld.

Now, how is the household doing and how was your departure? If [. . .] will be [. . .w]ell and there is no injury. Be a man. Do not weep(?) until you come [. . .]

[. . . You wrote] in your letter about a tunic and a garment – your tunic and your garment are made [. . .] for your mother I made. Do not be angry because I did not bring them to Memphis. When you c[ome there I shall bring] them to you. Now I bought for me myself 1 linen tunic. Now [. . .] . . . and a garment until you come. Your mother and all the children are well. Now, here we have been [. . .]

[On the . . .] of Mehir⁵ I wrote this letter when we heard that you would be released [. . .].

(Address:) To my brother Shelomam, son of Osea, your brother Osea, son of Pete[. . .].

Notes

1. Ar. YB = Eg. 3bw, 'elephant', referring to it as a place where ivory was imported from the south. For the temple of Yahweh on Elephantine, see von Pilgrim 1999.
2. Which he is obviously not – it is a greeting expressive of affection.
3. Ar. PHWT⁷.
4. North-eastern Delta, see **fig.15.4**.
5. Egyptian month = May–June. The names are Hebrew.

29. A husband writes from Memphis to his wife in Aswan

Aramaic papyrus, Hermopolis, late 6th to early 5th century: Bresciani and Kamil 1966, no.2; TADAE I, A2.2.¹

Translations: DAE, no.26; Porten and Greenfield 1974: 154–5; Gibson 1975, no.27.ii; Lindenberg 1994, no.6.

Greetings to the temple of Banit in Aswan.² To my sister Tashi from your brother Makkibanit.³ I have blessed you by Ptah that he may show me your face in peace.⁴

Nabusha is well here. Do not be concerned about him. I am not making him leave Memphis. Greetings to Psami (and) Yake. Greetings to Nanaihem.⁵

And now behold, the sum of money I had, I gave to redeem (or: invested at interest with) Banitsar, son of Tabi,⁶ sister of Nabusha – 6 sh(ekels) and a zuz, silver zuz (to the ten).⁷ And now, send to Tabi that she despatch to you wool from part of the silver, one sh(ekel) worth. And now, if you are given a lamb and its wool, tell me; and if you are given the wool owed by Makki,⁸ let me know. And if you are not given (anything), let me know and I will make a complaint against them here.

And now, I bought olive oil and a tunic for Yake, and also one pretty vessel for you, as well as perfumed oil for the temple of Banit. But I have not yet found anyone to bring them to you.

And now, send me five handfuls of castor oil.⁹ And do not give grain to Wahpre;¹⁰ and let him buy beams and leave (them) in his house. Do not stand in his way; every beam he finds he should buy. And if Reia¹¹ has sold you any wool, let me know. Greetings to Tetosiri;¹² take care of her. I have sent this letter (to ask) about your welfare.

(Address:) To Tashi from Makkibanit son of Psami. To be delivered (at) Aswan.¹³

Notes

1. Eight letters were found by chance in a container in the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis in Middle Egypt (mod. Tuna el-Gebel). Six of them are reasonably legible. All were written by the same scribe and five out of the six are from members of one family, although the precise relationships are not always plain. They were sent from Memphis to family members living in Aswan and Luxor (Eg. Ofi). Although most of the names in the correspondence are Aramaic, there are several Egyptian and Akkadian ones. The date of the letters is based on palaeographic criteria. One curious aspect is that they were never delivered. All were found folded (lengthways), tied and sealed (cf. **fig.16.7**). It is clear from the address on the outside that they were entrusted to a postman for delivery, casting an interesting light on how private communications were (or could be) organised in this period.

2. Syro-Mesopotamian deity, similar to Ishtar.
3. In fact they are man and wife; Tashi is an Egyptian name, while her husband's is Aramaic.
4. The invocation of Ptah in the blessings in many of these letters reflects the fact that the writers are currently in Memphis (Ptah was the chief god of Memphis).
5. Nabusha's name is Akkadian; Psami, Makkibanit's father (see the address at end) is Egyptian. Yaqe is Aramaic, but the gender is uncertain; in Hermopolis 3, Makkibanit's mother is called Mama, which is probably Egyptian. Nanaihem may again be Akkadian, rather than Aramaic.
6. Banitsar is Akkadian, Tabi an Egyptian name; the latter resided in Luxor (see **15, no.30**).
7. About 54 g.
8. Or: 'to me'. Makki could be a Hebrew, rather than Aramaic, name.
9. Castor oil, produced in the south, was highly valued commercially.
10. This, again, is an Egyptian name.
11. This may either be a Hebrew or Aramaic female name, or simply mean 'shepherd' – which would make sense in this context, less so elsewhere.
12. Tetosiri (Egyptian name) is Makkibanit's daughter.
13. See above, n.1.

30. A brother writes from Memphis to his sisters in Luxor

Aramaic papyrus, Hermopolis, late 6th to early 5th century: Bresciani and Kamil 1966, no.5; TADAE I, A2.5.¹

Translations: DAE, no.29; Porten and Greenfield 1974: 160–1; Gibson 1975, no.27.v; Lindenberger 1994, no.8.

To my sisters Taru² and Tabi from your brother(s) Nabusha and Makkibanit. We have blessed you by Ptah that he may show me your face in peace.

And now, you should know that nothing is brought to us from Aswan. Further, since I left Aswan, Shail³ has not sent me a letter or anything. And now, let them bring us a chest and BYNBN.⁴ And if you can bring us castor oil, let them bring it through Harudj, son of Bethelshezib,⁵ who is coming to bring down . . . to BMRŠY.⁶

And why is it that you have not sent me a letter? As for me, a snake bit me and I was dying and you did not send (to enquire) if I was alive or dead. I have sent this letter (to enquire) about your welfare.

(Address:) To Taru from Nabusha son of Petekhnum. To be delivered to Ofi.⁷

Notes

1. See **15, no.29**, n.1.
2. Egyptian name; for the others see **15, no.29**.
3. Aramaic name, cf. Heb. Saul.
4. Probably some kind of wooden object (DAE, 163, n.c).
5. Harudj is Egyptian, while his father's name is Aramaic.
6. Place name otherwise unknown, possibly in the vicinity of Memphis.
7. I.e. Luxor. Note that the name of Nabusha's father is typically Egyptian.

31. Messages exchanged between Aswan and Elephantine

Aramaic ostrakon, Elephantine, c.475: BM 45035. Lindenberger 1994, nos.28–9.¹

Side A:

Greetings Mikayah. From Natan son of Gemaryah.

He is planning to come tomorrow, but they are not ready(?). I am the one hired to do the measuring. So do not send him over tomorrow.

Side B:

Greetings Mikayah. From Yedanyah.

I wrote to you yesterday about Hodawyah son of Zekaryah, as follows: 'He is coming today.' But I am not having Banit-[. . .] bring him.²

Notes

1. Several hundred sherds, used to keep accounts and lists as well as for writing short letters, were found early in the twentieth century. With few exceptions, they come from Elephantine and date to the Achaemenid period. The letters are very short, many written by the same scribe. The messages were exchanged between the people on the island and those living in Aswan. They are informal and were obviously intended to elicit a swift response and communicate minor or private matters quickly (see, e.g., Lindenberger 1994, no.12). The messages were given to the boatmen making the regular crossings back and forth on the Nile. In several instances, as here, the sherd was reused.
2. All the names on this ostrakon, apart from the last, are Hebrew.

32. Record of disputed sale from Idumaea drawn up in Harran

Babylonian tablet; Tell Tawilan (Jordan): Dalley 1984; 1995: 67–8. Harran, XII/24/accession, Darius I/II/III.¹

Qusu-shama, son of Qusu-yada,² bears responsibility for testimony concerning two rams belonging to Samsa-yabi, son of [. . .], which Samsa-idri³ took and sold for money. If he does not prove (it), Qusu-shama [shall give] those two rams to Samsa-yabi.

Witnesses: Tabiya son of Arriya; Addu-ramu son of Arriya; and [the scribe] Nabu-etir-napshati son of Zeriya.⁴

Harran,⁵ month Addaru, day 24, accession year of Darius, king of lands.

Notes

1. The tablet was found at Tell Tawilan in a deposit dated to the seventh to fourth centuries in 1982. For discussion of the date (521, 423, 358 are all possible) and references, see Dalley 1995: 67.
2. Both names are Edomite.
3. Both names are Aramaic.
4. All the names are Babylonian, with the exception of Addu-ramu, which is Aramaic.
5. Harran is about 1000 km to the north of Tawilan (**fig.15.5**). The document found at Tawilan must be a copy of the record, drawn up and kept at Harran. Where precisely the original transaction took place is unknown, as are the circumstances, but the evidence for active interaction between places lying at a considerable distance from each other is clear.

33. Babylonian businessmen in Iran

(i) A debt contracted in Ecbatana¹

Babylonian tablet: Stigers, no.28. Ecbatana, VII/23/31, Darius I (29 October 491).
Translation: Dandamaev 1986.

Taddinnu, son of Nergal-etir, has received $\frac{1}{2}$ mina, 5 shekels silver with $\frac{1}{8}$ alloy,² the price of 22 kur³ dates, from the hands of Bunene-ibni, son of Bel-na'id. If Ilani-data and Kalbiya do not give the dates, that is the 22 kur, to Bunene-ibni in Sippar-Anunitum,⁴ Taddinnu must pay the silver, that is $\frac{1}{2}$ mina 5 shekels with $\frac{1}{8}$ alloy and its interest to Bunene-ibni. (Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

(ii) A slave sale in Persepolis⁵

Babylonian tablet: Fort.11786; Stolper 1984. Persepolis, VIII/x/x, Darius I.⁶

Bel-iddin, son of Niq[udu(?) of his own free will] sold his slave, Tab-pashir-Bel, whose right hand is inscribed with the names of Shulumme, son of Ahimasu, and Bel-iddin, son of Niqu<du?>,⁷ to Marduk-belshunu, son of Bel-shum-ishkun, for the full price of 2 minas 25 shekels of white, refined silver.⁸ Bel-iddin has received from Marduk-belshunu that silver, 2 minas 25 shekels, the price of his slave. Bel-iddin guarantees against suits (brought) by improper or proper claimants (to the slave and against suits claiming) the status of servant of the crown, free citizen, temple slave, [. . .] (for the slave).⁹ (Witnesses; scribe; place; date)¹⁰

Notes

1. For other documents reflecting Babylonian commercial dealings in Ecbatana, see Stolper 1990b; 1992b.
2. About 300 g; for the silver quality, see Vargyas 2000b: 514, n.7.
3. 3,960 litres.
4. Close to Babylonian Sippar, indicating that Bunene-ibni was normally based there.
5. The typically Neo-Babylonian document was found in the Persepolis Fortification archive, where it was also written, as shown by the date formula (see the discussion in Stolper 1984). For other instances of Babylonian merchants in the Persepolis region, see Zadok 1976.
6. Although name and title are only partially preserved, the surviving signs suggest that the royal title was 'king of Babylon, king of lands', normally used in Babylonian texts of the time of Darius I (see Stolper 1984: 301, fig 2, UE).
7. For the practice of marking slave's wrists with the names of their owners, see **14, no.13**, n.8. For the possibility that Ahimasu is an Iranian name, see Stolper 1984: 303, ad l.4.
8. 1 kg, 210 g; for the quality of silver, see further Vargyas 2000b.
9. See **14, no.13**, nn.2–3; 11.
10. See Abraham 2004, nos.78, 92, 105, 119, 121, 122, 135, 138, 141 for Babylonians in Achaemenid Elam.

BUREAUCRACY, PRODUCTION, SETTLEMENT

Introduction*

This chapter falls into two parts of very uneven length. The first (**16, Sections A & B**) consists almost exclusively of a selection of texts from the Persepolis archives.¹ They illustrate the detailed workings of the administration in the imperial heartland and throw light on the handling of local production, the labour force, bureaucracy and a variety of large estates. In the second part, the geographical perspective widens, bringing in material from other parts of the empire. The documentation includes Elamite texts from beyond Fars, Babylonian legal documents, a passing biblical reference, snatches of Greek historians and directives sent to managers of Persian estates in Egypt. Although this evidence is of a very different type from the Persepolis texts, it indicates that some of the governmental practices and patterns of landholding definable in Fars were replicated in the empire as a whole.

The nature of the Persepolis documents

By far the most important surviving evidence for obtaining an insight into management in the Persian empire is the two sets of Elamite tablets excavated at Persepolis (see **Chapter 1**). They cast a light on aspects of demography, settlement and the administration of production. The information they contain is unique and has revolutionised understanding of the nature of Achaemenid government and economic management.² But they also present a number of virtually insurmountable problems. First, Elamite (of all periods) remains poorly understood, so the meaning of many terms is obscure. Secondly, the chronological distribution of the texts is uneven. The limited number of Treasury texts extends from the later years of Darius I to the early reign of Artaxerxes I (492–458), while the huge Fortification archive spans only the years 509–494. Moreover, around 50% of the Fortification texts date to the years 500–499,³ while around two-thirds of the Treasury texts cluster in 466. So not only is the coverage temporally limited to the early Achaemenid period; a majority of transactions fall into a two-year and one-year period, respectively.

A third factor that needs to be taken into account is that the documented activities take place largely within the province of Fars, roughly from the region around modern Niriz into eastern Khuzestan ('Elam'). So there is no way in which we could say that the material provides a window on the empire as a whole. Of course, there are references to other regions, as in the notations of issues made to travellers which frequently, and valuably, state either their point of departure or their destination (e.g. **15, no.1**), but these do not tell us how these areas were run. Given the evidence for the diversity of local structures in the

Persian empire (see **Chapter 17**), many details of government differed from place to place. Also important to note is that the archives we have deal with only a very few aspects of organisation and production. We hear nothing of the peasants working the land, for example. How did the administration extract the fruits of their labour? Were there share-cropping arrangements? Nor do we see anything directly of the pastoral peoples, who formed an important segment of the population, and who must have been intimately involved in the maintenance of the huge government flocks. But how? Two attractive suggestions have been made, namely, that they participated in a share-breeding system (attested in Mesopotamia, see Kawase 1980) and that their presence is implied in some of the documented exchange procedures (Henkelman 2005a). While the notations on food products are extensive, there is barely a word on textiles, which must surely have been a substantial industry.⁴ Similarly, there is nothing on metals or their processing, although there are references to smiths of various kinds (**16, nos.29, 32–3**).⁵ Some hints of the building activities on the palaces at Persepolis emerge, but there are few details beyond what workers were being paid, either in food or, more rarely, in silver. It is also likely that lists were kept on reusable waxed wooden tablets, which have not survived in a more durable form (see **15, no.20** & n.3). What we must constantly remember as we look at this material is that we only have brief notes, annual accounts, orders and memoranda needed by the administration to keep track of its outgoings and resources. It is in the nature of such government archives that they will never reveal basic structural aspects of the machinery which has produced them, and which is taken for granted. We get something of the other side of the picture in Babylonia and Egypt, where the documentation does not emanate from the administration, and where scholars contend with the opposite problem.

One further caveat. The documents have survived because Elamite uses the cuneiform system, written with a stylus impressed into clay tablets. The clay is resistant to adverse weather conditions and fire. But everything points to the simultaneous use of other materials (leather, parchment, wood) for writing (**12, no.29(ii)**, cf. **16, no.26**), which have perished. This serves to remind us not only that much has been lost, but also that many languages apart from Elamite were used within the administration, normally written on such materials. Several texts have an Aramaic gloss (e.g. **16, no.14**). At least five hundred Aramaic texts are reported as having been stored with the Elamite tablets in the Persepolis fortification wall (PFT, 2) – the number may well be closer to a thousand. A series of fine chert items from the reign of Xerxes found in the Treasury are labelled in Aramaic (**16, no.35**). Although most seal legends are in cuneiform, a good number are Aramaic (e.g. **fig.16.3**). It is virtually certain that the Babylonian secretaries in the head-office at Persepolis wrote in Aramaic, which was so widely used in the empire (**16, no.13**). The presence of Babylonian texts in both the Treasury (**14, no.32**) and the Fortification archive (**15, no.33(ii)**) alerts us to the use of Akkadian. A Greek text using the Persepolis protocol for wine issues (**16, no.14**, n.3), as well as the presence of a secretary with a name suggesting that he is Greek on the staff of the chief administrator (**16, no.13**), indicate that Greek, too, was used. One tablet is almost certainly in Phrygian, although it contains an Old Persian month name (Friedrich 1965; Cameron 1973: 52–3; Brixhe 2004: 118–26). An Indian, a Scythian and an Egyptian figure in prominent positions.⁶ They may, of course, have carried out their duties using just the languages of the Fars region, but could also have acted as translators of administrative directives as required (cf. **17, no.30**). So, while Elamite dominates the extant documentation, we need to remember that a mass of material in other languages has almost totally vanished.

Finally, how does Elamite relate to Old Persian? Elamite and Old Persian were the dominant languages of Fars. Both were in use,⁷ although written Old Persian was generally reserved for royal inscriptions (**Chapter 1** & n.3). Interplay between the two is shown by the fact that sometimes an Old Persian term is used, sometimes an Elamite one, for the same thing; or a place can appear under either its Old Persian or its Elamite name (see, e.g., **5, no.1**, n.18). For example, the Elamite and Old Persian words for ‘treasury’/‘treasurer’ are used interchangeably (see, e.g., **16, no.19**, n.3, cf. **43**, n.2), as are the terms for an official authorisation (**15, Introduction**). Many of the names in the texts are Elamite rather than Iranian – 10% is the current estimate. Both Persian and Elamite month names are used in the dating formulae of the tablets, although here it is possible that use of the Elamite ones was the convention in the western region, near Elam.

Organisation of production and labour

Despite all these issues, the texts do provide some very detailed information on micro-management in one central – even the central – region of the empire, and their value cannot be denied. Further, it is the only imperial area where documents of the central administration have survived in any significant quantity.⁸ So what do they reveal?

First, we see that agricultural produce was collected in regional storehouses. On what basis this was done is not clear, although certainly some of it was levied as tax (**16, no.3**). Each one seems to have specialised in the management of a particular product – wine, beer, large cattle, small cattle, cereals, fruit, oil and poultry are the documented sectors (**16, nos.1–8**). Each storehouse was in the charge of two officials, a manager and a ‘delivery man’, who authorised disbursements. Their personal responsibility for transactions is reflected in the seals impressed on the tablets.⁹ Under their supervision, accounts were drawn up annually and sent to the central office in Persepolis, where the receipts and outgoings of each region were reworked into journals (**16, Section A(a)–(b)**). Between 506 and 497, Darius’ uncle, Parnaka, was in overall charge. His receipt of very substantial daily rations, his bureau staff, his personal authorisations and issues of orders all confirm his high status (cf. **16, nos.11; 13–15; 17**). The great quantities of food assigned to him personally each day (his staff were paid separately, **16, nos.13–14**) suggest that such rations may have been a form of credit, providing him with resources on which he could draw as necessary (cf. **15, no.4**). Another powerful individual was Zishshawish, who appears to have acted as Parnaka’s first deputy. His considerably lower daily income shows that, while of undoubted high rank, he was hardly on a level with the king’s uncle (**16, no.12**). The regional high officials reported to Parnaka and/or Zishshawish and, in turn, transmitted their orders. The image is one of a smoothly functioning bureaucratic machinery, with clear chains of command and accountability, although there are occasional hints of problems (**16, nos.16–17**).

The conventional translation of El. *kapnuški*/OP **ganza-* is ‘treasury’. Such ‘treasuries’ were located in the larger centres of Fars (**16, nos.23–6**), as well as in Persepolis itself. The word conjures up images of rooms stacked to the ceiling with sacks of gold, silver, gems and luxury items. But we need to distinguish between the royal treasury, located on the palace platform at Persepolis, which clearly housed reserves of silver and finely worked items (**14, no.32; 16, nos.18–22; 35; 40; 43; 44**), and regional warehouses, where various materials, particularly animal hides, were processed (Kawase 1986, cf. **16, no.26**). The Persepolis treasury was headed by a treasurer, who could authorise silver to be paid out to

workers and craftsmen instead of food rations (**16, nos.18–21; 43–4**). At times, such commands to make silver payments came from the king himself (e.g. **13, no.25; 16, no.22**). Such substitute, or equivalence, payments were finely calculated to tiny fractions of a shekel. How the rate was arrived at is uncertain, although it is possible that it was set by royal edict (**17, no.27**). How the recipients might use the silver is not stated – that fell outside the purview of the treasury administrators. We should note that the surviving material documenting these payments does not predate 492. This raises questions. Is it simply the result of chance survival? Was the Fars administration beginning to encounter difficulties in meeting all obligations from its own productive base?¹⁰ Or did it need to shift some of its surplus (sometimes achieved by exchanges between storehouses, **17, no.27**) and so compelled the workers to buy provisions from the administration's depots? This would have had the advantage of getting rid of an excess while simultaneously producing a profit (cf. **16, nos.62–3**).

Aside from the production of fine table-ware in the Persepolis treasury (**16, no.35**), we have little idea of what activities went on there. The situation in the regional warehouses ('treasuries') emerges a little more clearly. Although the meaning of many terms remains uncertain, Kawase (1986) has argued strongly in favour of seeing them as primarily centres for the processing of leather (see **16, no.26**). Many texts related to these warehouses note deliveries of hides. Others record issues of rations to the staff, allowing us to gauge the size and make-up of the workforce employed there. There was the management – scribe, 'delivery man', 'treasurer', high-status attendants (**16, no.23**). Various specialist artisans are listed, the lower rungs of the work teams, as well as women (supervisors, attendants, specialist artisans, labourers) and children. The numbers employed per centre are large, but not huge: 181 at Shiraz, 77 at Urandush. The children are classified according to their sex and payment; the declining scale of their rations suggests that they were grouped into age-sets, sometimes defined by height (**16, nos.24–5**). It is difficult to argue that we have here families of workers, as the number of adults far outstrips that of children.¹¹ In all, it might be more appropriate to interpret such 'treasuries' as workshops.

What more can we say about the people who made up the workforce? The all-embracing Elamite term is *kurtas*, rendering Old Persian **garda-*. It appears in Babylonian and Aramaic documents too, and has given rise to considerable scholarly debate (Stolper 1985: 55–9). Were they slaves? Serfs? Deportees? Prisoners-of-war? Forced labour gangs? In fact, as Hallock has already noted (PFT, Glossary, s.v.), it means workers in the widest sense, including specialist craftsmen (**16, no.27**) and elite servants (El. *libap*, see Henkelman 2003a: 129–37; **11, no.68**, n.6). In the eyes of the administration dealing with their movements and emoluments, they all fell into one and the same category. They are, thus, all individuals (including Persians, **13, no.4; 16, no.39(i)**) performing specific tasks who needed to be paid. They must have been drawn from many different sources, including, surely, war captives (cf. Q.C. V, 5.13; **17, no.15**) and people obligated to carry out government work as and when needed (cf. **14, Section B(c)**; Uchitel 1991). But they also included expert craftsmen (**16, nos.19; 21; 27–35**), who may well have been attracted by the opportunities offered by the great royal building projects (cf. **11, no.13(i)**) and the court demand for finely crafted luxury items. The gold crater in the royal treasury made by the renowned Theodorus of Samos, for example, could have been commissioned by Darius I (**11, no.30(iv)**); a famous Greek pancratist was lured to the Persian court with promises of rich rewards (**12, no.45 (i)**), and the satrap of Egypt had a taste for fine statuary (**16, no.64**). But these were people with special skills. Undoubtedly, the many people from the various territories (**16, nos.36;**

39–40) we encounter in the archives (numbers range from groups of nine to one thousand five hundred, **16, no.36**), who seem to have been moved around as required, laboured in less than rosy conditions. They could be organised into teams of ten and a hundred, under foremen with deputies (e.g. **16, nos.37; 40**). Wine and flour were their normal food allocations, meat a rare treat (**16, no.38**).

The Fars region

Classical writers echo each other in waxing lyrical about the sheer beauty and fertility of Fars, with its large population (**16, no.41**). The increasing density of settlement in the Persepolis plain, perhaps beginning in the seventh century, has been confirmed by survey (**fig.16.5**): there were cities, large towns, towns and villages (**16, no.41**, n.5). Given the focus of the Elamite texts, we learn virtually nothing about how the province was governed. At the time of Alexander, a satrap of Fars with soldiers appears, and Persepolis had a governor with a garrison under his control (**10, no.30**). This may have been the situation earlier, too, as guards (in Persepolis, as well as moving through the region) are mentioned in the archives. There are also references to policemen and, possibly, law officers. But how these fitted into a system of control is impossible to say (**16, no.42**).

One feature of the region's landscape emerges more clearly: the existence of a number of different types of landed properties. Three Elamite terms designate them: *partetaš*, *irmatam* and *ulhi*. The first of these is the equivalent of the famous Persian *paradeisoi*, dotted the length and breadth of the empire (see **11, no.21; 12, no.46**). Graeco-Roman descriptions indicate that they included gardens, orchards (cf. **11, no.21(ii)**), fields and hunting reserves. The Persepolis texts provide evidence for the staffs attached to the *paradeisoi* (**16, nos.43–4**), who managed and worked them on behalf of the holders (one of them the king himself).¹² Particularly interesting is a reference to 'wood handlers' (**16, no.45**), showing that the *paradeisoi* served as timber reserves (cf. **11, no.21(vi)**). Less easy to understand is the inter-relationship between the *paradeisoi* and the broader administration. Fruit and grain was deposited in *paradeisoi* for distribution, so that these properties were, at least sometimes, drawn into the broader system of production (**16, no.47**). The nature of *irmatam* (which I render 'domains' to mark the distinction) remains obscure. They are located near villages, they seem to be subject to levies, and the holders (where identifiable) are members of the administration, who act as distributors for deposits made in *paradeisoi*. Briant (1996a: 458–9 [2002b: 444–5], cf. **5, no.1**, n.101), therefore, suggests that they were properties granted to administrators as their emolument – they went with the job, so to speak. The third term, *ulhi*, clearly defines the estates and households of the ruling élite. The estates of Darius, Artystone, Hystaspes and Irdabama all appear (**12, nos.29 (ii), 37(i); 16, nos.50–2**). The resources were immense (see, e.g., **16, no.50(i)**), supporting large retinues of attendants, servants, gardeners and workers. What is less clear is to what extent they were linked to, or interacted with, the regional system of production. There are certainly instances where products or animals from the local depots were used 'for the king' in some sense, or administration employees perform tasks for his benefit (**16, nos.53–6**). Where precisely the dividing line between these royal households and the administration's resources fell and how it was drawn is unclear, although the texts indicate that the two economic spheres were certainly distinct, albeit interconnected (see further Briant 1996a: 478–81 [2002b: 463–6]; Henkelman 2005a).

The wider perspective

Is it possible to discern any elements of this system of management and bureaucratic practice in regions beyond Fars? This is not easy to answer in the absence of comparable archives, but the quest is not hopeless. First, there is convincing evidence for very much the same archives and the same system in Susa (**16, no.57**). This is not surprising. The geographical horizon of the Persepolis archives stretched into Elam, and Elamite and this style of record-keeping was obviously as much at home there as in Fars (cf. **3, no.4**). What is striking is that a Susa Elamite tablet bears the impression of the fine seal PFS 7* (**fig.11.37**), showing direct interaction between these two administrative regions. Secondly, we have hard evidence of Elamite in use in the governmental centre of Arachosia (south Afghanistan), far to the east (**16, no.58**). To this we can add an unprovenanced Elamite tablet (**16, no.59**), which there is no particular reason to assume came from Persepolis. So, with two Elamite tablets (however broken and illegible) from Afghanistan and one from Susa, we must get used to the idea that the system so fully represented by the Persepolis archives was operated in a number of other Achaemenid provinces (note also Kaptan 2002:18–19).¹³ A third point is that two important officials appear in Babylonia, Egypt and Judah only in the Achaemenid period, whose functions seem to echo the chancery organisation attested for Persepolis (**16, no.60**).

No accounts or journals of the Persepolis type are known from other territories of the empire. But an incidental reference in Plutarch hints that this kind of accounting was widely practised beyond Persepolis and, indeed, standard – as one might expect (**16, no.61**). We can compare with this the detailed checking, assessing and accounting (down to the last nail!) demanded by the authorities in Egypt when a government boat needed repair (**14, no.44**). We also hear of government food stocks, shipped in from depots, where soldiers and workers were expected to buy provisions (**16, nos.62–3**). This reminds us of the silver payments, substituted for issues of wine and flour (or cereals), documented in the Treasury transactions, which may well have been spent in the same way (see pp.765–6). The practice of making provincial and royal reserves available for sale is well documented in the hellenistic period, and is also attested in Achaemenid times, when a Persian governor was granted Athenian citizenship in gratitude for providing wheat for sale in response to their urgent request (Briant 1996: 466–8 [2002b: 452–4]). Obviously, for such a system to work, organisation of production, collection and transport, depots with managers, accountants and guards were essential. We may only catch a glimpse here and there, but it is enough to show that a system akin to the one we can trace in some detail in Fars must have existed throughout the provinces.

The best evidence for landed estates in the conquered territories held by Persians and their management comes from Egypt and Babylonia, supplemented with material by Greek historians. It also allows us to see more of the management of such estates, absent from the Persepolis documents. Both the queen-mother and the satrap of Egypt had estates in more than one province: the former in at least two districts of Babylonia as well as north Syria, the latter in Egypt (probably more than one) and central Babylonia (**16, nos.66; 69, n.1**). The queen-mother's staff included a judge and a steward, who himself held a grant of land on her estates (**16, no.66(ii)**), as well as the essential personnel to work the land (**16, no.66(i)**). The crown-prince also controlled a Babylonian estate, as did many other members of the Persian nobility, both here and in Egypt (**8, no.20, n.12; 14, no.35; 16, nos.68; 70**; Stolper 1985, ch.3). The Egyptian correspondence of the satrap Arshama

provides the most detailed picture of an estate. There was, first, a steward – three in succession are attested, one following his father – with a land grant on the estate (AD 2). The steward was responsible for everything, although he was clearly under the observant eyes of members of the satrapal administration (e.g. **16, no.64**, note the address and subscript, which appear on all letters to the steward). He personally conducted transports of revenue to his master (**14, no.35**), received and executed the orders from him and controlled the estate staff. Below him was an official, possibly a messenger, who held a land grant on the estate and had people working for him (**14, no.37**), as well as a sculptor with a staff and workshop **16, no.64**). Further, there were servants and unspecified personnel (Ar. GRD', see pp.766–7, above); some had possessions of their own; some were craftsmen (**16, nos.65; 70**). Finally, the lands were protected by a garrison commander and troops (**16, no.60(iii)**).

The tenure of estates by the Persian nobility (always revocable), together with the settlement of peoples with land parcels on which they owed service and/or tax (see **14, Introduction**) helped to ensure that the land was worked efficiently and profitably, with government requirements fulfilled. At the same time, it was a means of physically occupying the conquered territories and ensuring their protection, for example from chronic Greek raiding. This is beautifully illustrated by a passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (**16, no.71**). Here we gain a picture of a relatively modest Persian estate in a frontier area, occupied by the holder and his family. It was a castle protected by strong defensive walls and a lookout tower, manned with soldiers. It was surrounded by fields and pastures with herds, tended by estate workers. Within hailing distance were soldiers from different parts of the empire, some probably military colonists. When the occupants of the estate were attacked, they were able to summon them to their aid with cries and torch signals. The soldiers and settlers responded swiftly and beat off the raiders in a few hours. This vignette matches some of the information about the make-up of other, grander estates. And this pattern of defence, involving Persian estates, stationed troops and soldiers with government land grants, surely existed across the provinces from west to east. Moreover, evidence supporting this now exists. Aramaic documents from Bactria, dating to the reign of Darius III and Alexander, are in the process of being published, and show that Persians held estates, organised along similar lines, in this highly productive and strategically crucial region (Shaked 2004).

Notes

- * Note that individuals who appear repeatedly can be located via the Index. For weights and measures, see **Table 4a**.
- 1. Other Persepolis texts illustrating important aspects of the empire's workings can be found at **6, no.41; 11, nos.21(ii), 39–45; 51; 68; 12, nos.29; 32; 37; 40; 13, nos.4–5; 25; 26(ii)–(iii); 14, nos.32; 34; 15, nos.1; 12(i) & (ii); 22; 17, nos.26–7; 42**.
- 2. The meticulous system of accounting, record keeping and careful attention to details of expenditure, receipts and best practice contradicts earlier ideas of Achaemenid rule as *laissez-faire*, remote from the minutiae of the basic aspects of production, which was the source of the régime's wealth. Note, for example, this, not untypical, remark: 'Innocent of economic thought, the kings had no better idea of what to do with the vast surplus of their income in gold and silver over peacetime expenditure than to melt it into ingots and store it' (Burns 1984: 565; cf. **14, nos.2, n.28; 8**).
- 3. Another curiosity is that 77% of journal texts date between 509 and 501, while only 3% date to 498–494 (W. Henkelman, personal communication). This may reflect a pattern of discarding the short notes and memoranda once the journals and accounts had been made up, cf. Brosius 2003. Note that some of the as yet unpublished Aramaic texts from the Persepolis Fortification predate 509 (= Darius I, RY3, see Henkelman 2006, 2.2.2).

4. Garments are mentioned in one of the texts in Hallock's manuscript (NN 2252, see Henkelman 2005a). The one possible exception is **16, no.34**, but the interpretation has been strongly criticised. There are also designations of workers in depots, which defy translation, but could mean that they were engaged in textile manufacture. What must be remembered is that the archive we have concerns foodstuffs – textiles will have formed part of another one, which may yet be discovered.
5. Hallock (1973) suggested that PF 335 concerned metal production, but it may list various artefacts being presented to individuals as gifts (W. Henkelman, personal communication).
6. Cf. also **16, no.59**, n.4, an unprovenanced Elamite tablet, which mentions a 'scribe of the Egyptians', with what is probably an Egyptian name.
7. The idea that Elamite was used as a purely scribal convention to record Old Persian, as the language was dead (Gershevitch 1972; 1979), is now seriously doubted (Tavernier 2002a: 316–18).
8. The very fragmentary Aramaic documents from Saqqara (Segal, cf. **Chapter 1**) clearly had their origin in the head offices of the regional administration in Memphis. Unfortunately, their tattered state makes it almost impossible to reconstruct Persian government in Egypt in any detail using this material.
9. Not all aspects of sealing practice in Persepolis are understood, but its importance in authenticating transactions and holding officials to account is beyond dispute. Many administrators used 'office seals', but very high-level officials had personal seals, e.g. Parnaka (**16, no.15; fig.16.3**) and Zishshawish (**16, no.12**, n.7; **fig.11.44**); see further Hallock 1977; Garrison and Root I.
10. It is tempting to compare the Babylonian temples in this period, which were experiencing a decline in their economic autarky, shown by (a) problems in acquiring manpower, (b) a concentration on the production of cash crops, and (c) the need to buy in produce, such as grain. There are also clear signs that they were moving towards a monetarised economy (see Baker and Jursa 2005). But the situation and institutional structures differ from those in Fars.
11. Cf. the workshop staffed by fifteen men and sixty-eight women (two of them married to each other), where the complement of children is twenty-one (**16, no.34**). For issues of supplementary rations to nursing mothers, see **16, no.9**. How the labour force was reproduced is a further unanswered question.
12. An Achaemenid period pavilion, which may have been set in the parklands of a *paradeisos*, was excavated in 1959 by a Japanese team at Fahliyun (on the road between Shiraz and Behbahan), see further Boucharlat 2005, cf. **17, no.46**.
13. Three Elamite tablets were found at Armavir Blur (Armenia), which Koch (ZA 83 (1993): 219–36) interpreted as akin to the Persepolis texts. However, Vallat (NABU 1995, n.46) has rejected this. In his view, the one reasonably coherent text was a private letter and should be dated to the early sixth century. On the question of the existence of archives, note that it seems very likely that, within Fars itself, there were almost certainly archives at Shiraz and Hidali (see Henkelman 2006, ch.2, cf. ch.3, n.135).

A. Administration and organisation of production in the Persepolis region

(a) Sectors of agricultural production

1. Wine account for 503/2

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 2003. VI/–/22, Darius I (August–September 500; date of account); PFS 57* (Garrison and Root I, no.239).

110 wine¹ from Pirradawish (at) Dakamanush
 257 from Rashnudadda (at) Nuba
 308 from Shimdumuka (at) Kamenush
 181 from Mibashra (at) Bamashdumanash²



Figure 16.1 One of the Persepolis Fortification tablets (PF 915), with the impression of seal PFS 4* (Garrison and Root I, no.292; pl.163a; cf. **16, nos.32–3**). (Photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago.)

Total 856 on hand

703.3 expended/poured out

Total 152.7 withdrawn

Wine (received as) *hapiršimaš* (at) Zirshamattish,³ allocations by Bakaparna the *apparnabara* (and) Mutina the *haturmakša*.⁴

This whole account (for) the 19th year was delivered, in the 22nd year, in the sixth month.⁵

Notes

1. The standard liquid capacity measure (*māriš* = 10 litres) is implied.
2. Only Kamenush (mod. Guwayn, west of Persepolis) is attested elsewhere (Koch 1990: 109). Dakamanush appears in PF-NN 548 together with Bagaparna, Bamashdumanash in PF-NN 2299 & 2337. For the names (the first two likely to be Iranian), see Mayrhofer.
3. The term describes receipts of fruit and, as here, wine from branch depots; Zirshama also appears in PF-NN 506, 548, 1525.
4. The first title defines a wine-handler. The second means, lit., ‘fire-attendant (or fanner/watcher)’, contra Hallock’s misgivings (PFT, 25–6). People with this title appear in cultic contexts (e.g. **11, no.51**), but far more frequently in administrative positions, as here. This seems to be related to the particular contexts in which they come into the bureaucracy’s purview (Henkelman, 2006, ch.3); alternatively, it could be a designation not exclusive to the cultic sphere (cf. perhaps English titles such as ‘provost’, ‘dean’). The first name renders OP Bagafarna (Gr. Megaphernes); for the second, see Mayrhofer.
5. For storehouse accounts in general and seal application, see Aperghis 1999.

2. Beer account for 505/4

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1996. –/–/17, Darius I (505/4); PFS 12a.

60 (BAR of) *tarmu*¹ from Babena <Supra>² received, and made beer; 17th year.
 42³ its beer was on hand
 21 expended
 21 withdrawn

Entrusted to Hatarbanush (and) Bakagiya, the delivery man, at Gisat,⁴ Irtuppiya being responsible.⁵

25 (BAR of) *tarmu* from Hatarbanush Supra received.

All this taken to various (places).

Notes

1. 600 litres of a particular type of grain.
2. See Mayrhofer for the names.
3. The liquid measure *māriš* is implied, given that amounts of brewed beer are being calculated.
4. The two men are the two officials at the depot – store-manager, in charge of receipts, and delivery-man, in charge of authorising disbursements respectively. See Mayrhofer for the names (the second certainly Iranian). Gisat lay on the Fars–Elam frontier (see **fig.16.6**).
5. Irtuppiya (Gr. form, Artyphius) seems to have been the chief manager of grain supplies between 503 and 499; for his exceptionally fine seal (PFS 2, not applied to this text), see Garrison and Root I, no.3.

3. Account of goats received as tax: 507/6 and 506/5

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 2008. No date (Darius I); PFS 12a.

This account (is for) small cattle (received) as tax,¹ allocations by Makama; Harrena being responsible.²

275 he-goats

35 kids – total 310 males
 216 she-goats
 33 intermediate ‘ewes’
 25 kids – total 274 females

Total 584 goats on hand (in) the 15th year.

The accounting done for the 16th year:
 58 were issued to (the man who did) the herding.
 58 were brought in and slaughtered.
 Those that were transferred(?):
 30 he-goats
 30 she-goats

Total 60 transferred(?)

Those that were alive:
 280 he-goats (i.e. 310 minus 30)
 219 she-goats (i.e. 249 minus 30)
 25 intermediate ‘ewes’³

Total 524 live goats.

219 *mat* alive [. . .]⁴
 6 *mat* slaughtered in addition(?)
 30 *mat* transferred(?)

Total 255 *mat*, their *datmaš*⁵ being calculated:

170 (kids as) *yield*(?) go to it⁶
 15 (as) *yield*(?) were born: 7 males, 8 females
 155 (as) *yield*(?) were withdrawn.
 Grand(?) total of (live) goats:
 280 he-goats
 7 (kids of the) *yield*(?)
 219 she-goats
 25 intermediate ‘ewes’
 8 (kids of the) *yield*(?) – total 252 females

Total 539 live small cattle

157 ditto were withdrawn.

Notes

1. El. *baziš* (= OP *bajiš*-), see the discussion by Briant 1996a: 452–6 [2002b: 439–42]; further on taxation in Fars, Aperghis 1998.

2. Known as 'cattle chief' = El. *kasabattiš*, see **13, no. 13**. See Mayrhofer for Makama's name.
3. These are the twenty-five female kids of year 15, who have now matured to 'intermediate' size.
4. This probably describes the pregnant females.
5. Meaning uncertain, but involving a two-thirds calculation.
6. I.e. 'apply to the preceding figure', being two-thirds of 255. Not everything in this text is completely understood; note that Hallock here confused sheep with goats.

4. A grain account for 497/6–496/5

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1966. –/–/25–26, Darius I (497/6–496/5); no seal.

89.5 (BAR grain) on hand (in) the 25th year

595 (BAR) from Bakanshakka

113 (BAR) from Irdabanush (at) Ankarakkan¹

Total 797.5 (BAR) on hand, (included) in it (being):

5 (BAR) workers,² for whom Irdunara is responsible, received (as) *kamakaš*.³

4 (BAR) Ishkarizza received and processed it (with) fruit.

291.5 (BAR) was taken (to) Persepolis as requirements (i.e. for food production).

63 (BAR) (to) Baduziratish(?) ditto ditto; Daduya received (it).⁴

Total 363.5 (BAR) dispensed

12.1 (BAR) was its handling charge/deduction(?).

Total 375.6 (BAR) dispensed plus handling charge/deduction(?)

336 (BAR) withdrawn

85.9 (BAR) grain carried forward (as) balance (at) Hiran, (for) allocations by Kuminna(?), Irdunara being responsible (in) the 26th year.⁵

Notes

1. The second name is definitely Iranian (OP Rtabanush, Gr. Artabanus), the first may be so; the place is located to the south-east of Persepolis by Koch (1990).
2. El. *kurtas*; see further **16, Introduction**.
3. This generally describes additional rations; for the name, see Mayrhofer.
4. See Mayrhofer for the personal names; Baduziratish only occurs here.
5. The total balances with the earlier one of 797.5 BAR (= 7,975 litres). Hiran (associated with Ankarakkan) is south-east of Persepolis (Kuminna only occurs this once).

5. Fruit account for 507/6 and 505/4

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1982. –/–/17 Darius I (505/4); PFS 27*.

Deposited to their (accounts)

Total 3 (irtiba)

Total –

withdrawn

3 Apples (for) Bakabada¹

Total – this total in year 15.

Total 10	10 Apples (for) Bakabada
Total –	Total – this total in year 17.
Total 13	Total 13. This total in years 15 & 17

This (is) the whole account for fruit at Turrukurtish,² allocations by Karkizza the fruit handler,³ in years 15 and 17. Afterwards, in year 17, Mashika made (the account).

Notes

1. Cf. **11, no.43**, n.1 for his name.
2. Alternatively, Shirrukurtish, south-west of Persepolis; 13 irtiba is 360 litres.
3. El. *hamišiya*. For the two names, see Mayrhofer.

6. A sesame oil account for 495/4

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1993. –/–/27, Darius I (495/4); no seal.

1,700 (BAR of sesame)¹ on hand (from) the 26th year

Total 1,700 (BAR) was on hand (in) the 27th year, (included) in it (being):

29.6 (BAR) taken (to) Persepolis as requirements

2.5 (BAR) taken (to) Hishtianush as requirements; Ukbateya received (it)²

5 (BAR) workers, for whom Ushbaka is responsible, received for/as *hanu*³

Total 37.1 (BAR) dispensed

1.2 (BAR) issued for its handling charge/deduction(?)

Total 38.3 (BAR) dispensed, including the handling charge/deduction(?)

1,661.7 (BAR of) sesame carried forward (as) balance, allocations by Irkamka, (at) Abbash.⁴

This is the account of year 27, Ushbaka being responsible.

Notes

1. It is clear from the logogram (in the statement at the end) that the disposal of sesame oil (in this case, 17,000 litres) is being calculated.
2. Hishtianush/Ishtianish is located south-west of Persepolis by Koch (1990), but there is uncertainty; for Ukbateya, see Mayrhofer, s.v. Ubatiya.
3. The meaning, aside from the fact that it is obviously a type of payment for workers (*kurtas*), is unknown; it also occurs in PF-NN 1484 and Neo-Elamite. For the name, see Mayrhofer.
4. Not located; see Mayrhofer for the name.

7. Cattle account, 508 to 502

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 2013. -/-/18, Darius I (504/3); PFS 120 (Garrison and Root I, no.49; **fig.16.2**).

This account (is) for cattle¹ at/of the stockyard,² deposited/assigned by Pirriyabattish, Ramiyauka being responsible, (at) Barnish.³

38 cattle on hand (in) the 14th year.
 Account made (for) the 15th year:
 3 were issued (?) to the man who did the herding
 3 were brought in and slaughtered

Total 38 live cattle, deposited by Pirriyabattish.

This account (is) for cattle at the stockyard, deposited/assigned by Pirriyabattish, Ramiyauka being responsible.

38 cattle on hand (in) the 15th year.
 Account made (for) the 16th year:
 3 were issued to the man who did the herding
 3 were brought in and slaughtered
 3 were transferred(?)
 35 live male cattle, deposited/assigned by Pirriyabattish.

This account (is) for cattle at the stockyard, deposited/assigned by Pirriyabattish, Ramiyauka being responsible.

35 cattle on hand in the 16th year.
 Account made (for) the 17th year:
 3 were issued to the man who did the herding
 3 were brought in and slaughtered
 7 were transferred(?)

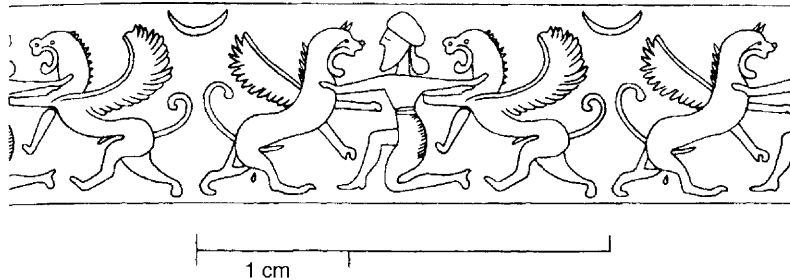


Figure 16.2 Composite drawing of unscribed cylinder seal impression, PFS 120 (Garrison and Root I, no.49); preserved height: 1.30 cm. PFS 120 only occurs on the long journal texts and accounts, examples of which are given in this and the next section. (After Garrison and Root I.)

28 living cattle, deposited/assigned by Pirriyabattish.

This account (is) for cattle at the stockyard, deposited/assigned by Pirriyabattish, Ramiyauka being responsible.

28 cattle on hand (in) the 17th year.

Account made for the 18th year:

2 were issued to the man who did the herding

8 were now slaughtered

6 (of them) were slaughtered in addition(?)

1 was transferred(?) – at present:

Total 19 live cattle

Total 7 withdrawn.

This account (is) for cattle at the stockyard, deposited/assigned by Pirriyabattish, Ramiyauka being responsible.

19 cattle on hand (in) the 18th year.

Account made (for) the 19th year:

1 was issued to the man who did the herding

1 was brought in and slaughtered

7 were transferred – at present:

12 live adult male cattle

7 were withdrawn, those that were transferred(?).

Notes

1. The logogram used shows that this account concerns bovids.
2. Giovino (1989) has argued that El. *nutannuyas* could be related to Akk. *nadanu*, 'to give', which seems unlikely.
3. Barnish seems to have been in the vicinity of Persepolis. For the possible Iranian etymologies of the names, see Mayrhofer.

8. Part of a poultry yard account

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 2014. Date lost (Darius I); PFS 12a.

(Approximately 9 lines missing)

x adult males

x male chicks

Total 110 males.

11 adult females

12 female chicks

Total 23 females.

Total 133 live *basbas*¹ (at) the stockyard.²

Total 170 withdrawn (at) the stockyard.

60 adult males

x adult females

(Approximately 17 lines missing)

x yearling . . . s

x . . . chicks – total 62 . . .

Total 275 on hand (and for) allocations.

Those that were dispensed:

50 adult males

24 adult females

Total 74 dispensed.

And those that were slaughtered:

11 adult males

3(?) adult females

Total 14(?) . . . slaughtered and(?) . . .³

Notes

1. Possibly ducks, see **12, no.40(iii)** & n.3; Hinz and Koch (1987) suggest ‘peacocks’.

2. See **16, no.7**, n.2.

3. Only the middle section of this tablet is preserved.

(b) Annual calculations of expenditure

9. Disbursements of wine in 504/3

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1953. –/–/18, Darius I (504/3); PFS 1586 (Garrison and Root I, no.121).

x (*marriš* wine) . . . the *haturmakša*¹ received(?) as the offering for the *lan* (oblation),² and . . . na the priest³ received it. Month VI, for a period of 9 days, year 18.

x (*marriš* wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Karkish,⁴ as offering of the *kusukum*-sacrifice⁵ . . . received as ‘rations’. For a period of 9 days, month I, year 18.

x (*marriš* wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Sarakuzzish, he took (to) Persepolis (for) rations of craftsmen.⁶ Year 18.

16[(.5)] (*marriš* wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Karkish, workers subsisting on rations received as rations. Months X, XI, XII, year 18. 2 men 2 (*marriš*), 1 woman 1.5.⁷

21 (*marriš* wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Karkish, workers subsisting on rations received as rations. Months V, VI, VII, year 18. 2 men 2 (*marriš*), 1 woman 3.

40 (marriš wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Karkish, workers subsisting on rations received as rations. Months I, II, III, IV, year 18. 2 men 2 (marriš), 3 men 1, 1 woman 3.

7 (marriš wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Karkish, workers subsisting on rations received as rations. Months VIII, IX, year 18. 1 man 2 (marriš), 1 woman 1.5.

102.9 (marriš wine) Bakapuksha, the titikaš,⁸ received, and gave to . . . Months XII, II, IV, VI, VIII, X, year 18.

18.5 (marriš wine) Bakapuksha, the titikaš, received, and gave to x women who have given birth. Month IV, year 18. x women (who) bore males received each 1 (marriš). x women (who) bore females received each 0.5 (marriš) (. . .)⁹

64 (marriš wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Karkish, . . . gave to them. Year 18 (. . .)

35 (marriš wine), Kurukka, the hatarmabattiš received and gave it as kamakaš¹⁰ to 21(?) workers subsisting on rations, for whom Karkish is responsible. Year 18.

97 (marriš wine) Kamraka and his companion(s) received . . . they were sent from Arachosia (to) Susa . . .¹¹

1.8 (marriš wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Sarakuzzish, Mirinzana¹² received and fed(?) it to . . . horses. For a period of 8 months, year 18.

3 (marriš wine), (in accordance with) a sealed document of Sarakuzzish, Ushtana received,¹³ and fed(?) to 2(?) ber horses.¹⁴ Year 18.

150 (marriš wine) was made the battišekaš¹⁵ of 50 vats(?) of 30 marriš wine

1,269.5 (marriš wine) was received as revenue in year 18, including the tithe;¹⁶ 126.95 was delivered (as) the tithe.

1,142.55 (marriš wine) was left over.¹⁷

(Summary:)

(x+)2.85 (marriš) on hand (from) year 17

1,142.55 (marriš) left over (as) revenue (in) year 18

(x+)1,145.4(?) (marriš) was on hand, in it what has now been expended:

. . . (marriš) expended

. . . (marriš) carried forward (as) balance

. . . (marriš) withdrawn

This is the account (of wine) supplied by Manezza (at) Kurpun,¹⁸ Karkish being responsible, (in) year 18.

Notes

1. In this instance, perhaps an official related to cult, see **11, no.51**, n.1; cf. **16, no.1**, n.4.

2. See **11, no.43**.

3. El. šatin, see **11, no.39**.

4. El. halmi, see **12, no.29**, n.12; **15, nos.1; 4** & n.1. Karkish is attested as a chief of workmen (El. kurdabattiš, cf. **16, no.11**, n.3); for his probable Iranian name, see Mayrhofer 8.772.

5. This is both a cult place and the technical term for a particular type of offering, as (probably) in this case.

6. El. *marrip*, presumed to be engaged on work on the palace terrace. For the very uncertain etymology of the name, see Mayrhofer.
7. Brosius (1996) makes a good case for these female recipients of wine as leaders of work teams.
8. Clearly OP Bagabukhsha (Gr. Megabyxos); the meaning of his title is unknown.
9. For the practice of giving mothers of boys double the extra rations, see Kuhrt 2001b: 7.
10. For the possible cultic function of *hatarnabattiš* (OP *atharvapati-*), see PFT, Glossary; for *kamakaš*, **16, no.4**, n.3; Mayrhofer, for the name.
11. For issues of food to travellers, see **15, nos.1; 4**; for the name, see Mayrhofer.
12. Mirinzana's seal is the magnificent PFS 57*, applied to **16, no.1**; see Mayrhofer for his name. For wine issues to horses, see **12, no.40, n.14**.
13. The name in its Greek form is Hystanes, and occurs several times in the archive and elsewhere. Koch (1990) identifies a person with this name as an important official in charge of grain cultivation in the region on the Fars–Elam border. Whether this Ushtana is the same man cannot be determined.
14. Perhaps 'mature'.
15. A small deduction on large quantities of wine, see PFT, Glossary.
16. El. *rit/riut*, see Briant 1996a: 453 [2002b: 439–40].
17. 11, 425.5 litres was the total held in the depot.
18. Kurpun is located to the south-east of Persepolis by Koch (1990); for the PN, see Mayrhofer.

10. Disbursements of grain in 503/2

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1943. –/–/20, Darius I (502/1); PFS 120 (Garrison and Root I, no.49; **fig.16.2**).

357.7 (BAR of grain) was dispensed on behalf of the king, Hadaran (lit. Hasharan),¹ year 19.

278 (BAR of grain), delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document (of) Irshena,² workers subsisting on rations (at) Hadaran, for whom Irshena is responsible, they received (as) rations. (For) 4 months: the earlier month VI, intercalary VI, VII, VIII, year 19. 5 boys 2, 7 boys 1.5, 4 boys 1, 1 woman 3, 18 women 2, 3 girls 1.5, 3 girls 0.5; total 41 workers.³

7 (BAR of grain), delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document of Irshena, women who have given birth (at) Hadaran, whose apportionments are set by Irshena, received (as) *kamakaš*.⁴ 2 women (who) had borne boys 2 each. 3 women (who) had borne girls received 1 BAR each.⁵ Year 19.

6 (BAR of grain), delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document of Irshena, Masana, the *hamarnabattiš*,⁶ he received; 1 young horse, put to pasture (at) Hadaran, it consumed (it as) rations. (For) 1 month, V, (in) year 19, it consumed 2 QA daily.⁷

63 (BAR of grain), delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document of Irshena, Kunsush, the stableman,⁸ (for whom) Yaumanizza is responsible, he received; 1 *ber* horse,⁹ at pasture (at) Hadaran, it consumed (it as) rations. (For) 7 months, from month III to IX, (in) year 19, it consumed 3 QA daily.

100 (BAR of grain) Bakubbama the baker (at) Hadaran, for whom Irshena is responsible, he acquired and utilised (as) royal materials/requirements;¹⁰ year 19.

124 (BAR of grain) Napiyapish(?)¹¹ the brewer (at) Hadaran, (for whom) Irshena is responsible, he received and made beer, (as) royal materials/requirements; year 19.

30 (BAR of grain) Ramakara the miller,¹² (for whom) Irshena is responsible, he acquired and took (it to) Persepolis, (as) royal materials/requirements; year 19. Manush¹³ received it.

882 (BAR of grain) Yaudakka, the poultry keeper at Hadaran, (for whom) Irshena is respon-

sible, he acquired (it), and kittukka(?) birds,¹⁴ grazing (at) Hadaran, consumed (it as) rations. (For) 7 months, from month II to VIII, year 19. 10 *basbas*¹⁵ each consumed 1 QA daily. 2 *ippur* each consumed 1 QA daily. 30 *šudaba* consumed, per 5, 1 QA daily.¹⁶ 40 *šarazida*(?) consumed, per 5, 1 QA daily. 20 *iriri* consumed, per 5, 1 QA daily. 5 *hatika* consumed, per 5, 1 QA daily. 40 *daprakaš* consumed, per 10, 1 QA daily. 5 *kakataš* consumed, per 5, 1 QA daily. 30 *šaušuka* consumed, per 10, 1 QA daily. 150 *šarnuza* consumed, per 50, 1 QA daily.¹⁷ Total 332 birds.

288 (BAR of grain) Yamakka¹⁸ the keeper of cattle (at) Hadaran, (for whom) Irshena does the apportioning, acquired, and 4 cattle in(?) *kibat*,¹⁹ at pasture (at) Hadaran, consumed (it as) rations. (For) 8 months, from month I to VIII, year 19, each consumed 3 QA daily.

180 (BAR of grain) Numa the shepherd (at) Hadaran, (for whom) Irshena (does) the apportioning, acquired, and 30 sheep in(?) *kibat*, maintained at Hadaran, consumed (it as) rations. (For) 4 months, from month V to VIII, year 19, the 30 sheep each consumed $\frac{1}{20}$ (BAR) daily.²⁰

300 (BAR of grain) Kaupiya the *matira*²¹ (at) Hadaran, for whom Irshena is responsible, received, and set aside (as) seed, (at) Hadaran, year 19. (It is) grain from irrigated land(?) (for) the cattle of the king(?).

Total 2,615.7 (BAR of) grain dispensed, according to this tablet, (in) year 19, (at) Hadaran, allocations by Kashunda (and) Mesakka, his delivery man, Irshena being responsible.²²

This tablet (is) the first, (at) Hadaran, (in) year 19, allocations by Kashunda and Mesakka his delivery man, Irshena being responsible.²³

Notes

1. Placed in the district south-west of, and close to, Persepolis by Koch (1990), cf. **fig.16.5**(1).
2. Irshena (cf. Mayrhofer), too, was an overseer of workers (El. *kurdabattiš*). For the authorisation, see the references at **16, no.9**, n.4.
3. For the implications of these graded rations, see Briant 1996a: 444–5 [2002b: 431–2].
4. See **16, no.4**, n.3.
5. Cf. **16, no.9**, n.9.
6. Perhaps ‘stableboy’ or ‘groom’, see PFT, Glossary, s.v. For the PN, see Mayrhofer.
7. I.e. the horse ate 2 litres a day of this grain during the specified month.
8. El. *mudunra*. The name has no definable etymology.
9. See **16, no.9**, n.14, for El. *ber*. For the problematical name, see Mayrhofer.
10. El. *huthut sunkina*, see Hinz and Koch 1987, ‘Sachbedarf’; Mayrhofer 8.233 discusses the name.
11. See Mayrhofer for the curious name.
12. See Hinz 1975: 38 for this understanding of El. *hardakana* (OP **ard/takana*), cf. Tavernier 2002a; see Mayrhofer for the name.
13. Manush (Mayrhofer, s.v.) appears as a grain handler in PF 54, and feeding ducks(?) with a special type of grain in PF-NN 2388.
14. Yaudakka (diminutive of various PNs, Mayrhofer 8.1800) figures as a wine apportioner in PF 2006 (dated four years earlier). Cf. *kuktukka* with *kittukka*; see **12, no.40(iii)** & n.3.
15. See **16, no.8**, n.1.
16. El. *ippur* is thought to be a goose, *šudaba*, possibly a type of small bird, see **12, no.40(iii)**, n.3.
17. None of these birds can be identified; given the quantities they are fed daily, they must be tiny (particularly the last!).
18. For the probable Iranian etymology, see Mayrhofer 8.1792–5.
19. A designation applied to cattle, poultry and sheep. A possible meaning is (again) ‘in pasture’, see PFT, 48 and Glossary, s.v. IN (l g).
20. The etymology of Numa is uncertain, but see Mayrhofer. The ration per sheep was 0.5 litres.
21. Meaning unknown. Kaupiya, alt. Kampiya: see Mayrhofer 8.712 & 726, for possible Iranian etymologies.

22. The etymology of both these names is quite uncertain. The total quantity of grain expenditure itemised in this journal is 26,157 litres.
23. The final notation is written on the left edge of the tablet, where it would be quickly visible when set on a shelf, clearly in order to make it retrievable after filing.

(c) Aspects of bureaucracy

11. Parnaka, head of the Persepolis administration

(i) The daily meat ration

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 654. X/-/18, Darius I (December–January 503); PFS 9* (Garrison and Root I, no.288; **fig.16.3a**).

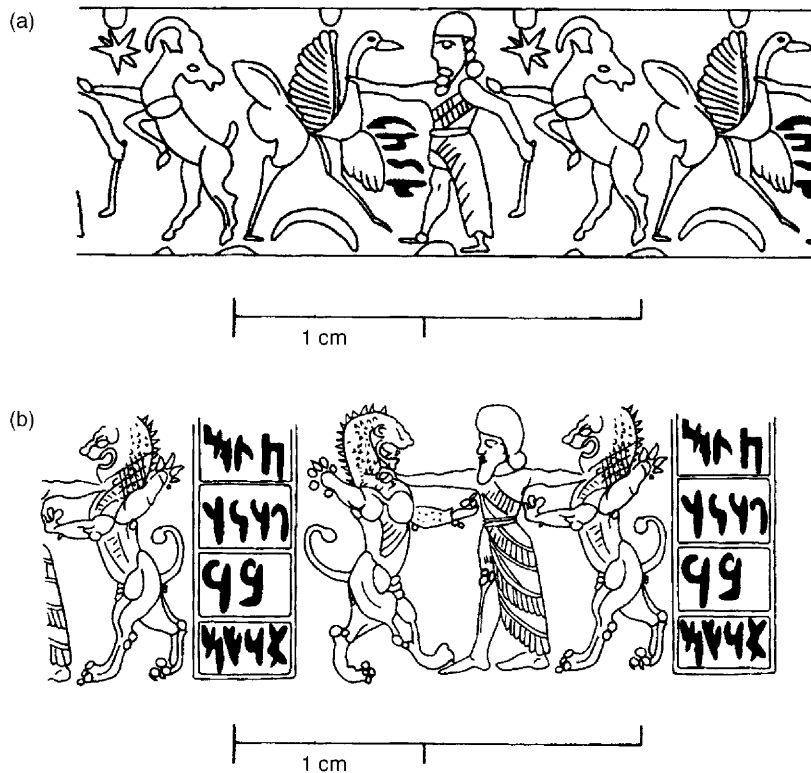


Figure 16.3 (a) Composite drawing of cylinder seal impression PFS 9* (Garrison and Root I, no.288); preserved height, 1.30 cm. This is Parnaka's first seal, which had been replaced by 5 June 500 (see **16, no.15**). His ownership is indicated by the Aramaic inscription giving his name (PRNK). (After Garrison and Root I.)

(b) Composite drawing of cylinder seal impression PFS 16* (Garrison and Root I, no.22); preserved height, 1.90 cm. This exceptionally fine seal in the 'Modeled Style' replaced Parnaka's previous seal (PFS 9*), as shown clearly by **16, no.15**, on which it is impressed for the first time. The Aramaic inscription reads: 'Seal (of) Parnaka, son of Arsham.' The filiation suggests very strongly that Parnaka was Hystaspes' brother and Darius I's uncle. (After Garrison and Root I.)

20 sheep, allocations by Harbezza, Parnaka received for rations.¹ For a period of 10 days, in month X, year 18.²

Karkish wrote. Mannunda communicated the message.³

(ii) The daily wine ration

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 665. II/25/23, Darius I (2 June 499); PFS 16* (Garrison and Root I, no.22; **fig.16.3b**).

9 *marriš* wine, allocations by Karkish, Parnaka received for rations. For a period of 1 day, at a village named Hadarakkash.⁴

Hishbesh wrote. Mannunda communicated its message. In year 23, month II, on day 25, the sealed document was delivered.⁵

(iii) The daily flour ration

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 669. VIII/–/23, Darius I (November–December 499); PFS 16* (Garrison and Root I, no.22; **fig.16.3b**).

36 (BAR of) flour, allocations by Kuntukka(?), from . . . Shiraz, Parnaka received for rations. For a period of 2 days, (in) year 23, month VIII.⁶

Shamanda wrote.⁷ Mannunda communicated its message.

Notes

1. Parnaka (Gr. form Pharnaces), described as the son of Arshama (Arsames) on his second seal (**fig.16.3b**), was almost certainly Darius I's uncle (cf. **12, no.29**, n.2). His important position is made clear by the extremely high daily rations he receives. For the possibility that these were 'paper transactions', whereby he was credited with the items to draw on as necessary (cf. **15, no.4**), see Briant 1996a: 964 [2002b: 939–40]. For the possible etymology of Harbezza (head of the livestock department), see Mayrhofer 8.447–53.
2. This works out as 2 sheep a day – Parnaka's regular ration as shown by the other issues of sheep to him (PF 655–62).
3. These subscripts only appear on documents and letters issued by high officials, cf. **16, no.60**, n.3. Karkish (Mayrhofer 8.772) figures as an important official overseeing workers, Mannunda (Mayrhofer 8.945) repeatedly as a high-level messenger and official at Persepolis.
4. As the other issues of wine to Parnaka show, 90 litres per day was the regular amount received by/credited to him.
5. El. *halmi*; see **16, no.9**, n.4 for references. Hishbesh may be an Elamite name (Mayrhofer 8.518).
6. Which works out as 180 litres of flour per day. See Mayrhofer 8.844/849 for the name.
7. Shamanda (Mayrhofer 8.1487) also appears as a supplier of grain and oil.

12. Zishshawish, Parnaka's deputy

(i) The daily flour ration

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 670. VII/–/18, Darius I (September–October 504); PFS 83*.

6 (BAR of) flour, allocations by Haturka, was received by Zishshawish for rations.¹ (For) 1 day, (at) Bessitme, (in month) VII, year 18.²

Kurdumish wrote. He received the *dumme* from Ribaya.³

(ii) The daily wine ration

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 673. IX/–/18, Darius I (November–December 504); PFS 83*.

9 *marriš* wine, allocations by Mushka, Zishshawish received for rations. For a period of 3 days, at Parmadan and Pirradashe(?),⁴ month IX, year 18.

Hintamukka wrote.⁵ He received the *dumme* from Ribaya.

(iii) The daily meat ration

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 678. X–XI/–/19, Darius I (December–February 503/2); PFS 11* (**fig.11.44**).

90 sheep, allocations by Kampiya, Zishshawish received for rations. In months X and XI, for a total period of 2 months, daily he receives 1 sheep and half of a sheep,⁶ in year 19.

Hintamukka wrote. He received the *dumme* from Ripish.⁷

Notes

1. It is clear from the fact that Zishshawish (OP Cicavahush, Mayrhofer 8.1876) regularly issues sealed documents (*halmi/miyatukkam*, cf. **15, no.4**) and from his relatively high rations that he occupied the position of Parnaka's right-hand man. Lewis (1985: 114–15) suggests the possibility that the Greek equivalent is Tithaeus, the name of one of the cavalry commanders in Herodotus' muster of Xerxes' forces, son of Datis the Mede (VII, 88; cf. **6, no.41**, n.1), cf. Henkelman 2006, ch.5 (PF-NN 2259, comment to l.23). Haturka (Mayrhofer 8.498) played an important role in the grain depot at Bessitme, located along the Susa–Persepolis road, cf. **12, no.32**, n.5.
2. 60 litres of flour is exactly one-third of Parnaka's daily ration (**16, no.11(iii)**), reflecting Zishshawish's lower status; cf. his wine ration (**16, no.12(ii)**).
3. Both figure as scribe and messenger elsewhere (see Mayrhofer 8.870; 8.1434). For *dumme*, 'order' / 'message' (?) see **13, no.5**, n.6.
4. Parmadan is on the road from Persepolis to Susa, see Koch 1990: 307 (plan), cf. Arfa'i 1999: 39. The other place only appears here, although it is possibly identical to Pirridush in PF-NN 802. Is PN Mushka related to Ir. 'mouse' (Mayrhofer, s.v.)?
5. This scribe, 'the Indian'(?), appears frequently in the archive, cf. **16, no.18**, n.5. The etymology of Ribaya is uncertain (see Mayrhofer).
6. This is a rather higher quantity than one would have expected when compared to his wine and flour rations. For the possibility that Kampiya is a hypocoristic of OP Gaubaruva (Gr. Gobryas), see Mayrhofer.
7. Etymology of this name is not clear. **16, no.12(i) & (ii)** are impressed with PFS 83*, **16, no.12(iii)** with PFS 11* (**fig.11.44**). The latter is almost certainly a replacement for the former, both belonging to Zishshawish himself, see Garrison 1998: 126–8 (who identifies him as (Gr.) Tithraustes).

13. Parnaka's secretaries

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1810. XII/–/23, Darius I (March 498); PFS 16* (Garrison and Root I, no.22; **fig.16.3b**).

Tell Bakadada, chief of workers,¹ Parnaka spoke as follows:

21 BAR flour and 12 BAR grain issue to them as rations, to Babylonian scribes on parchment,² who are assigned by me. (As) their ration, 7 men monthly are/will be receiving each 3 BAR, and 6 boys are/will be receiving each 2 BAR. Total 13 workers.

In month XII, year 23, this sealed document³ was delivered.

Takmaziya wrote. He received the *dumme* from Yauna.⁴

Notes

1. OP Bagadata (Gr. Megadates) figures prominently in the archive; for the title, see **16, no.9**, n.4.
2. I.e. writing in Aramaic, see **12, no.29(ii)** & n.11, cf. **16, no.14**.
3. El. *halmi*, see **16, no.9**, n.4, for references.
4. The name of the transmitter is 'the Ionian', which may indicate that a Greek occupied a high position in Parnaka's service, see Lewis 1977: 12, cf. **16, no.14**, n.3. A man with the same name and position appears in PT 21 (dated December–January 482/1), but is probably not the same individual. If the PN is indicative of ethnicity, then it would indicate the presence of yet another Greek making a successful career in the Persepolis bureaucracy. The scribe's name could be Iranian, see Mayrhofer.

14. Aramaic on an Elamite tablet

Elamite tablet with Aramaic notation, Persepolis: PF 1809. VII/1/23, Darius I (5 October 499); PFS 16* (Garrison and Root I, no.22; **fig.16.3b**).

Tell Midush, at the village of Himpira,¹ Parnaka spoke as follows:

6 (BAR) flour to be issued as rations to my servants² . . . 2 servants 3 (BAR) each will receive, in month VII for a total period of 1 month, year 23.

Dahiwukka wrote. Mannunda communicated its message.

Month VII, on the 1st day, year 23.

Aramaic notation (2 lines, left edge): In year 23. To Midush at(?) Himpira(?).³

Notes

1. Cf. Koch 1990: 201, n.832; 300, locating it along the route between Persepolis and Elam (Hallock (ad loc.) translates 'Midush, the *mannuhis* of Himpira). Midush (Mayrhofer 8.1073) appears a couple of other times issuing flour rations.
2. For the likelihood that some of the individuals designated 'boys' (El. *puhu*) are specially trained servants or valets, see **12, no.37(ii)**, n.7.
3. The notation shows that administrative business was conducted in several languages at Persepolis; cf. **16, no.13**. Note also the brief, sealed tablet in Greek (unpublished): 'Wine, two *maris*. Tebet' (Fort.1771). The month name is Babylonian, and the seals show that it is the record of an official transmission within the Persepolis administration (PFT, 2; Lewis 1977: 12–13). The names: Dahiwukka, certainly related to Gr. Deïokes, see Mayrhofer 8.332 and the cross-references there; Mannunda's etymology is uncertain (Mayrhofer, s.v.).

15. Parnaka replaces his seal

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 2067. III/16/22, Darius I (5 June 500); PFS 16* (Garrison and Root I, no.22; **fig.16.3b**).¹

Tell Ushaya, the ‘wine handler’,² Parnaka speaks as follows:

30 marris wine issue to them, priests who are at Gimarukdash.³ Let them use/prepare it as an offering-gift for the gods whom (they venerate) at Gimarukdash. Year 22. As formerly it was given to them (so issue to them now).

Also, the seal that formerly (was) mine has been replaced/lost. Now this seal (is) mine that has been impressed on this tablet.⁴

Shakshabanush wrote. He received the dumme from Pilidan.⁵

Year 22, month III, on day 16.

Notes

1. See the discussion of this and related texts in Henkelman 2006, 3.7.2.1 with n.245.
2. El. GĒSTIN-kutiā appears at least eleven times and seems to designate the official in charge of the distribution (also production?) of wine, see Hallock 1960: 98. For Ushaya, see Mayrhofer.
3. For priests, see **11, no.39**, n.2. Gimarukdash is located north-west of Persepolis.
4. I.e. the one impressed on this tablet: PFS 16*, see **fig.16.3b**.
5. Shakshabanush is certainly Old Persian; Pilidan may be Elamite (Mayrhofer 11.3.3).

16. Administrative failings

(i) A complaint

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1957 (37–8).¹ II/–/23, Darius I (May–June 499); PFS 27* & PFS 108*.

Battish and his companion(s) say: Mirinzana did not give us the sealed document of (what) was carried forward (in) year 21.²

(ii) Failure to issue rations

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1960 (29–30).³ III/29/24, Darius I (25 June 498); PFS 27*.

At that time, the (women) workers (for) 2 months did not receive rations.

Notes

1. The passage comes at the end of a journal recording grain issued in 500/499.
2. Battish is probably an abbreviated form of an Iranian PN (Mayrhofer 8.291).
3. The note comes at the end of a record of grain issues.

17. Directive to apprehend a fugitive and improve bureaucratic practice

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 28. Darius I; seal (no number).¹

Tell Mirinzana, Shakshabanush² spoke as follows:

To your tartammati.³

Concerning (the fact) that the accountants are not delivering the accounts a sealed document was sent to Parnaka. The man who carried that tablet, that delivery man (?) fled and went off.

Now you seize that man and send him (to) Media. (In) Media (he will be) closely interrogated.⁴

Further, when you send a tablet from you(rself) to Parnaka, then write on that tablet the name of the man who is carrying the tablet, (and) send (it).

Thus Parnaka's order, and I made (it) [. . .]

Formerly the name (of) that man was not written.

Notes

1. The letter is not dated, but the reference to Parnaka indicates that the tablet must be from Darius I's reign.
2. Shakshabanush (Mayrhofer 8.1481) figures as scribe only in other Persepolis texts, while Mirinzana is closely associated with accounts (cf. **16, no.16(i)**).
3. This is clearly an opening salutation, but the specific meaning is unknown.
4. See Hallock 1978: 127 for the literal phrase, which appears to be 'to squeeze his oil(?)'.

(d) Treasuries

18. The Persepolis treasurer writes to his subordinate

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 1. VIII–XII/–/32, Darius I (October–March 490/489); PFS 113*/PTS 4* (Garrison and Root I, no.19; **fig.16.4**).

(To) Shakka speak, thus Baradkama:¹

3 karsh and 2 and a half shekels, silver, give (to) the man called Haradduma(?), the Egyptian woodcarver, chief of a hundred,² earning wages at Persepolis, for whom Mauka is responsible.³ The counterpart for sheep and wine:⁴ 1 sheep for 3 shekels, 1 marriš (wine) for 1 ditto. Months VIII, IX, X, XI, XII – in a total of 5 months in year 32. 1 man per month is to receive 6 and a half shekels of silver. Hintamukka⁵ wrote; he received the dumme from Mardukka.⁶

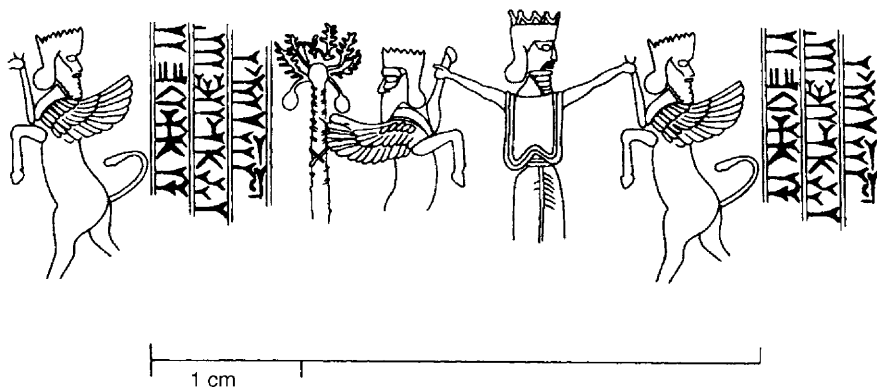


Figure 16.4 Composite drawing of impressions of cylinder seal PFS 113*/PTS 4* (Garrison and Root I, no.19); preserved height, 1.70 cm. The trilingual cuneiform inscription reads: 'I am Darius [. . .]'. The large seal is a very fine example of the 'Court Style', and was the office seal of the treasurer Baradkama. It appears on tablets from both the Treasury and the Fortifications, and continued to be used by him in the reign of Xerxes. (After Garrison and Root I.)

Notes

1. Barad/tkama (Mayrhofer 8.256) is attested as treasurer at Persepolis between 490 and 480/479 and the seal is his; Shakka worked under him, perhaps as his official deputy. His name, 'the Scythian', suggests a member of this Central Asian group functioning at a high level in the Persepolis administration (cf. Yauna, **16, no.13** & n.4).
2. Two signs of the name are unclear; this is Hallock's reading (1960: 96). Its Egyptian etymology remains uncertain (Mayrhofer 11.3.4). Haradduma's title indicates that he is head of a group of workmen (see Briant 1996a: 443–4 [2002b: 431]; cf. **16, no.37**).
3. For discussion of El. *šaramana*, see Hallock 1960: 90; for the name (Ir. Vahauka), Mayrhofer 8.1056.
4. El. *šaki*, see Hallock 1960: 91–2. Silver is being substituted for the usual drink and meat rations.
5. The name is very possibly a hypocoristic form of 'Hindukka', 'the Indian' (Mayrhofer 8.514, with reservations). If right, it would be an analogy to Shakka, see above, n.1. (Note his and Marduka's high position.)
6. For *dumme*, see **13, no.5**, n.6. Marduk(k)a is certainly a Babylonian name.

19. The Persepolis treasury releases silver for paying craftsmen

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 27. VI/–/13, Xerxes (September–October 473); PTS 2*.¹

(To) Mawish the treasurer at Persepolis speak, thus Irtatakma:²

3 karsh, 6 shekels and 3 quarters of a shekel silver, from the royal treasury³ give to them, i.e. makers of inlay, makers of reliefs(?), (for) whom you are responsible, (being) the silver which is to go to them. The counterpart (of) the wage (is) in sheep (the) wage of the months Samiamantash (XI): 1; Viyakhna the former (XII): Viyakhna the later (XII)⁴: 1 – a total of 3 months in year 12. At . . .⁵ 1 man, per month, is to receive 1 and a half shekel. 5 men, per month: each is to receive 3 quarters of a shekel. 14 men, per month: each is to receive half a shekel. Total: 20 men. It is accounted: 1 sheep (is the) counterpart (of) 3 shekels silver. Together it is accounted: 1 sheep (is the) counterpart (of) 3 shekels silver. Piddabarma and his companions have made an account (for) the people, accounted together. Month VI, year 13, a sealed order has been given. Tetukka wrote; from Akkushuna.⁶

Notes

1. For the equivalences and improved readings of passages, see Hallock 1960.
2. See Mayrhofer (8.1054; 8.606) for the Iranian names.
3. El. *kapnuški*.
4. The OP month had been intercalated.
5. Unclear.
6. The etymology of the names (Mayrhofer 8.1307; 8.1623; 8.26) is very uncertain, although Tetukka seems Iranian.

20. Silver payment instead of rations for vine-dressers(?) at Niriz

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 52. –/–/20, Xerxes (465/4); PTS 2*.

(To) Ratininda, the treasurer¹ of Persepolis, speak, thus Irtatakma:

14 karsh silver give them (as) wages: workers (who are) vine-dressers(?),² who are accounted at Hankurraka, Utana³ has the responsibility in Narezish.⁴ (It is) the counterpart (of) half the rations, their rations (for) month II of year 20. 12 men, each 3 and

3-quarter shekels. 9 boys, each 2 and a half shekels. 9 boys, each 1 and 3-quarters and an eighth shekels. 14 women, each, 2 and a half shekels. 11 girls, each 1 and 3-quarters and an eighth shekel.

Notes

1. Here the term used is OP *k/ganzabara* instead of El. *kapnuškira*. See Mayrhofer 8.1425 for discussion of the name. For the writer's OP name, see Mayrhofer 8.606 (Gr. Artochmes).
2. Cameron (PTT, 165–6) reads this as *is-ra-sa-ka-ra*, 'armourers', which is attractive given their location near Niriz, known for its iron-mines (see **11, no.68**). However, Hallock (PFT, Glossary, s.v. *razakara*) has reinterpreted the word as 'vine-dressers'.
3. The well-known Persian name, familiar in its Greek form Otanes.
4. For the identification of this as Niriz, see **11, no.45**, n.3; **11, no.68** (cf. **fig.16.5(6)**).

21. Memorandum of pay to a specialist from Susa

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 78. –/–/3, Artaxerxes I (462/1); PTS 5*.

2 shekels silver from the treasury of Persepolis, 1 man, a mirror-maker¹ (and) foreman² who had come from Susa to Persepolis (and for whom) Barishsha³ is responsible, received. Wine is the counterpart. Months VII to XII of year 3. 1 man was to receive a third (of) a shekel (per month).

Notes

1. El. *hatena hutira*, tentatively translated as 'ornament(?) maker' by Cameron, while Hallock (PFT, Glossary, s.v. *hatena*) relates it to OP **adaina*, 'mirror'.
2. El. *pirramanakurraš* = OP **framanakara*.
3. 'The Persian', cf. **16, nos.13**, n.4; **18**, nn.1 & 5.

22. A royal order to pay workers in silver

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 7. Undated; PFS 71*/PTS 33*.¹

410 karsh, 6 shekels silver, allocation by Unsak, workers subsisting on rations – Appishiyatish,² son of Mawish,(?) (it is) who is responsible – have received as rations. The king ordered; Dadumania wrote.³

Notes

1. Possibly from Darius I's reign (PTT, 91). The fact that the seal is also used in the Fortification archive does not help, as seals were not changed with the death of the ruler.
2. The former PN is Elamite (Vallat 1992/2002), the latter definitely Iranian, Mayrhofer 8.92.
3. For the uncertainties of the name, see Mayrhofer 8.324; 8.328–9.

23. High-level staff in the Rakkan 'treasury'

(i) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1947 (15–22). –/–/21, Darius I (501/0); no seal.¹

[66] (BAR of flour), [delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document of Parnaka,] . . . adda the delivery man at the treasury, he received (for) rations. (For) 2 months, the fourth and fifth, year 21. 1 man (receives) 9 (BAR), 8 servants 3; total 9 workers.

50 (BAR of flour), [delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document of Parnaka,] . . . adda the scribe at the treasury received as rations. (For) 2 months, the second and third, year 21. 1 man (receives) 9 (BAR), 8 servants 2; total 9 workers.

x [. . .] Sharbaladda,² the treasurer, receives as rations. (For) 3 months, the tenth and eleventh and twelfth, year 20, and 1 month, the first in year 21. Each received 2(?) BAR (per month).

[48(?)] (BAR of flour), [delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document of Parnaka,] . . . baturra the scribe writing on parchment (at) Appishtapdan,³ together with his companion Puraya(?), of him . . . (For) 2 months, the third and fourth, year 21. 2(?) men (receive) 9(?) (BAR), 3(?) servants(?) 2(?); total 5 workers.

(ii) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 866 (7–10). V/–/28, Darius I (August–September 494); no seal preserved.

1 scribe receives 4 BAR; 1 *etira*⁴ ditto 4 BAR; 1 treasurer ditto 3.5 BAR;⁵ x attendants, each ditto 4 BAR.⁶

Notes

1. The text is a very long annual account of expenditures in flour at this provincial ‘treasury’ (warehouse), to the south-west of Persepolis.
2. Etymology uncertain (Mayrhofer 8.1499), as is that of Puraya in the subsequent section (Mayrhofer 8.1376).
3. See **12, no.45**, n.5.
4. Perhaps a magazine administrator.
5. This treasurer seems to receive rather more than the one in the first passage. It is clear that the title is not exclusive; Hinz (1972) suggested that this particular one was in charge of security.
6. Given the quantities assigned to these officials, they clearly occupied a fairly important position.

24. Staff at the Shiraz ‘treasury’

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 865. I–III/–/28, Darius I (April–June 494); PFS 113*/PTS 4* (Garrison and Root I, no.19; **fig.16.4**).

x + 46.5 (BAR) grain, allocations by Karkish(?),¹ treasury workers subsisting on rations (at) Shiraz, for whom Baradkama is responsible,² received as rations. Months I and II and III, year 28.

1 man, a keeper of *atna*,³ 6; 6 men, *etip*,⁴ each 4; 1 man, a *tapmikilkira*,⁵ 4; 2 men, attendants, each 4; 10 men, treasury (workers), each 3.5; 4 men *ramikurraš* (workers),⁶ each 3. 4 men, handlers of *hazarna*,⁷ each 3; 5 men, *mulatap* (workers),⁸ each 3.

5 boys each 2.5, 9 boys each 2, 9 boys each 1.5, 1 boy 1, 6 boys each 0.5⁹

1 woman superintendant, 5; 51(?) women attendants, each 4; 45 women, *ramikurraš* (workers), each 3; 2 women, *ammalup* (workers),¹⁰ each 2; 11 women ‘ration makers’, each 2; 1 girl 2.5, 2(?) girls each 2, 3(?) girls each 1.5, 1 girl 1, 1 girl 0.5.

Total 181 workers.¹¹

Notes

1. See **16, no.9**, n.4.
2. By 490, Baradkama had advanced to the position of treasurer at Persepolis; he continued to use the same seal (**16, no.18**, n.1).
3. The meaning of this (and the subsequent Elamite words) is not known; Hinz (1972) suggests 'jewellery'.
4. See **16, no.23(ii)**, n.4.
5. 'Smelter of precious metals', according to Hinz (1972).
6. Possibly 'fine craftsmen' (Hinz 1972).
7. From OP **acarna-*, 'instruments', 'furnishings', 'materials' (Hallock, PFT, Glossary, s.v.), interpreted as 'furniture carvers' by Hinz (1972).
8. Either 'servants' or 'gardeners' in Hinz 1972.
9. The descending food quantities suggest that the undifferentiated 'boys' were classified according to age sets.
10. Hinz (1972) has argued that these could be midwives, wet-nurses or simply nannies caring for the babies and small children, whose births are attested in many of the documents (cf. **16, nos.9–10**).
11. Note that, generally, the rations issued here to males and females ('girls' presumably classified in analogous fashion to 'boys') are the same.

25. The personnel at the Urandush 'treasury'

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 864. XII²/–/27, Darius I (March–April 495); PFS 113*/PTS 4* (Garrison and Root I, no.19; **fig.16.4**).

228 (BAR) grain, supplied by Bagizza, treasury workers subsisting on rations (at) Urandush,¹ for whom Baradkama is responsible,² received (as) rations, for 1 month, intercalated XII, year 27.

2 men, makers of *tukduh*,³ 4; 20 men, treasury (workers), 3.5 makers of *ramiyaš*(?),⁴ each(?) 3; 19 men, handlers of *hazama*,⁵ 3; 14 men, carriers of wood, 3; 1 man, a *mulatap*,⁶ 3.

7 boys 0.5. 4 women 3. 3 girls 0.5.

Total 77 workers.

Notes

1. Located in the area south-east of Persepolis by Koch (1990: 88–101). The name Bagizza is probably Iranian (Mayrhofer 8.229).
2. See **16, no.24**, n.2.
3. Hinz (1972) argues that they could be makers of fine, or even royal, garments.
4. The restoration is uncertain. If correct then it could mean 'roasted barley', but Hinz (1972) takes it to be *ramikurraš*, for which see **16, no.24**, n.6.
5. See **16, no.24**, n.7.
6. See **16, no.24**, n.8.

26. Deliveries of hides to local 'treasuries'

(i) Sheep- and goathides to Hiran

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 58. –/–/18, Darius I (504/3); PFS 31 (Garrison and Root I, no.172) & PFS 363.

1 (adult) ram, 1 he-goat, 4 (adult) ewes, 7 she-goats, 4 female kids, total 17 small cattle (at the stockyard, allocations by Bakabana, were slaughtered. Their hides Ampirdawish and Shakada¹ received, and delivered to the treasury (at) Hiran.² Year 18.

(ii) Sheep- and goathides to Pasargadae

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 62. –/–/19, Darius I (503/2); PFS 31 (Garrison and Root I, no.172) & PFS 92.

16 (adult) rams, 14 he-goats, total 30 small cattle, allocations by Bakabadush, were slaughtered. Their hides Shakada and Irtima³ his companion received, and delivered to the treasury (at) Batrakatash (Pasargadae). Year 19.

(iii) Sheephides to Matezzish

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 70. VIII/–/21, Darius I (October–November 501/0); PFS 31 (Garrison and Root I, no.172), PFS 92, PFS 377.

11 ewes, allocations by Puda,⁴ were slaughtered. Their hides Irtima and Shakada received, and delivered to the treasury (at) Matezzish,⁵ in month VIII, year 21.

(iv) Sheep/goathides(?)

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 74. –/–/20, Darius I (502/1); PFS 127, PFS 128, PFS 129.

18 small cattle, allocations by Babaka, were slaughtered. Bakadushda and Pirtanda (and) Zishshawish received (the hides?) and delivered to the treasury. Year 20. At the stockyard.⁶

(v) Cowhides

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 75. –/–/18, Darius I (504/3); PFS 127, PFS 128, PFS 129.

102 cattle, allocations by Tetukka, were slaughtered. The cowhides Bakadushda and Zishshawish and Pirtanda received,⁷ and delivered to the treasury. Year 18.

(vi) Camelhides

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 77. IX/1/24, Darius I (23 November 498); PFS 165*.

12 ‘cowhides’ of camels,⁸ 7 ‘cowhides’ of yearling camels, 2 ‘cowhides’ of camel calves(?), total 21 ‘cowhides’, allocations by Takmashbada, Shandupirzana received.⁹ Included among those ‘cowhides’, 2 *aššana*.¹⁰ They were received (in) month IX, day 1, year 24.

Notes

1. For another interpretation of *nutannuyaš*, see **16, no.7**, n.2, although ‘stockyard’ seems apt in this context. Bakabana is obviously OP Bagapana (Gr. Megapanos); the etymology of Shakada is uncertain; see Mayrhofer 8.55, for Ampirdawish.
2. About twenty texts record deliveries of hides. Many specify the warehouses (‘treasuries’) where they were to be processed. Hinz (1972) visualised them being turned into fur-lined garments (sheepcoats), as well as leather goods of various types. Most important was the production of parchment, so extensively used in the Persepolis administration (cf. **16, Introduction; no.13**, n.2). For a detailed discussion of leather working, see Kawase 1986. She makes a good case for deliveries made by stockbreeders, who contracted to herd the royal flocks (a system well attested in the Old Babylonian period (c.1800, Kuhrt 1995a: 110–11; Kawase 1980). Hiran appears in connection with Urandush (Koch 1990: 98–9), see **16, no.25**, n.1.
3. For Bakabadush, see the discussion by Mayrhofer (8.187, 8.192: not equivalent to Gr. Megabazus); Irtima is probably Iranian, cf. the Greek form Artimas (Mayrhofer 8.657); Shakada, uncertain.
4. The etymology of this name is completely uncertain.
5. For Matezzish, very close to (part of?) Persepolis, see **11, no.10**.
6. Given the location and absence of the relevant word, it may be that the animals were not being slaughtered for their hides in this case; Babaka is Iranian, see below, n.7, for the names.
7. Bakadushda is Iranian, cf. Gr. Megadostes; Pirtanda could be; see **16, no.19** for Tetukka.
8. This is normally written, as here, logographically, ANŠE.A.AB.BA; only PFa 26 contains the Elamite word for a camel, *zibbaruna*.
9. Takmashbada is OP (or Median?) Takhmaspada, the name of one of Darius I’s generals in 522/1 (see **5, no.1**, para.33). For Shandupirzana, see Mayrhofer 8.1494.
10. In other contexts, this seems to be a kind of bread. See Kawase (1986: 266), who compares this with the treatment of hides with bread as part of the tanning process in the Ur III period (Mesopotamia, c.2100–2000 BC). Note Wulff’s description of traditional tanning and leather grinding in Iran (1966: 230–2), where barley meal is used in the fermentation process used to cure leather. Contrast Hinz and Koch (1987), who think it is connected to horses (OP *asa-*, ‘horsehides’?).

(e) Craftsmen

27. Craftsmen from many places on the Persepolis terrace

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 79. –/–/5, Artaxerxes I (460/459); PTS 5*.

402 karsh, 6 and a half shekels silver, from the treasury of Persepolis, which the workers, craftsmen of all kinds who (work) in the palace,¹ for whom Barishsha is responsible at Persepolis, they, as the counterpart of wine, are receiving. (It is) 2 thirds of the rations from month VII to XII² of year 5.

788 men, each 2 thirds.

85 ditto ditto, a half shekel.

271 ditto ditto, a third.

This is what they are to receive for 6 months.²

4 men, each, 2 thirds.

1 ditto, a third.

This is what they received for 4 months.

Notes

1. Cameron argued that these were artisans working on Xerxes’ ‘Gateway of All Lands’ at Persepolis (**12, no.4**).

2. But seven months were indicated earlier.

28. Lycian craftsmen

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1049. XII²/–/22, Darius I (March–April 499); PFS 2 (Garrison and Root I, no.3).¹

36 (BAR) grain allocations by Puksha, (in accordance with) a sealed document of Irtuppiya, Umadadda received,² and gave it to Lycian workers, craftsmen.³ Month 13, year 22.

5 men 3; 1 boy 1.5; 6 women 3; 1 girl 1.5 Total 13 workers.

Notes

1. This, certainly the seal of the prominent grain administrator Irtuppiya (OP, cf. Gr. Artyphios/Artybios), appears on more tablets in the archive than any other.
2. Puksha is the abbreviated form of a name such as Bagabukhsha/Megabyxos, cf. the Persian Boxus, cited by Agatharchides (17, no.45); see Mayrhofer 8.1713, for Umadadda.
3. El. *kurtas Turmulap mairip*. The ethnic renders 'Termilae', the Lycian designation for Lycians (Hdt. I, 173; 17, no.33(i)).

29. Goldsmiths

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 872. XI–XII/–/23, Darius I (February–March 498); PFS 1* (Garrison and Root I, no.182).¹

25 (BAR) grain, allocations by Masdayashna,² workers subsisting on rations, goldsmiths (at) Persepolis, assigned by Shuddayauda,³ received as rations. Months XI and XII, year 23.

2 men 3. 3 women 2. 1 girl 0.5. Total 6 workers.

Notes

1. The fine seal has an Elamite inscription. It is associated with very high-level officials, who were responsible for assigning rations to workers (Shuddayauda, in this case).
2. Obviously Iranian ('Who honours Mazda'), the name also appears in a late fifth-century Aramaic document from Elephantine (AP 37, l.6).
3. For discussion of this Iranian name, whose bearer figures extensively in the Persepolis archive (Koch 1990), see Mayrhofer 8.1569.

30. An Assyrian woodcarver?

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1799. V/–/24, Darius I (July–August 498); PFS 16* (Garrison and Root I, no.22; **fig.16.3b**).

Tell Irshena, chief of workers, Parnaka spoke thus:

15 BAR flour from Persepolis issue as rations to Addarnurish¹ the 'Assyrian' who handles cedar(?) (wood)² (at) Persepolis, (as) rations (for) months III, IV, V, VI, VII, for a total period of 5 months, year 24. Monthly he receives 3 BAR.

Shamanda wrote. He received the *dumme* from Yauna.³

In year 24, month V, the sealed document was delivered.

Notes

1. Addarnurish must certainly be a West Semitic name, and it is likely that ‘Assyrian’ should more correctly be rendered simply ‘Syrian’. See **16, no.10** for Irshena.
2. Some type of wood is definitely indicated. Hallock’s suggestion ‘cedar’ is on the assumption that El. *nauziś/nawišinna* is a loanword from OP *naucina*, which appears in the Susa foundation documents, see **11, no.13** (DSf; DSz).
3. See **16, no.13**, n.4 for Yauna; Mayrhofer, for Shamanda; for *dumme*, see **13, no.5**, n.6.

31. Quarryworkers

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1587. II/–/x, Darius I; PFS 6 & PFS 971 (Garrison and Root I, nos.304; 171, respectively).

185 (BAR) grain, allocations by Hatarbanush, Ramakka received.¹ It was taken (to) Persepolis (for) rations of stone workers.² Month II, year [. . .]

Aramaic notation (2 lines, reverse): Ramakka brought (it to) Persepolis, (for) rations of diggers of stone.³

Notes

1. For Ramakka, see Schmitt in Mayrhofer 11.1.8.5.4; for OP Atrbanush, Mayrhofer 8.492.
2. Hallock takes them to be sculptors, but the Aramaic gloss at the end suggests that they may be no more than quarrymen.
3. The Aramaic glosses were read long ago by R.A. Bowman, and have not been collated since. For Greek graffiti in the Persepolis quarry, see Pugliese Caratelli 1966.

32. Lydian blacksmiths

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 873. XI–XII²/–/22, Darius I (January–March 499); PFS 4* (Garrison and Root I, no.292; cf. **fig.16.1**).¹

121.5 (BAR) flour, allocations by Irishtimanka, Sardian men, blacksmiths, subsisting on rations (at) Kurra,² for whom Irshena is responsible, received as rations. Months XI, XII, XII², for a total period of 3 months, year 22.

9 men, each receives 4.5 BAR per month. Total 9 workers.

Notes

1. This very large, fine seal has a personal Elamite inscription and may be an heirloom.
2. Kurra is located north-west of Persepolis by Koch (1990: 140–4). For discussion of the name, which should be Ishtimanka, see Mayrhofer 8.684.

33. Silversmiths in Hidali

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 874. III/–/21, Darius I (June 501); PFS 4* (Garrison and Root 2002, no.292; cf. **fig.16.1**).¹

2 *marriš* beer, allocations by Irtuppiya, 1 man, a guard (at) Hidali² for the silversmiths, subsisting on rations, for whom Irshena is responsible, received as rations. Month III, year 21.
Total 1 worker.

Notes

1. See **16, no.32**, n.1.
2. An important Elamite city, generally located on the Elam–Fars frontier. Arfa'i (1999) has pointed out that this is by no means certain and places it about halfway between Behbahan and Persepolis, i.e., much further east (see **fig.16.6**; recent discussion by Henkelman (2003c; also, id. 2006, 4.2.1.4 & n.457)).

34. A weavers' workshop?

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 999. –/–/24, Darius I (498/7); PFS 44s & PFS 993.

3,627 (BAR) grain, allocations by Karkish, 107 (female) *pašap*-workers¹ received as rations. For a period of 13 months, (for) 1 month they receive 279 (BAR) grain. In month I to XII², year 24.

1 maker of *tukli bariš*, 2 makers of *luplak bariš*,² total 3, each 4.5.

10 women makers of *tukli bariš*, 6 women makers of *luplak bariš*, 1 *zilpira*,³ total 17, each 4.

2 (sesame) oil makers,⁴ 21 women makers of *tukli ramiyam*, 18 women makers of *kansuka ramiyam*, 7 women makers of *luplak ramiyam*,⁵ total 48, each 3.

1 woman maker of *luplak ramiyam*, 1 woman maker of *tukli ramiyam*, 1 woman maker of *kansuka ramiyam*, total 3, each 2.5.

2 women makers of *luplak ramiyam*, 3 *kansuka* makers, 7 *tukli* makers, 1 *zilpira*, 1 *razakka*, 1 *takdudum*(?) woman, wife of the *zilpira*,⁶ total 15, each 2.

2 boys, 1 girl, total 3, each 1.5.

6 boys, 5 girls, total 11, each 1.

2 boys, 5 girls, total 7, each 0.5.⁷

Notes

1. Twenty-three texts refer to women defined in this way. Kawase (1984) analysed them (as well as others she connected with these) and concluded that they are female weavers. Brosius (1996: 146–82) disagrees, arguing that the term simply serves to classify certain groups of female workers. Although I am here presenting Kawase's attractive interpretation, it is important to realise that it is hypothetical.
2. Meaning uncertain; Kawase (1984, following Hinz) tentatively proposes 'extra fine (i.e. first class) garments' and 'extra fine mantles', respectively.
3. No suggestion has been offered for this word.
4. Kawase (1984: 23) points out that, according to Mesopotamian texts from the late third millennium, sesame oil was used for fulling.
5. 'Finer (i.e. second-class) garments' and 'second-class mantles (of a certain type)', respectively. (Both *luplak* and *kansuka* are thought to be types of mantles.)
6. There are no suggestions for understanding most of these terms, but note that Kawase sees the absence of a qualifying adjective (combined with the lower rations) as indicating 'ordinary' garments.
7. Hallock notes an Aramaic gloss on the left margin of obverse, but it is not published.

35. *Fine table-ware for the palace*

- (i) Green chert plate with Aramaic text: Bowman 1970, no.18; Persepolis Treasury, 467/6.¹

In the treasury of the fortress, on the order of Mithraka SGN,² Bagapaushta made this large plate. On the authority of Bagapata, treasurer; Mazdadata, deputy treasurer.³ 'SKR'⁴ of year 19.

- (ii) Green chert pestle with Aramaic text: Bowman 1970, no.29; Persepolis Treasury, 460/59.

In the treasury of the fortress, on the order of Mithraka SGN, Artabarrana made this wine(?)⁵ pestle. (Work) series of year 5.

Notes

1. The precise source and function of these fine objects is much debated, see the discussion and references in Briant 1996a: 445–6; 966 [2002b: 433; 941], whose interpretation is followed here; see Razmjou 2004b: 112–14 for arguments relating the items to a religious ceremony performed in the Persepolis palaces. They probably date to the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I, see Bowman 1970: 56–62.
2. Perhaps to be seen as the supervisor of the work.
3. These are taken to be the superior officials, who authorised the issue of the materials and the pay of the craftsmen. All the names are obviously Iranian.
4. For discussion of this enigmatic (and recurring) term, Bowman 1970: 53–5.
5. See Bowman 1970, ad loc., for this understanding of Ar. B'T.

(f) *The labour force*

36. *Size and movement of work groups*

- (i) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1557. –/–/21, Darius I (501/0); PFS 17 (Garrison and Root I, no.235) & PFS 1442.

18 marriš wine, allocations by Ushaya,¹ Bakabadush, the 'elite guide',² received. He gave (it) to 547 Egyptian workers.

They went to Tamukkan. He carried a sealed document of Bakabana.³

Year 21.

- (ii) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1577. No date; PFS 17 & PFS 1460 (Garrison and Root I, nos.235 & 9, respectively).

3 BAR dates, allocations by Ushaya, Parshena,⁴ the 'elite guide', received, and gave (it) to 108 Cappadocian workers.

They went to Elam (lit. 'the Elamites'). He carried a sealed document of Parnaka.

They received (it as) kamakaš.⁵

(iii) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1542. I/–/23, Darius I (April–May 499); PFS 299*.

50 *māriš* beer Kurdama received.⁶ 1,500 men each received 1 thirtieth.

He carried a sealed document of Zishshawish. He went from Persepolis to Susa.

Month I, year 23.

Lin makers. At Hidali.⁷

(iv) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 18. III/–/23, Darius I (June–July 499); PFS 143s.

23 BAR, 8.5 QA flour Ukbateya⁸ received for rations, and gave as rations to 150 Skudra workers, women.⁹

He carried a sealed document of Miturna;¹⁰ they went to Tamukkan.

150 workers, each received 1.5 QA. 3 ‘élite guides’ received each 1.5 QA. Their 9 boys¹¹ received each 1 QA.

In month III, year 23.

(v) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 30 (11–16). –/–/21, Darius I (501/0); PFS 120 (Garrison and Root I, no.49; **fig.16.2**).

49 (*māriš* wine) Yadaushiya, (who) escorted Cappadocian workers across from Rakkan to Ushbaka¹² (at) Tamukkan, received for them. (As) rations (for) 1 day (in) month IX, year 21, 980 workers each received 1 twentieth.

10 (*māriš* wine) Shiyatiparna,¹³ (who) took Lycian workers across from Rakkan to Ushbaka (at) Tamukkan, received (as) their rations. For each 1 day in month VI, year 21, 303 workers received each 1 thirtieth *māriš*.

Notes

1. Probably an Old Persian name (Mayrhofer 8.1767).
2. See **15, no.1 (i)**, nn.5 and 8.
3. For the location of Tamukkan (Tauka, Gr. form Taoce), see **fig.16.5(4)**. For the authorisation, see **15, Introduction**. See **14, no.34**, n.12 for Bakabana.
4. For the uncertain etymology of the name, see Mayrhofer 8.1299.
5. See **16, no.4**, n.3.
6. See Mayrhofer 8.869, for possible etymology of name.
7. Meaning of *lin* unknown; for Hidali, see **16, no.33**, n.2.
8. Analysis of the name is very uncertain (Mayrhofer 8.1679).
9. El. *iskudrabe* (f)MUNUS. Usually translated as ‘Thracian’, but strong doubts have been expressed by Szemerényi (1980). It is not certain whether the group included women, or consisted of women.
10. This is Old Persian Vidarna, Gr. Hydarnes.
11. See **12, no.37**, n.5.
12. For the meaning of *lakasda*, ‘escort’, see Henkelman 2006, 3.1.3.2, n.31. For Ushbaka, see Mayrhofer 8.1768. Yadaushiya may be Iranian, Hinz and Koch 1987, s.v.
13. The Greek form of this Old Persian name is Satiphernes.

37. Structure of work groups

(i) Centuries

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 141. –/–/28, Darius I (494/3); PFS 161*s & 451s.

334 (BAR) *tarmu kurrusam*¹ has been deposited (as) *gim*² to (the account of) Mitranka,³ at the century of Zaratiya.⁴ Year 28.

(ii) Decuries

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 138. –/–/25, Darius I (497/6); PFS 155; PFS 156, PFS 449s; PFS 450.

75.5 BAR *tarmu* has been deposited to (the account of) Irteshtiya, the *kār* maker.⁵ He is delivering (for?) the century of Ushtana, the decury of Mannanda.⁶

Notes

1. A type of grain.
2. Meaning unknown. It appears in relation to deposits of *tarmu* (grain) and fruit (in one instance it is mentioned in connection with corpses).
3. Very likely Iranian Vidranga (cf. **17, no.32** (iii)).
4. El. *sadabaumma*, OP loanword (**sata* ('hundred') + **haba*, cf. PFT, s.v. *satukbam*); cf. **16, no.18**. See Mayrhofer 8.1831, for the name.
5. Either a food made from *tarmu*, or a type of *tarmu*. The etymology of the name is uncertain (Mayrhofer 8.654).
6. El. *dasabaum*, OP loanword (**datha* ('ten') + **haba*, cf. PFT, s.v. *dasabam*); cf. **16, no.40**. Understanding of the name is uncertain (Mayrhofer 942).

38. Meat issued to female supervisors

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1790. –/–/19, Darius I (503/2); PFS 9* (Garrison and Root I, no.288; **fig.16.3a**).

Tell Irtuppiya, Parnaka spoke thus:

31 sheep and 7 'portions'¹ issue as rations to women supervisors of *pašap*,² for whom Irshena is responsible. (They are) to be issued as rations to Dakma (at) Hunar, and Ir[. . .]na (at) Liduma, and Harbakka (at) Hidali, and Shaddukka the Zappiyan³ and Matmabba (at) Atek; total 5 women.⁴

Months VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, total 6 months, in year 18, and months I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VI², VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, total 13 months, (in) year 19. For a period of a grand total (of) 19 months, they receive (for) a whole year each 4 sheep.

Ansukka wrote. He received the *dumme* from Nanitin. Maraza knew about this.⁵ The sealed document was delivered (at) Tamukkan (in the district) of Ramesa.

Notes

1. El. mit = a meat portion of variable size. Issues of meat to members of the labour force are rare. One sheep was normally expected to furnish meat for ten individuals; specific cuts are not mentioned.
2. El. *arašša*/iršara, cf. Brosius 1996; for *pašap*, see **16, no. 34**, n. 1.
3. She is identified with a place name (Zappi), as opposed to the others who are all simply placed at various storehouses.
4. All the places mentioned lie in the direction of Elam. The names are analysed by Mayrhofer: Dakma, probably Iranian (8.340, cf. 8.344); Harbakka, the feminine form of the Iranian name rendered Arbaces/Harpagus in Greek (Mayrhofer 8.448); Shadukka may be a hypocoristic of 'the Scythian (girl)' (Mayrhofer 8.1473); Matmabba is unclear.
5. The etymology of Ansuksa is uncertain (Mayrhofer 8.75); Nanitin is probably Elamite (Mayrhofer 8.1215); for the likely Iranian etymology of Maraza, see Mayrhofer 8.967.

39. Groups of workers defined by a single place of origin**(i) Persians**

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1137. XI/–/23, Darius I (January–February 499); PFS 1* (Garrison and Root I, no. 182).

8.5 QA sawur,¹ allocations by Sarakuzzish, Persian apprentices copying texts,² subsisting on rations (at) Pittannan,³ assigned by Shuddayauda, received as zippi.⁴ Month XI, year 23.

1 man 1 QA; 15 men are to receive 0.5 QA.

(ii) Carians

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1123. No date; PFS 1077 (Garrison and Root I, no. 158) & PFS 1648.

12 marriš 2 QA wine, supplied by Marriyadada,⁵ was given (as) sat to Carian workers subsisting on rations (at) Karikmasdan,⁶ (for) 2 months. Total 122 workers.

(iii) Bactrians

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1947 (62). –/–/22, Darius I (500/499); no seal.

108 (BAR flour), delivered (in accordance with) a sealed document of Irshena, Bactrian irrigation(?) workers' (at) Rakkan, for whom Irshena has responsibility, received as rations. (For) 6 months [. . .], from (month) II to VII, year 21. 1 boy (receives) 2 (BAR), 8 women 2; total 9 workers.

(iv) Sogdians

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1118. –/–/25, Darius I (497/6); PFS 152 & PFS 1030 (Garrison and Root I, nos. 295 & 120, respectively).

5 marriš 2 QA wine, allocations by Bakawish, Manyakka⁸ and his companion(s) acquired and gave it as sat to Sogdian workers subsisting on rations at Harakurra,⁹ for whom Bakawish is responsible.

(In) months X (and) XII, for a total period of 2 months, 52 workers monthly received each 1 twentieth.

Year 25.

Notes

1. A type of wine, possibly made from dates; for the suggestion that it could be vinegar, see **12, no.40**, n.14.
2. See **13, no.4** for the same group of (El.) puhu.
3. Located south-east of Persepolis by Koch (1990: 102–5), who makes the reasonable suggestion that it had a treasury/depot.
4. A special type of ration, as is sat in passages **(ii)** & **(iv)**.
5. Iranian name, Mayrhofer 8.990.
6. Located in the region of Shiraz (Koch 1990: 68).
7. El. numakaš. This is very uncertain, see PFT, 53, and Hinz and Koch (1987, s.v.) who suggest ‘spinners of yarn’.
8. See Mayrhofer 8.222 & 201, 8.958, respectively for these Iranian names.
9. This location occurs only twice in the archive, and is placed in the Shiraz region by Koch (1990: 54).

40. Mixed work groups

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 15. VII–XII/–/3, Xerxes (October–April 483/2); PTS 1*.

(To) Baradkama speak, thus Tarkawish:¹ <100+>43 karsh and 3 and 2 ninths shekels silver, (to) workmen (of) the lands of the Syrians,² Egyptians and Ionians, (who) subsist on rations (and) for whom Mawish has responsibility in Persepolis, (to) them who are workers in the palace(?), . . . makers of the palace(?), give rations. The counterpart for sheep and wine: 1 sheep for 3 shekels, 1 marriš wine for 1 shekel silver is accounted. Rations from month VII to XII, a total of 6 months in year 3.

63 men, chiefs-of-ten³ and deputy chiefs-of-ten, each, per month, 1 and 3 quarters and 1 eighth of a shekel shall receive.

46 men, each, per month, 1 and a half of 1 eighth of a shekel shall receive.

46 men, each, per month, 1 shekel shall receive.

46 men, each, per month, half and half of 1 eighth of a shekel shall receive. Total: 201 workmen.⁴

Uratenda wrote; he received the dumme from Irdakaya.⁵ For this silver Piddabarma and his companions are the accountants.⁶

Notes

1. See Mayrhofer 8.1615.
2. El. KUR attip, ‘Hattians’.
3. See **16, no.37(ii)**.
4. The numbers suggest that the division of workers into groups of ten and one hundred were a bureaucratic ideal rather than the reality.
5. The first name probably also appears as Ratininda, see Mayrhofer 8.1425 for the problems. The second one is Iranian, its Greek form Artachaees; Piddabarma, unknown.
6. See Cameron 1958: 170 & n.40; Henkelman 2005a n.28.

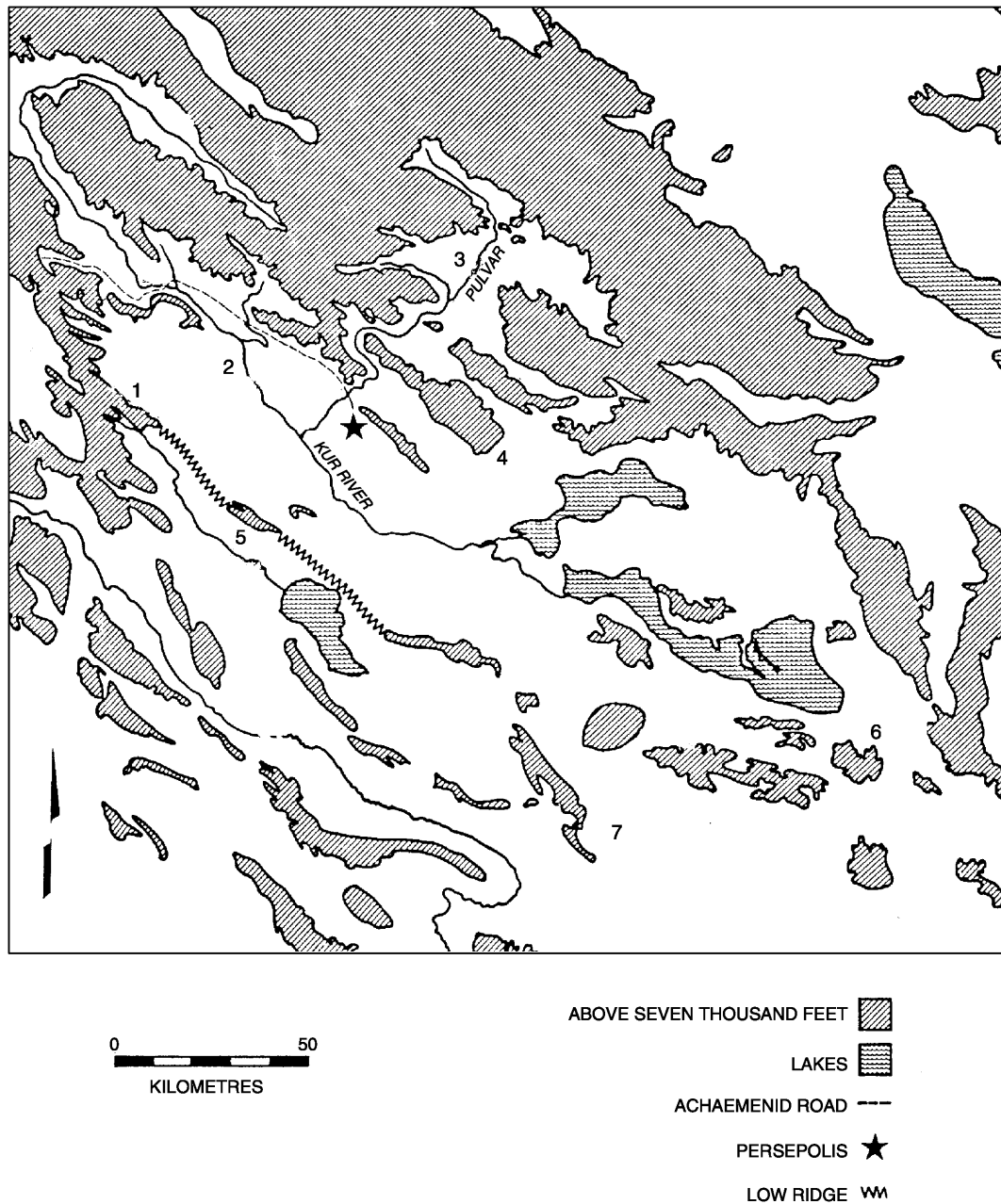


Figure 16.5 Location of some of the centres featuring in the Persepolis archives, Marv Dasht plain. 1 = Hadaran; 2 = Rakkan; 3 = Pasargadae; 4 = Tamukkan; 5 = Shiraz; 6 = Niriz; 7 = Bashiyan. (After Sumner 1986.)

B. Settlement and land-use in Fars

(a) The land of Fars

41. A populous and fertile region

(i) Arrian, *Indica* 40.2–4.

The Persian land is divided into three climate zones. The inhabited part on the Red Sea¹ is sandy and infertile because of the heat. But, moving north, the next one has a lovely cool climate.² The country is covered in grass and water meadows, many vines and all the other fruits save the olive. All sorts of gardens³ flourish, it is criss-crossed by pure rivers and lakes. It is perfect for all the birds that live around rivers and lakes, as well as horses and other beasts of burden, and it is well wooded with plenty of game.

(ii) Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 4.5–9.

In fact, Persia is enclosed on one side by unbroken mountain chains; the range runs from the Caucasus mountains to the Red Sea,⁴ and where the mountains end they are replaced by another barrier, the sea. Beyond the foothills lies an extensive plain, a fertile stretch of land containing numerous villages and cities.⁵ Through the fields the Araxes river brings down the water of many streams into the Medus, and this, after turning south, goes on into the sea as a smaller river than its tributary.⁶ No river encourages a greater growth of vegetation; it carpets with flowers wherever it flows and its banks are covered with plane-trees and poplars. When one sees them from a distance they give the impression that the woods on the banks are a continuation of the mountains. For the well-shaded river flows along in a bed cut deep into the soil, and is overhung by hills bearing rich foliage themselves because of the moisture that seeps into their base. No area in all Asia is thought to have a healthier climate; its temperate weather is due to the unbroken mountain chain on one side, which provides a covering of shade and eases the heat, and to the sea's proximity on the other, which gives the land a moderate temperature.⁷

Notes

1. Khuzestan on the Persian Gulf (see **11, no.25**, n.60).
2. In fact, the description is moving east into Fars.
3. Gr. *paradeisoi* (cf. **16, nos.43–7; 17, no.46**). The remains of an Achaemenid pavilion near Fahliyun, found by Japanese archaeologists in 1962 (Boucharlat 2005), is thought to have been set within a *paradeisos* (see further **11, no.21**).
4. The Zagros chain. The description is put in the mouth of a Lycian, who was captured by the Persians, worked as a shepherd in Fars and, as a Greek speaker, was able to guide Alexander over the mountains into Fars (**10, no.30(i); 17, no.15**).
5. Sumner (1986), in his study of Achaemenid settlement in the Persepolis plain based on evidence from his survey as well as the Persepolis archives, suggested that there were four cities, six large towns, nine towns and ninety-five villages in this region alone; cf. now Boucharlat 2003a.
6. The rivers described are the Pulvar, which flows into the Kur, which in turn flows into the Lake of Niriz (see **fig.16.5**).
7. Cf. **15, no.21**, for another description of Fars.

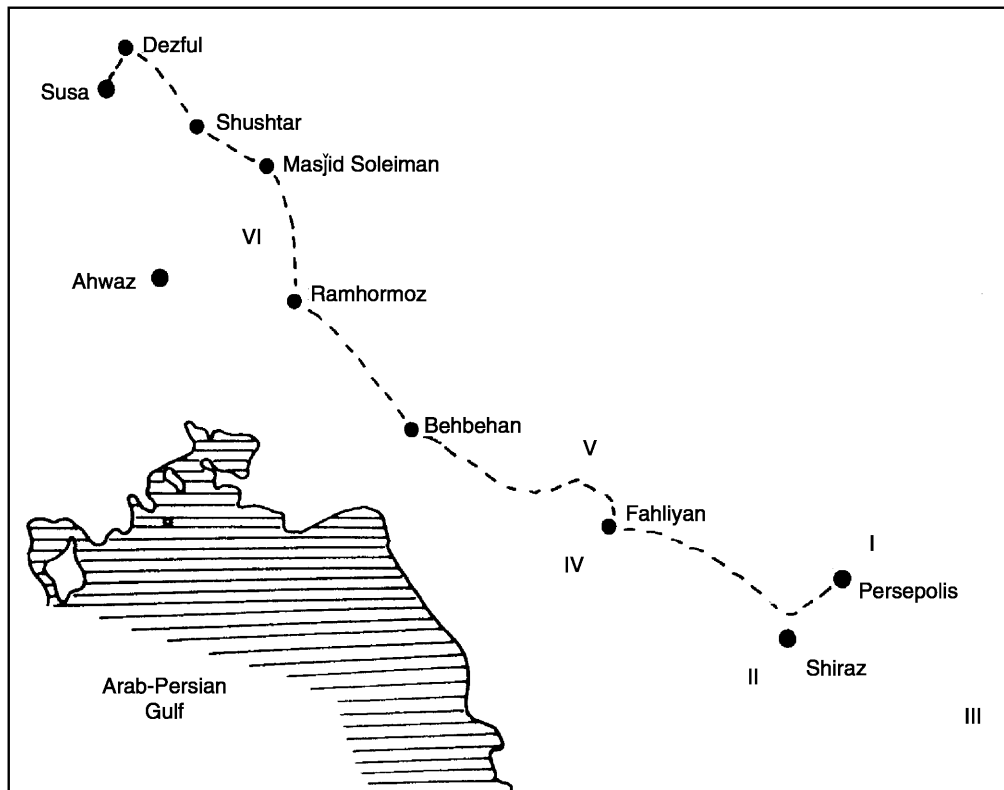


Figure 16.6 The main road from Persepolis to Susa. The Elam–Fars frontier is near Behbahan, where the important city of Hidali is generally located (16, no.33; note the disagreement of Arfa'i 1999 & fig 1, who locates it about 140 km further east). The Roman numerals indicate the administrative districts, as analysed by Koch 1990. (After Koch 1988.)

42. Glimpses of government in Fars¹

(i) Guard detachments

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1591. –/–/24(?) Darius I (498/7?); no seal.

120 Hashizza, 70 Hindukka, 10 Karbattiya, total 200 (BAR) grain, the fortress guards requested.² They 'had departed(?)' from the fortress. It was sent to them 'upon the grain'.³ Year 24(?).

(ii) Guards at Persepolis

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1812. X/–/17, Darius I (January–February 504); PFS 83*.

Speak to Ushtana, Zishshawish spoke thus:

29 marriš wine issue as rations to Turmashbada⁴ and his companions with him, fortress

guards (at) Persepolis. (In) month X, year 17, 2 men each is to receive/will be receiving 4 *mārriš*, and 7 men each is to receive/will be receiving 3 *mārriš*.

Kurdumish wrote. He received the *dumme* from Kamezza.⁵

(iii) Law officers?

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1374. IX/–/22, Darius I (November–December 500); PFS 18 (Garrison and Root I, no.15) & PFS 1297.

1.5 BAR flour, allocations by Mirayauda, Karashana the *šamida*-maker⁶ received, and 4 men received each 1.5 QA, and 6 boys received each 1 QA.

He carried a sealed document of Parnaka, and they went from Persepolis to Susa.

Year 22, month IX.

(iv) Police officers

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1250. XII/–/–, Darius I; PFS 1192 & PFS 1649.

3 (BAR) flour, allocations by Mirayauda, Irdabadush, the police officer,⁷ received for rations, and he himself daily received 2 QA, and his 3 servants daily received each 1 QA, (for) a period of 6 days. Month XII.

Notes

1. While material for the management of production exists in some quantity (see **16, Section A**), evidence for government of the region is almost totally absent. Only with Alexander's invasion do we hear, in passing, of a 'satrap' with soldiers, a governor of Persepolis and its garrison (**10, no.30(i)–(iv)**).
2. The implication is that they were commanders of three squadrons of guards. Whether one can deduce the numbers making up each troop, as Briant suggests (1996a: 482 [2002b: 467]), is less clear. Unfortunately, neither the place where they were stationed nor their destination (if that is what is meant) is given. Fortresses (El. *halmārriš*) figure quite frequently in the archive (Shiraz, Persepolis, Turkan, Kurka, Namakanush, Anzamannakka, Parmashba, Udarakka, Hishtiyānush, Umiyashsha) – all places containing depots belonging to the administration. Names: Hashizza: Mayrhofer 8.488 (possible Gr. form *Aspisis*?); the etymology of *Karbatiya* is quite uncertain.
3. Hallock's suggestion is that this means the grain to which they were entitled.
4. Probably Iranian, Mayrhofer 8.1661.
5. Kurdumish: unknown etymology, Mayrhofer 8.870; for the possible Iranian etymology of *Kamezza*, see Mayrhofer 8.724.
6. For the interpretation of this as 'law-officer', see Gershevitch 1969: 181–2. The same term (in the plural) appears in PF 1311 and 1461. Each time they are obviously of high rank as shown by their retinue. The fact that they are travelling in each instance could suggest that they moved around in the course of discharging their duties.
7. El. *da'ubattiš*, OP **tayupati-*, see PFT, 39; Gershevitch 1969: 169–70. Mirayauda is probably Iranian (Mayrhofer 8.1096); Mayrhofer 8.573 warns against the temptation to equate Irdabadush with Artabazus.

(b) Paradeisoi (partetaš), domains (irmatam), estates (ulhi) within Fars**43. Paradeisos workers at Mishbashiyatish**

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 59. II/–/20, Xerxes (May–June 466); PTS 2*.¹

Tell Ratininda, the treasurer,² Irdatakma speaks thus:

4 karsh, 5 shekels silver, half the rations, issue to the servants,³ (park-)keepers (and) x-workers⁴ in the *paradeisos* Mishbashiyatish.⁵ (It is) pay, the counterpart of half the rations (for) month II of year 20.

12 servants are to receive 3 and 3 quarters shekels.

(In) month II of year 20 a sealed order was issued; the *dumme* was transmitted by Bakapuksha.⁶

Notes

1. Cf. PT 49, ordering payments for workers at the same domain for the preceding month (with the same seal).
2. El. *kanzabara* = OP **ganzabara* (equivalent to El. *kapnuškira*).
3. For arguments in favour of understanding El. *puhu*, ‘boys’ as elite servants, see **12, no.37(ii)**, n.5. Their high pay here supports the view that in this case they are individuals of relatively high rank; note also below, **16, no.44**, where the ‘boys’ are referred to in the account summary as ‘men’.
4. See Hinz 1973: 72–5.
5. El. *partetaš*, see Briant 1996a: 456 [2002b: 442–3] for arguments in favour of the equation. The place name means, literally, ‘all prosperity’. Cameron (1965: 177) debated whether it might be an epithet of the domain, but the determinative indicates a place, which is how Hallock takes it (PFT, Glossary, s.v.).
6. This is unmistakably the OP name rendered in Greek as Megabyxos. Mayrhofer suggests that Irdatakama might be identical with Gr. Artochmes.

44. The paradeisos of Ammashish

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PT 1963, no.9. II/–/20, Xerxes (May–June 466).¹

Tell Ratininda, the treasurer at Persepolis, Irdatakma speaks thus:

Give 2 karsh, 1 and a half shekel silver to servants (lit. ‘boys’),² guards who are accounted in the *paradeisos* at Hardarizzan of (the lady) Ammashish.³ It is the counterpart of half the rations for month II of year 20.

6 men,⁴ each should receive for the month 3 and 3 quarters shekels. This sealed document was issued.

Notes

1. No seal is mentioned in the publication. The text is close to PT 48 (dated to the previous year), which is thought to have been impressed with PTS 2*, like **16, no.43**.
2. Cf. **16, no.43**, n.3.
3. This may be the name given in Greek authors as Ama/estris; its etymology is obscure, although an Elamite one has been suggested, see Mayrhofer 8.50.
4. Suggesting strongly that ‘boy’ in these contexts indicates rank rather than age.

45. Wood-handlers(?) in a *paradeisos* near Persepolis

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1815. II/–/23, Darius I (May–June 499); PFS 11*.

Tell Shiyatizza,¹ Zishshawish spoke thus:

11 BAR grain issue (as) rations to workers who (are) handlers of *zappan* (-wood(?)) at Persepolis, in the *paradeisos* Parsarash,² for whom Tamshakama has responsibility.³ In month II, 1 (month), year 23, 3 men, each 3 (BAR), 1 woman 2 (BAR). Total 4 workers.

Hintamukka wrote. Kamezza communicated the message. He received the *dumme* from Hitibel.⁴

Aramaic gloss (trace): In year 23.

Notes

1. Certainly Iranian, Mayrhofer 8.1564.
2. Cf. **11, no.21(vi)** for the wealth of trees in a royal *paradeisos*; see Razmjou 2004b: 109 for the likelihood that shrines were located in *paradeisoi*, and cf. Henkelman 2006, ch.5.7, for the detailed arguments. Note, however, that Henkelman (2005b) argues that they are not ‘wood-handlers’ at all, but bronze-workers.
3. Probably Iranian, Mayrhofer 8.1607.
4. All three are members of Zishshawish’s staff. See **16, no.12** for the scribe; Hitibel’s name is almost certainly Elamite (Mayrhofer 8.526, 11.3.3).

46. Deposits at *paradeisoi* for distribution

(i) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 145. –/–/22, Darius I (500/499); PFS 260 (Garrison and Root I, no.225).

4 BAR dates has been deposited (as) *gim*¹ to (the account of) Datukka. It is to be kept in the *paradeisos* (at) Barashba,² Masdayashna being responsible. In year 22.

(ii) Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 158. –/–/28 Darius I (494/3); PFS 455 & PFS 456.

60 BAR royal dates³ is to be kept (at) the *paradeisos* called Mishdukka, the *kirima*⁴ called Dahutrasa. It has been deposited to (the account of) Mishparma,⁵ chief of workers, who is responsible. Year 28.

Notes

1. See **16, no.37**, n.2.
2. In the vicinity of Persepolis, see Koch 1990: 253.
3. The epithet ‘royal’ appears in relation to certain commodities from time to time; the significance is debated (Briant 1996a: 458 [2002b: 444]).
4. This may define the location, which could be south-east of Persepolis. Alternatively, it could be read *kiri-ma*, ‘at the *kiri*’, i.e. ‘at the orchard/palm-garden’.
5. Iranian: Mayrhofer 8.1132.

47. Interrelationship of *paradeisoi* and the domains of administrators**(i) At Mutrizash.**

2 Elamite tablets, Persepolis: PF 152 & PF 640. —/—/22 Darius I (500/499); PFS 34 (Garrison and Root I, no.73) & PFS 60; PFS 42.

- (a) 10 BAR royal *tarmu* has been deposited (as) *gim*¹ to (the account of) Irdamana, the *kar*-maker² in the *paradeisos* (at) Mutrizash. Year 22. They will be using that *kar* at the domain of Shutezza.³
- (b) 100 (BAR) *tarmu*, allocations by Shutezza, was received as revenue. (At) Mutrizash. Year 22.

(ii) At Kutkush.⁴

2 Elamite tablets, Persepolis: PF 153 & PF 638. —/—/22 & 24, Darius I (500/499 & 498/7); PFS 34 (Garrison and Root I, no.73) & PFS 60; PFS 305 & 42 (respectively).

- (a) 1,450 (BAR) royal *tarmu hadatiš* has been deposited (as) *gim* to (the account of) Karakka⁵ the *kar*-maker in the *paradeisos* (at) Kutkush. Year 22. They will be utilising this *kar* at the domain of Shutezza.
- (b) 63 (BAR) *tarmu*, allocations by Tandukka,⁶ was received as revenue at Kutkush, Shutezza being responsible. Year 24.

Notes

1. See **16, no.37**, n.2.
2. See **16, no.37**, n.5. The name is Iranian.
3. El. *irmatam*, seems to designate lands granted by the king to administrators involved in collecting produce; see the discussion by Briant (1996a: 458–9 [2002b: 444–5]). The Iranian name is a hypocoristic of Shuddayauda (Mayrhofer 8.1591/1569).
4. Both Kutkush and Mutrizash seem to be located in the administrative district to the south-east of Persepolis.
5. For the Iranian etymology, see Mayrhofer 8.762.
6. Old Persian: Mayrhofer 8.1608a.

48. Location of domains

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1857 (10–15, 24–8, 29–32). —/—/20 Darius I (502/1); PFS 1571.¹

- (a) And (in the district) Nukurran, at the domain of Irishteya, in the village called Kansan, (from) the grain of irrigated land,² (which had been) struck down(?) (at?) Turratanush, 5-fold(?) BAR (of) grain was received.³
- (b) And (in the place) Ushsharash, at the domain of Pirnush, 10-fold(?) BAR grain of irrigated land was received; and 3-fold(?) BAR (at?) the *sa'in*⁴ was received.⁵
- (c) And (in the district) Bakurran, (in) the village called Mandakash, at the domain of Miradadda, grain from irrigated land 20-fold(?) BAR was received.⁶

Notes

1. The document is an inventory of grain receipts (as revenue? unclear) for 502/1 sent to Parnaka.
2. Lg. HAL.A, qualifies certain types of grain produced on irrigated land.
3. The three domains in this extract are all placed by Koch (1990) in the region north-west of Persepolis. Irishteya is an Iranian name (Mayrhofer 8.626, cf. 8.683).
4. Unirrigated land?
5. The name of the domain-holder has no certain etymology (Mayrhofer 8.262, cf. 8.1320).
6. The etymology of Miradadda's name is not clear (Mayrhofer 8.1087).

49. Small cattle levied on a domain?

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 2070. I/21?/18, Darius I (26? April 504); PFS 1632* (Garrison and Root I, no.244).

Tell Parnaka, Raubasa and his companion(s) spoke thus:

May god and the king become your širi!¹

[. . .] now we have taken small cattle at the sheepfolds. We have sent tax² handlers to you.

We have sent Umizza, son of Halpa. He dwells (at) Hiran³ in (the district) called Halkukaptarrish. We have entrusted (the small cattle) to him, a herdsman of the king, (for whom) Harrena is responsible, his *ansar*⁴ (is) Mishshumanya.

He took away (the small cattle) to you; they were delivered upon his arrival(?).

At the sheepfold of (place) Rautannush, (at?) Kamzarasash (in the district?) called Rautash,⁵ (for) Shuddayauda, the chief of workers, being responsible – at that sheepfold they were stabled(?).

Of Teyauka: 2 rams, 2 ewes, 1 she-goat – total 5 small cattle of his.

And of Datezza(?): 2 rams, 2 ewes, 1 female lamb – total 5 small cattle of his.

And of (woman) Madamish: 7 ewes, 1 she-goat – total 8 small cattle of hers.

And of Bawuk [. . .]: 2 rams, 2 ewes, 5 she-goats – total 9 small cattle of his.

Total 4 (individuals), at the domain of Miturna(?) the *ansar* and slaughterer.⁶

And of Mauruza, a *rar* worker of the king,⁷ for whom Kambezza is responsible: 5 rams, 10 ewes – total 15 small cattle of his.

And of Mirakama⁸ the treasurer, for whom Karkish is responsible: 6 ewes – total 6.

Of men living (at) Hiran we took: total 11 rams, total 29 ewes, total 1 female lamb, total 7 she-goats – total 48 small cattle.

In year 18, month I, (day?) 21 [. . .], we sent the tax handlers to you [. . .]

Notes

1. A salutation only used when addressing superiors. Hallock (PFT, Glossary, s.v.) suggests the meaning 'friend'. The name of the writer is Old Persian (Mayrhofer 8.1427).
2. El. *bazi*, OP *baji*-, see **16, no.3**, n.1.
3. To the south-east of Persepolis. See Mayrhofer 8.1733 for discussion of Umizza's name; for his father's name, Mayrhofer 8.426.
4. An official title. His name is Old Persian (Mayrhofer 8.1153).
5. Or: '(on) the river called Kamzarasash'; see PFT, 641 n.e, in the same district as Hiran.
6. The precise procedure remains obscure, but the wording suggests that the *irnatam* of Miturna constituted a fiscal unit for the administration. All the names are Iranian, except Madamish, where the etymology is uncertain (Mayrhofer 8.332; 8.369; 8.910; 8.306); note that Teyauka is the name rendered *Deiokes* in Greek.

7. Meaning unknown. Note that Mauruza (probably Iranian, Mayrhofer 8.1045; Kambezza, possibly) is called *kurtas sunkina*, 'royal workman', perhaps indicating a special status.
8. The name is probably Iranian, Mayrhofer (8.1090).

50. Darius I's estates

(i) The king orders sheep from his estate to be given to his wife

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: Fort.6764, Cameron 1942: 216. I/-/16, Darius I (March–April 506); no seal indicated.

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.82.

Tell Harrena, the cattle chief, Parnaka spoke thus:

Darius the king ordered me, saying: '100 sheep from my estate¹ are to be issued to Princess Irtashduna.'²

And now Parnaka says: As the king has ordered me, so I am ordering you. Now you issue 100 sheep to Princess Irtashduna, as ordered by the king.

Month 1, year 16. Anusukka wrote; Maraza communicated the message.³

(ii) Goats acquired for a royal estate

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1987 (30–3). VII/-/19, Darius I (October–November 503); PFS 513 (Garrison and Root I, no.85), PFS 1591, PFS 1662.⁴

With what was withdrawn at the storehouse, Mishshiyamana and Ashbayauda and Datena,⁵ total 3 (individuals), made sut:⁶ for 1 ram and 1 ewe, total 2 small cattle. They were attached to the royal estate. Then we entrusted those small cattle to Rashdama, the herdsman.⁷

Notes

1. El. *ulhi*, is equivalent to OP *vith-* (see **5, no.1**, para.14 & n.29), 'house' in the sense of household, family, lands and farms, cf. Akk. *bitu*, Ar. *BYT*, Gr. *oikos*. Fundamentally, they must be very similar to *irmatam* (pastures, farms, orchards, gardens), but while *irmatams* seem to be associated with officials in their position as functionaries, *ulhis* are more like personal properties (although probably always revocable). Note also that no royal personage (as far as is known) ever controls an *irmatam*, only an *ulhi*. (For Irdabama's estate, see **12, no.29(ii)**; note also the estates (*ulhis*) of two otherwise unknown individuals, PF 1855; PF 2075.)
2. See **12, no.29(i)** & n.3 for Artystone's title.
3. The first name is of uncertain etymology (Mayrhofer 8.75), the second Iranian (Mayrhofer 8.967).
4. The extract comes from a fruit account.
5. For the names, see Mayrhofer 8.1149 (cf. 8.1150), 8.127 (cf. 8.1800), 8.368, all with possible Iranian etymologies.
6. Meaning acquisition, exchange or trade, particularly in the context of exchanges made with surpluses in storehouses at a fixed rate. These can point to transactions with individuals or groups not embraced by the Persepolis authorities; see the discussion (with references) in Henkelman 2005a (para.7).
7. Mayrhofer 8.1416 discusses the Iranian (but beyond that, uncertain) etymology.

51. Artystone's estates

(i) At Mirandu¹

Elamite tablet, Persepolis, PF 1835. No date; PFS 38 (Garrison and Root I, no.16; **fig.12.4**).

Tell Datukka, Irtashduna spoke thus:

10(?) marriš wine (is) to be issued to Ankama from my estate at Mirandu. Utar (is) its *hirakurra*.²

(ii) At Kuknaka³

Elamite tablet, Persepolis, PF 1836. —/—/21, Darius I (501/0); PFS 38 (Garrison and Root I, no.16; **fig.12.4**).

Tell Shalamana,⁴ Irtashduna spoke thus:

From my estate (at) Kuknaka 100 marriš wine issue to Umi. Irtima⁵ (is) the *hirakurra*. Year 21.

Notes

1. This place name only appears once and may be identical with Urandush, the location of a store-house/treasury (**16, no.25**), south of Persepolis, see Brosius 1996: 126, n.11. (Note that PF-NN 761 mentions another estate of Artystone at Matannan (north-west of Persepolis), producing grain, Brosius 1996: 125, cf. Koch 1990: 150.)
2. Title of an official concerned with issues of wine. Datukka is Old Persian; both Ankama's and Utar's name are difficult to explain in Iranian/Persian terms.
3. Perhaps identical to Kuganaka (**5, no.1**, para.22 & n.43), north-west of Persepolis. Note Lewis' suggestion (1977: 22) that Artystone's estate may have been the confiscated property of the pretender Martiya (**5, no.1**, para.22; cf. Brosius 1996: 125, n.5).
4. Perhaps an Elamite name, but see Mayrhofer 301.
5. Umi is probably Iranian; Irtima is the Iranian form of Gr./Lyc. Artima (see Mayrhofer).

52. The dissolution of Hystaspes' household

(i) Elamite tablet, Persepolis, PF 1596. V/15/23, Darius I (21 August 499); PFS 84 & PFS 1475 (Garrison and Root I, no.177).

149.4 BAR flour, allocations by Muzriya, Tiriya received,¹ and gave to the people attached to the palace² of Mishdashba.³

Month V, day 15, he was sent forth, in year 23.

(ii) Elamite tablet, Persepolis, PFa 20. V/—/23 Darius I (August–September 499); PFS 124.⁴

149.4 BAR flour Tiriya received, and 200 'gentlemen' received each 1.5 QA, 1,194 servants received each 1 QA.

He carried a sealed document of Parnaka. Month V, year 23.

Notes

1. Muzriya is the ethnic 'Egyptian', providing another possible example of a member of a subject population group in an important position in Fars. Tiriya is a hypocoristic of OP Tiridates (Mayrhofer 8.1643).
2. See Hallock 1978: 112, for this translation.
3. I.e. OP Vishtaspa, Gr. Hystaspes. This is likely to be Darius' father, who died c.500/499. For his tomb, see **11, no.68(i)**; for a hypothetical reconstruction of the last years of his life, see Henkelman 2003a: 149, n.95.
4. It is clear that this tablet is a companion to the preceding one. It amplifies the make-up of the travel party, showing they were elite court servants and giving us an idea of the size of the staff associated with the properties of these high-ranking royal personages. Henkelman's idea that this reflects the dissolution of Hystaspes' household (surely including an estate), who were now travelling to the central court (for redeployment?), is extremely attractive.

(c) The relationship between royal property and the administration**53. The king's cattle****(i) A cattle account**

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PFa 32. —/—/19 Darius I (503/2); PFS 120 (Garrison and Root I, no.49; **fig.16.2**).

Stored	received	received in addition	withdrawn
300 (BAR)	2,720	0	280 HAL.A grain (for?) the cattle of the king

Kaupiya¹ (is) the tax handler, (at) Hadaran, Irshena being responsible, in year 19.
 2,720 (BAR) grain revenue (of) year 19
 Total 2,720 (BAR) grain was on hand, (included) in it (being):
 2,615.7 (BAR) grain dispensed
 94.6 and 2 thirds (BAR) grain its handling charge(?)
 13.6 and 1 third (BAR) withdrawn (in) year 19, allocations by Kashunda (and) Mesakka his delivery man,² (at) Hadaran, Irshena being responsible, (in) year 19.

(ii) Grain for royal cattle

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1792. IX/—/18 Darius I (November–December 504); PFS 9* (Garrison and Root I, no.288; **fig.16.3a**).

Tell Harrena, Parnaka spoke thus:

Shuddayauda the chief of workers in the šalir (place) spoke to me, saying: 'The cattle (for) which I am setting aside the king's 60 (BAR) grain are not (at hand).'

And now you issue 30 male cattle to Shuddayauda. Within those cattle: (for) 20 (of) those cattle let him set aside the 60 (BAR) grain; let him maintain 10 cattle in pasture.

Month IX, year 18.

Karkish wrote. Maraza communicated its message (at) Persepolis.

Notes

1. Possibly a hypocoristic of Gaubaruva/Gobryas (Mayrhofer 8.728).
2. The first name may be related to Kashsha and Karunda, according to Mayrhofer 8.797; several possible Iranian etymologies are suggested by Mayrhofer 8.1065 for Mesakka.

54. Transfer of an ox to the king

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 692. —/—/19, Darius I (503/2); PFS 93*.

1 ox, allocations by Rumada, (at) the storehouse(?), (was) paid to the king, (at) Anzamannakka.

Year 19. Ishkumipanna (was) the herdsman.¹

Aramaic gloss: A heavy ox.

Note

1. Rumada may be a short form of Ratininda/Uratinda (see **16, no.40**, n.5); the etymology of Ishkumipanna is very uncertain (Mayrhofer 8.676). Anzamannakka is in the region of Urandush (south-east of Persepolis).

55. Products set aside for the king

(i) Sesame

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 543. —/—/23, Darius I (499/8); PFS 766 & PFS 768.

1 BAR sesame was stored (for) seed. (At) the royal zillimin(?).¹ Year 23.

(ii) Grain

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1846. No date; PFS 2 (Garrison and Root I, no.3).

Tell Umishduma, Irtuppiya spoke thus:

50 (BAR) ŠE.GIG (grain) issue to Indapipi.² Let him set (it) aside for the king.

Notes

1. This word only occurs once (so far) in the Fortification archive; the context implies a place for storing sesame.
2. For the possible Indo-Iranian etymology of Umishduma, see Mayrhofer 8.1731; Indapipi is Elamite, Mayrhofer 8.565.

56. Administration drovers conduct royal flocks

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1442. No date; PFS 1334 & PFS 1335.

105 BAR (of) flour, allocations by Zazzap,¹ drovers (lit. 'herdsmen') who took the sheep of the king from Persia (lit. 'the Persians'),² (being individuals) attached(?) to the treasury, and sent (them to) Susa, received as rations.

From Hishema.³

Notes

1. Mayrhofer offers no suggestion for this name, but note his observation (at 11.3.2.6) that it is probable that the majority of the names that cannot be clearly analysed are Elamite.
2. Hallock calculated that if one allowed the normal ration of 1.5 QA per person, then there would have been 700 drivers/herders; the number of sheep involved must have been immense.
3. In the Elamite area.

C. Beyond Persepolis

(a) Bureaucracy and archives in the empire

57. An Achaemenid Elamite document from Susa

Elamite tablet, Susa: MDP 11, no.308; Garrison 1996. –/–/22, Darius I (500/499); PFS 7* (Garrison and Root I, no.4; **fig.11.37**).¹

64 mārriš fine(?) animal fat supplied by Mashtetinna,² was dispensed on behalf of the king at Susa and 5 villages, in year 22.

Notes

1. For the circumstances of the discovery of the tablet and the strong likelihood that it is, indeed, from (an archive in) Susa, see Garrison 1996: 16–18. The tablet is also discussed and illustrated in Harper et al. 1992 and Caubet 1994: 273, no.191.
2. The name is thought to be Elamite (Mayrhofer 8.1007).

58. Elamite fragments from Kandahar

Fragmentary Elamite tablet, Kandahar: SF 1399; Helms 1997: 95.¹

30 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 Total 30 [. . .]²
 [. . .] šu-tur da-ka₄
 [. . .] me(?) - na-pír(?) - ri šu-tur da-ka₄³

Notes

1. Two burned clay tablet fragments (SF 1399; SF 1400) were found in the excavations at Kandahar, 1976–8. The findspot was Area C5 of the citadel (Helms 1997, figs.41 & 43), at stages E to F of Epoch I (see the chronological table, Helms 1997: 93). The dating of this epoch is not easy to establish with any precision. The broad time range is c.700 to 400/300. The citadel area was certainly reorganised in the Achaemenid period, perhaps c.530/20 (cf. **5, no.1**, para.45 & n.97 for the battle waged in the vicinity in 521), and Kandahar is generally thought to have been the main city of the Persian province of Arachosia. Helms (1997: 91–2) suggests, on the basis of the Alexander historians, that the province of Arachosia was no longer under Achaemenid control at the time of Alexander's campaign and so places the end of Epoch I tentatively around 400,

followed by a gap in occupation, signifying Achaemenid withdrawal, until Kandahar came under Mauryan control in the third century. That argument does not really stand up, as the (little) evidence we have shows the satrap of Arachosia present with a contingent of Indian hill-people at the Battle of Gaugamela (see **17, no.40; fig.17.14**; full discussion of the issue in Briant 1996a: 774–8 [2002b: 754–7]). There is, then, no solid evidence on which to erect a reliable chronology. The two tablet fragments do not help either, as they are virtually incomprehensible. Only one line is preserved on SF 1400, four on SF 1399. The publication has no photographs or copies, against which to check the brief and uncommented transliteration of SF 1399 (no more information is offered on SF 1400). No traces of seals are mentioned, only some grooves on SF 1399, which are said also to appear on tablets at Persepolis (although no evidence supports this statement); no measurements are given. Nevertheless, the very existence of the fragments has major implications. It shows that administration of this eastern province was modelled directly on the Achaemenid pattern.

2. Ig. PAP is regularly used in the accounts and memos at Persepolis to sum up totals.
3. This transliteration is an interim version by M.W. Stolper, and I thank him for permission to quote it. He is preparing notes on all the Achaemenid Elamite texts not included in the material currently held in Chicago and Tehran. El. *šutur daka*₄ is usually translated by Hallock in PFT as ‘carried forward as balance’ in account texts. That, of course, implies the existence of other texts on the basis of which the account was compiled, and the operation of bureaucratic procedures close to those of Persepolis.

59. An unprovenanced Elamite document

Elamite tablet: YBC 16813, Jones and Stolper 1986: 248–53. I(?) / – / 15 [Darius I(?) (April–May 507?)]; seal.¹

23 irtibā 1 BAR 1.5 QA of *šimit*² flour, allocations by Parnuma:³ this (flour) was delivered as rations for one month. Year 15, month I(?). This (flour) is for Assyrians and Egyptians. Kuyarash has delivered this (flour as) rations to Harkipi, the scribe of the Egyptians. [. . .]⁴

Notes

1. The tablet was acquired from the antiquities trade. It is not directly comparable to the known Persepolis Fortification texts and the seal is not (so far) attested in that archive. The date, too, is tentative. Given the fact that fragments of Elamite documents were found at Kandahar (Helms 1982: 13; **16, no.58**), as well as Susa (**16, no.57**), it is very possible that this tablet came from an archive outside the Persepolis region; see further Jones and Stolper 1986: 247–8.
2. Meaning unknown; not attested in the Persepolis archive.
3. The name appears in other Fortification texts (Mayrhofer 8.1287, possibly related to Gr. Pharnoukes), perhaps referring to more than one individual.
4. For the scribe’s name, see Jones and Stolper 1986: 252. No other reference to Egyptian scribes is known from the Persepolis archives (but see **16, no.52(i)** & n.1). Kuyarash may be Elamite.

60. Imperial administrators

(i) In Babylonia

Babylonian tablet: BM 74554, Stolper 1989a: 284–8. Babylon VI/24/36, Darius I (4 October 486).

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.130.

On the instructions of Huta. . .², son of Pagakanna,¹ the governor of Babylon and Across-the-River,² and of Liblut, brother of Adad-ibni, the scribe (and) chancellor, and of Gadalama, son of Banna-Ea, the scribe (and) chancellor³ – Siha, son of Ahulap, the overseer of the work-house of . . ., has received 14 kur of barley from Iddin-Bel, son of Iqisha-Marduk, descendant of Shangu-Shamash.

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Siha has received the whole of the barley according to . . .⁴

(ii) In Palestine

Ezra 4.7–8

And in the days of Artaxerxes (I), Bishlam and Mithredath and Tabeel and the rest of their associates wrote to King Artaxerxes of Persia.⁵ The letter was written in Aramaic and translated. Rehum, the chancellor, Shimshai, the scribe,⁶ wrote a letter against Jerusalem to King Artaxerxes, as follows.⁷

(iii) In Egypt

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford: AD 4; TADAE I, A6.8. Egypt, late fifth century.⁸

Translations: DAE, no.65; Whitehead 1974: 48–53; Lindenberger 1994, no.38.

From Arsham to Armapiya.⁹ And now, Psamshek, my steward,¹⁰ has sent me (a message). He speaks thus: ‘Armapiya together with the troops he commands do not obey me in the matter of the lord’s business that I requested of them.’ Now Arsham speaks thus: As for the business of my house which Psamshek will request from you and your troops, obey him and do (it). May you know this: if Psamshek later sends a complaint to me about you, you will be questioned severely and sentence will be passed on you. Bagasravi knows this order. Ahpepi, scribe.¹¹

Address: From Arsham to Armapiya.

Concerning (What) Psamshek said: ‘They do not obey me.’

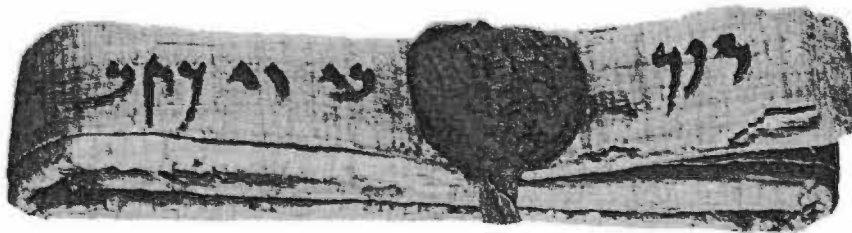


Figure 16.7 A rolled, folded and sealed Aramaic legal document (BP 10); from Elephantine, Egypt; March 402. The endorsement (‘Document of a house which (Anani son of Azariah) wrote’) served to identify the content. The two scarab seals are Egyptian and date from the Second Intermediate Period (Hyksos (15th) Dynasty, c.1648–1540) and the reign of Tuthmosis III (1490–1436). (After Kraeling 1953 (= BP).)

Notes

1. The Iranian etymology of both names is uncertain, see Stolper 1989a: 286–7.
2. This is the latest attestation (so far) of the title, and suggests very strongly that, soon after 486, the enormous territory of Babylonia and Transeuphrates was reorganised into two separate provinces (for governors of the region(s) attested in Babylonian documents, see **Table 3a**).
3. Akk. *sepiru bel temi*. The first part of the title is known from the Neo-Babylonian period, and generally thought to be a scribe of Aramaic (as well as perhaps Babylonian cuneiform). The second element is scarcely attested, but does appear in the Achaemenid period in Egypt (e.g. **14, no.44** & n.8; **15, no.4**; cf. below **16, no.60(iii)**; **17, no.30(ii)**) and Palestine (below **16, no.60(ii)**). They clearly operate at a high level in the administration, and seem to be a specifically Achaemenid aspect of imperial government. It is very possible that the regular subscript in the Persepolis letter-orders, issued by a high official (see e.g., **16, nos.11–15**), reflects the same chancery organisation (see further Porten 1968: 55–6 & n.108; Stolper 1989a: 299–303).
4. The Egyptian-type stamp seal impressed on the tablet belongs to Siha (Stolper 1989a: 288 & n.3).
5. Presented as opponents to the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple.
6. Rehum's title is (Heb.) *b'el t'em*, Shimshai's (Heb.) *sapr*.
7. For discussion of the problems of the Ezra sources, see Grabbe 2004, 4.1.
8. See **15, no.4**, n. 1.
9. Anatolian name.
10. Ar. PQYD'. His name is Egyptian.
11. Ar. BGSRW YD' T'M' ZNH; 'HPY SPR'. Note that, while the chancellor's name is Iranian, that of the scribe is Egyptian (cf. **17, no.30(ii)**).

(b) Accounts, rosters and food stocks**61. Accounting for requisitioned horses in the Troad**

Plutarch, *Eumenes* 8.5.¹

He (Eumenes) took as many horses as he needed and sent a written account to the superintendants of the stud. At this, Antipater² is said to have burst out laughing, saying that he admired Eumenes' foresight in giving them (or was it taking from them?) an exact account of royal property.³

Notes

1. Alexander's secretary and, in 320, charged with fighting against the ambitious Antigonos the One-Eyed. Given the date, it is very likely that the royal stud was part of the surviving Achaemenid supply system, and that Eumenes was following the established procedure (as exemplified by the Persepolis Fortification archive) in accounting for his requisition.
2. The old general of Philip II, viceroy of Macedon in Alexander's absence and regent for the kings after Alexander's death. He himself died in 319.
3. See the discussion by Briant (1996a: 466 [2002b: 451–2]). For the probable reference to monthly accounting in a fragmentary letter sent by the Persian administrators in southern Egypt to the satrap, see AP 17; cf. Briant 1996a: 462–3 [2002b: 448–9]. Note that the Iranian loanword 'ZDKRY' (Ir. **azdakara-*, lit. 'someone who makes things known'), which appears there, is now also attested in a Babylonian text from the time of Antigonos (Stolper 1993: 82–6, see n. to l.5). It was clearly an office introduced by the Achaemenid authorities and the Babylonian text makes the functionary's responsibilities for financial transactions crystal clear.

62. Arrangements for digging the Athos canal

Herodotus VII, 23.1, 4.

These then are the towns of Athos, and this is how the barbarians dug it,¹ dividing it up among the peoples.²

There is a meadow there, where there was a market and a store selling goods;³ great quantities of flour were brought for them from Asia.

Notes

1. Part of Xerxes' preparations for the campaign to Greece (**7 no.11**).
2. This suggests assignments of stretches of work to levies of workers from the provinces, a way of organising labour documented in the Assyrian empire (e.g. SAA 1, no.64).
3. Note that workers in Persepolis were at times paid in silver in place of rations (e.g. **16, nos.18–22**), suggesting that they would be expected to buy food, presumably from the administration's store-houses (the prices seem to have been set by edict, cf., e.g., **16, no.40**). It is also interesting to see that soldiers were expected not only to provide all their equipment, but also to present themselves supplied with money (**14, no.38**, cf. **14, no.31(i)**), presumably for meeting just such needs on campaign.

63. Government supplies for soldiers

Diodorus Siculus XV, 3.1–3.

In the first place, as he (Evagoras)¹ had quite a number of pirate boats, he lay in wait for the enemy's supply transports. He sank some at sea, blockaded others and captured more. As a result, the merchants² did not dare to convey grain to Cyprus, and as substantial forces had been gathered on the island the Persian army soon suffered from shortages. This lack led to mutiny, with the mercenaries of the Persians attacking the commanders, even killing some and filling the camp with tumult and rebellion. The Persian generals and the naval commander, called Glos,³ had difficulty putting a stop to the mutiny. They sailed with the entire fleet, brought an enormous quantity of grain from Cilicia⁴ and so provided a great abundance of food.

Notes

1. The Cypriot prince; for his unsuccessful attempt to extend his power over the island, see **9, Section C(a)**. This particular incident probably dates to 386, see **9, no.53**.
2. Always an accompaniment of armies; see, e.g., **9, nos.25; 40**, n.6; **15, no.6**.
3. See **9, no.8**, n.4 for references.
4. Cilicia was a strategic base (**6, nos.49(43); 51(95)**) and thus an important supply point where government stocks would have been stored (cf. also **6, no.37; 8, no.6**, n.10).

(c) Artisans and workers**64. A sculptor on the estate of Egypt's satrap**

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford: AD 9; TADAE I, A6.12. Egypt, late fifth century.

Translations: DAE, no.70; Whitehead 1974: 84–9; Lindenberger 1994, no.46.¹

From Arsham to Nakhthor, Kenzasirma and his colleagues.

And now, (he) named Hinzan/pi,² a sculptor,³ my servant, whom Bagasrava⁴ brought to Susa. Give him and his household staff rations like my other artist(?) personnel.⁵ And let him make statues/reliefs of a horseman [. . .] will be and let him make a statue/relief of a horse with its chariot(?),⁶ just as he did for me previously, and other statues/reliefs. And send (them and) have them bring (them) to me at once, immediately.

Artavahaya knows this order. Rashta is the scribe.⁷

Address: From Arsham to Nakhthor the steward, Kenzasirma and his colleagues the accountants who are in Egypt.⁸ [. . .]

Notes

1. See **15, no.4**, n.1.
2. Reading of the name is uncertain. If it is Hinzani/Hinzanay it suggests a link with Hindanu (mid-Euphrates region).
3. Ar. PTKRKR, loanword from OP *patikarakara, 'sculptor', 'relief-maker' (cf. PT 17; 20; 24; 26; 73).
4. An important officer ('chancellor') in Arshama's service, see **16, no.60 (iii)**.
5. Ar. GRD⁷ BD/RVKRN. The first word, equivalent to Bab. *gardu* (cf. Dandamaev 1984: 568–73; Stolper 1985: 55–9), renders OP **garda*, Elamite *kurtas* (see **16, Introduction**); the second could be an OP loanword (see above n.3, and discussion in AD, p. 72); but note that Porten and Yardeni's reading indicates /d/ rather than /r/, which suggests 'assistant'. The significance of the wording is that it places the artist Hinzani into the same category as Arshama's other household staff.
6. The translation is suggested by Whitehead 1974: 88–9. For another reported statue of a rider, see **5, no.13** (88). For an example of the statue of a Persian noble, see **17, no.36 (ii)**.
7. Cf. **16, no.60 (iii)** & n.11. Both names are Iranian (there is also an Egyptian demotic name at the end of the letter.)
8. See **14, no.35**, n.3.

65. Workers in Egypt to be marked

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford: AD 7; TADAE I, A6.10. Egypt, late fifth century.¹

Translations: DAE, no.68; Whitehead 1974: 69–76; Lindenberger 1994, no.43.

From Arsham to Nakhthor. And now, when the Egyptians were in revolt earlier, then Psamshak the preceding steward, watched our personnel² and possessions that are in Egypt carefully, so that my estate³ suffered no loss. Further, he looked elsewhere for personnel of all sorts of craftsmen⁴ and other goods and attached them to my estate.

And now it has come to my ears here that the stewards in Lower Egypt are being very diligent during the disturbances(?), that they are watching carefully over the personnel and goods of their lords, that they are looking for more elsewhere and adding them to the estates of their lords and that you are not acting like this.

Now, I have already sent you a message on this subject: 'Show yourselves diligent! Guard my personnel and goods carefully so that my estate will not suffer any loss. Look elsewhere for personnel – craftsmen of all types; bring them into my courtyard; mark them with my mark⁵ and attach them to my estate as did my earlier stewards.'

May this be brought to your attention: if anything threatens my personnel and other goods, if you do not search elsewhere for them and attach them to my estate, you will be held accountable and you will become liable to a harsh reprimand.

Artahaya knows this order. Rashta, scribe.⁶

Address: From Arsham to Nakhthor the steward who is in Lower Egypt.

Concerning any damage to my house which is in Egypt.

Notes

1. See **15, no.4**, n.1.
2. Ar. GRD⁷, see **16, no.64**, n.5 (in combination with the subsequent 'possessions', it expresses 'my entire estate').
3. Ar. BYT⁸, see **16 no.50**, n.1.
4. Ar. GRD⁹ MNN WSPZN, based on OP *garda krnuvaka vispazana, cf. **16, no.27**.
5. For slaves tattooed (or branded?) with the names of their owners, see **14, no.13**; **15, no.33(ii)**; *AP* 28; *TADAE* IV, D7.9; for the marking of prisoners-of-war, **7, no.31** (233); *Q.C.* V, 5.6.
6. Cf. **16, no.60(iii)** & n.11.

(d) Persian estates in the imperial territories

66. The estates of Parysatis¹

(i) North-eastern Babylonia

Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 4.27.

From there (sc. Opis), they marched through Media,² six desert stages,³ thirty parasangs, to the villages of Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and the king.⁴ And, to insult Cyrus, Tissaphernes⁵ turned them over to the Greeks to plunder, save for the slaves.⁶ There was a lot of grain, small cattle and other goods in them.

(ii) In the environs of Nippur⁷

Babylonian tablet: TuM II/III 185; Cardascia 1951: 95–6. Nippur VI/11/4, Darius II (12 September 420).

317 kur 2 pi 3 sutu of barley, 5 kur 2 pi 3 sutu of wheat, the estimated yield of the fields of Parysatis and the bow-land⁸ of Ea-bullitsu, the steward⁹ of Parysatis, of year 4 of Darius the king, which is at the disposal of Rimut-Ninurta, son of Murashu.¹⁰ The barley, 317 kur 2 pi 3 sutu, (and) the wheat, 5 kur 2 pi 3 sutu, estimated yield of the fields, of year 4 of Darius the king, have been received by Nabu-iddin, son of Bel-erib, and Bel-amat-usur, servant of Ea-bullitsu, on the orders of Ea-bullitsu, steward of Parysatis, from Rimut-Ninurta, son of Murashu; they are paid. Nabu-iddin and Bel-amat-usur will prepare (the receipt) and with Ea-bullitsu, steward of Parysatis, give it to Rimut-Ninurta.

In the presence of Ishtabuzana, judge of the Sin Canal;¹¹ Nabu-mit-uballit judge of Parysatis' estate,¹² son of Mukin-apli.

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

(iii) Syria

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 4.9.

And the villages (sc. in North Syria) in which they (sc. Cyrus the Younger's troops) pitched tent belonged to Parysatis; they had been given her for her girdle.¹³

(iv) A Greek description of Parysatis' estates

Plato, *Alcibiades* 122–3a–b.

I heard a reliable witness – one of those who visited the great king's court – say that he had crossed a fertile stretch of land, almost a whole day's march in extent. The inhabitants called it 'the queen's girdle'; he added that there was another called 'her veil'; and there were many other fertile lands assigned her for her wardrobe, each one designated by a word related to her toilet.

Notes

1. See also **14, no.9**.
2. On the problems of Xenophon's usage of the term *Media* here, see Kuhrt 1995b.
3. For the 'stages' (Gr. *stathmoi*) marking the roads, see **15, no.3**, n.2.
4. The Greek mercenary soldiers are moving north after the defeat and death of Cyrus the Younger in 401; see **9, Section A(e)**.
5. See **8, no.25**, n.3. The insult to Cyrus is obviously Xenophon's idea, who maintained that Parysatis was a partisan of Cyrus the Younger.
6. Gr. *andropoda*, i.e. the personnel of the estates, comparable to the (OP) **garda* of Arshama's estates in Egypt (**16, nos.64**, n.5; **65**), as well as (Akk.) *šusanu*, who were attached to crown estates in Babylonia, sale of whom was forbidden (Joannès 1982: 27–8, cf. **14, no.31(i) & (ii)**).
7. See further Cardascia 1991.
8. I.e. a land grant, on which service (military, labour, silver) was owed to the crown, see **14, nos.9**, n.6; **31(ii)**, n.5; **36; 38**, and particularly **no.37**, showing that such grants could form part of an estate.
9. Akk. *paqdu*, cf. the Aramaic title of Arshama's stewards (**16, no.60**, n.10).
10. For the Murashu firm's management of land on behalf of holders of land in the Nippur region, see Stolper 1985.
11. The same individual appears in Stolper 1985, no.81; see Dandamaev 1992, no.167 for his Iranian name. For the network of irrigation canals in Babylonia under government control, see Stolper 1985: 36–51.
12. Akk. *bitu*, see **16, no.50**, n.1. The same judge of Parysatis appears in **14, no.9**.
13. I.e. the revenues were visualised as meeting some of the expenses associated with her position, cf. **13, no.40; 14, no.42(i)**; the concept is elaborated in the next passage.

67. The crown-prince's estate in Babylonia

Babylonian tablet: Coll. M.Sh. Moussaieff, Joannès and Lemaire 1996, no.2. Kar-Adad, VII/10/21, Darius I (6 October 501).¹

18 kur dates, estimated yield of the field of the estate of the crown-prince, in the town of Kar-Adad, relating to the bow-land² of Barik-Iltammesh, son of Zeriya, in the service of Zababa-shar-usur, the major domo,³ are owed by Iddin-Bel, son of Bel-ahhe-bullit. In month VIII, he will deliver the 18 kur dates, on the bank of the waterway to Barik-Iltammesh. He shall (also) give 1 shekel white silver.

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. The document comes from a private collection. It comprises seven texts, six of which definitely concern the business affairs of Zababa-shar-usur, major domo of the crown-prince's (presumably Xerxes') estate. Kar-Adad is one of several small places clustered in an agricultural district, administered from Bit-Abi-ram, which lay perhaps south-east of Babylon (see further Joannès and Lemaire 1996: 52–3).
2. Cf. **16, no.66(ii)** & n.8.
3. Akk. *rab bitī*, 'superintendent of the household/estate'.

68. The Babylonian estate of Mardonius

Babylonian tablet: BM 64535, Stolper 1992a: 214–16. Babylon III/20/8, Xerxes (5 July 478).¹

12,000 bricks are owed to Ki-Bel, the major domo² of Mardonius, by Bel-ana-mirihtu, son of Ina-Esagil-lumurshu, Bel-ittannu, son of Rimut, and Bel-uballit, son of Nidintu. They will make the bricks with soil of Bel-iksur, son of Nabu-bulluta, complete the work (by laying the bricks) in a stack,³ and deliver the said 12,000 bricks in a stack on day [x+]1, month V, to Duk[uduku?], son of Aplā.

Each stands surety for the other. [Whoever is available] will pay. Bel-ana-mirihtu guarantees the full payment [of the said bricks, i.e.] 12,000.

They have received 2 1/4 shekels of white silver from Dukuduku(?) [. . .]

[(This is) in addition to(?) a previous note for x+]2,000(?) bricks due from Bel-ana-mirihtu [and Nabu(?)]-usurshu.

They will have (the use of) two spades, one kiskirru-board, [one](?) brick-mould(?) . . .

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. One other text (Evetts, App.4 = Stolper 1992: 212–14), dealing with a similar topic but dated a year earlier, also relates to Mardonius' major domo. Could this be the estate of the Persian commander, killed at Plataea in 479 (**7, no.59**), which had not yet been assigned to someone else? Or was it the estate of another prominent Persian with the same name? The documents do not allow an answer either way, but they do provide another instance of a Persian-held landed property in Babylonia. A Mardonius also appears in the Persepolis archive, PFT, Glossary s.v. Mardunuya.
2. Cf. **16, no.67**, n.2.
3. See Stolper 1992: 213 (comments to ll.7 & 8).

69. An agreement to herd the flocks of Arshama's estate in Babylonia¹

Babylonian tablet: PBS II/1, 145, Cardascia 1951: 155–6. Nippur, VI/21/11, Darius II (6 October 413).

Dahilta, son of Haza-ili,² of his own free will, spoke to Enlil-suppe-muhur, Arsham's steward,³ thus:

22 rams, 36 two-year-old sheep, 255 ewes giving suck, 63 one-year-old lambs, 63 one-year-old female lambs, 8 mature male goats, 3 two-year-old kids, 11 full-grown she-goats giving suck, 4 small kids, 4 female kids, a total of 469 animals, white and black, belonging to Arsham, give me to rent, and per year, for 100 ewes 66 two-thirds of offspring, for one she-goat one offspring, for one ewe 1 and ½ mina of wool, for one she-goat, ⅙ mina of goat hair, for one ewe giving suck one cheese, (?) for 100 ewes giving suck 1 qa butter, I shall give you as rent. Per 100 small cattle, (Enlil-suppe-muhur) may charge 10 dead against him; per one dead, I shall give one skin and 2½ shekels of sinews.

(The next passage gives Enlil-suppe-muhur's response, which repeats Dahilta's statement; then:)

Responsibility for pasturing, care and guarding of the animals is borne by Dahilta. From day 21 of month VI, year 11, of Darius the king, the animals will be at his disposal. These are the animals which are in the hands of [Shabahtani, chief herdsman, son of I]sinnaya.⁴

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. For the Egyptian estates of Arshama, satrap of Egypt, see **8, no.34; 14, no.37; 15, no.4; 16, nos.60(iii); 64–5**; cf. **16, no.70**; further, Stolper 1985: 64–6.
2. The names are West Semitic.
3. Akk. *paqdu*, cf. **16, no.66(ii)**, n.9.
4. West Semitic names.

70. Complaints about the behaviour of an estate steward in Egypt

Aramaic leather document, Bodleian Library, Oxford: AD 12; TADAE I, A6.15. Egypt, late fifth century.¹

Translations: DAE, no.73; Whitehead 1974: 99–108; Lindenberger 1994, no.47.

From Varfish to Nakhthor.²

And now Masapata³ my steward sent word to me, saying this: 'In Babylon a letter from Arsham was given to Psamshek, son of Ahohapi, that he should give (me) 5 Cilicians, and in Babylon he gave me 5 Cilicians, a total of [10] men.⁴ Then when the 5 Cilicians were requested from Nakhthor, he did not give them to me.'

Now Varfish says this: Look, consult Arsham's letter, which was brought to Psamshek, concerning the Cilicians, 5 men, which were promised me and give Masapata those 5 Cilicians, 5 men apart from those given in Babylon.

He has also sent a complaint against you: 'Nakhthor has appropriated all the wine which is in Papremis⁵ and the grain of the fields, all of it.'

Now, restore all the wine, grain and anything else you have taken to Masapata, so that he

can attach it to my estate, lest, when you come here, you will have to pay damages for what you took and be called to account about this.

Further, Masapata has sent word saying: 'He has assaulted my lady's personnel and taken goods from them.'⁶

Now, you and my personnel – you have no business (with them). And what you took (in) goods from the personnel – restore, give (it) to them, so that Masapata will not make a complaint a[gainst you].

Address: From Varfish to Nakhthor, [the steward who is in] Egypt.

Concerning: . . . which . . . Masapata . . .

Notes

1. See **14, no.35**, n.1.
2. Nakhthor was the steward of Arshama's estates in Egypt; here another Persian noble (note the name, cf. Mayrhofer 8.1408 *Viraffha-) with estates in Egypt is writing to him with a string of complaints. Note also the Egyptian estate of Varuvahya, **14, no.35**.
3. Iranian name, Mayrhofer 8.1138.
4. This could be restored as five individuals, as Whitehead does; perhaps ten makes more sense. For the question of 'Cilicians' see **8, no.34**, n.3.
5. This might indicate either that Varfish's holdings in Egypt included vineyards, or simply that a particular type of wine had been taken by Nakhthor, along with the grain.
6. This is an interesting indication that the people labelled (Ar.) GRD' (see **16, no.64**, n.5) could own property of their own.

71. A Persian estate in north-west Asia Minor

Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII, 8.8–9, 12–15.

Here (sc. Pergamum in Mysia) Xenophon was given a good reception by Hellas, the wife of Gongylus of Eretria, and mother of Gorgion and Gongylus.¹ She told him there was a Persian called Asidates,² living in the plain, and that if he went by night with three hundred men he could capture this Persian together with his wife and children and property which was considerable. (. . .)³

They arrived at the place about midnight, and the slaves⁴ outside the castle together with most of the cattle there got away safely from them, since they were leaving all this aside in order to capture Asidates himself and his own personal belongings. They failed in their attempt to storm the tower, which was high and strong, with battlements and manned by large numbers of good soldiers,⁵ and so they attempted to make a breach in it. The wall was eight earthen bricks thick, but by daybreak a breach was made. The moment it appeared, someone from inside with a large spit for roasting oxen ran it right through the thigh of the man nearest to the opening. Then, by letting off volleys of arrows, they made it unsafe even to get near. The defenders shouted out too, and made signals by waving torches, and so Itamenes with his force came out to their relief, and from Comania there came some Assyrian hoplites and about eighty Hyrcanian cavalymen, also in the king's pay, and then about eight hundred peltasts, with cavalry as well, some from Parthenion, and some from Apollonia and the country nearby.⁶

Notes

1. The episode occurs when Cyrus the Younger's Greek mercenaries have regained the Aegean shores in 401/0. For the installation of the Eretrian Gongylid family, see **7, no.82**.
2. See Mayrhofer 8.489 for the name.
3. Where the evidence for other estates suggests absentee owners, here the owner is clearly a relatively modest Persian, settled in the region. There follows a description of the preparations for the raid, and attempts to limit the number taking part in order not to have to share out the booty among too many. The plan would have included holding the owner and his family for a lucrative ransom.
4. Gr. *douloi*; in fact, they are almost certainly members of the estate staff (OP **garda*) attested for other estates (see, e.g., **16, nos.65; 66(i); 70**).
5. See **16, no.60(iii)** for the presence of soldiers on estates (cf. also the possible reference to soldiers on the queen's estate in Babylonia, BE IX 50).
6. This vignette is revealing in showing a dense pattern of Persian settlement, ready to take up arms in order to protect against raids of just this kind (cf. **6, no.35(102)**). The majority of the soldiers mentioned here will have been settled on land carrying military obligations with it, analogous to the system attested in Babylonia and Egypt (**14, nos.31(ii)**, n.5; **36; 38**). Itamenes could be a neighbouring estate holder, coming up with a force of soldiers holding land grants within his demesne (cf. **16, no.66(ii)**).

UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Introduction

In this chapter, I have put together a range of disparate pieces of evidence to illustrate issues related to aspects of the Persian empire that have not been addressed directly elsewhere. They are important in that they shed light, in various ways, on how the régime interacted with subjects, mediated relations and maintained control in its diverse territories.

Mountain dwellers (17, Section A; cf. Briant 1982a, ch.2)

A recurring motif in several classical writers is the ‘independence’ of peoples living in the mountains of western Iran and Anatolia. They lived in environments not easily penetrated by armies and in small, scattered communities. But we need to differentiate between them. It is certainly the case that some, such as the Pisidians in central Anatolia, raided their neighbours, and needed to be checked; so military expeditions against them were frequent (see, e.g., **9, no.9**). Their remoteness could also entice foreign adventurers and disaffected Persians, hoping to establish a power base (e.g. **9, nos.39–40; 13, no.36**). The success of such attempts, however, was short-lived. The Mysian and Paphlagonian territories (northern Anatolia) were certainly under satrapal control, as their inhabitants served in the Persian armies and were subject to tax. The Carduchians, further east in the Armenian mountains (**17, no.6**), are described as fiercely warlike and independent, yet simultaneously there is said to be a satrap ‘in the plain’ with whom they reached agreements. A further factor is worth noting: the number of monuments in, for example, Paphlagonia showing Persian influence is increasing (**11, no.58**, n.3; Briant 1996a [2002b], fig.55). In other words, chieftains in such remote and wild regions were receptive to, and aware of, Achaemenid courtly forms (cf. also **fig.17.3**). The most striking example of this is the site of Meydancikkale, centre of a small principality, in the mountains of Rough Cilicia. Here the dynastic residence was decorated with reliefs that imitate the processions on the staircases at Persepolis (**fig.17.2**).

Accounts describing encounters between peoples of the Zagros and Alexander, as well as his successor, Antigonos, reveal rather more about some of the peoples in such precipitous regions. First, we see that the Uxians of the area fall into two quite distinct groups (**17, no.2**). One, living in the very high mountains, was obviously very poor: pastoralists, living in hamlets, who scattered quickly when attacked. However, maintaining a good relationship with them was crucial to any authority claiming control, as a strategically important route linking Fars to the Susa region ran through their territory. The Persian kings had, therefore, established a mutually advantageous relationship with them, sealed by the formal presentation

of gifts. As a result, the Persians had no difficulty using the road through their mountains and Uxians provided soldiers for the army. Note that, despite the heroic colouring of Alexander's fight against them, he only extracted a tribute of animals from them, which was probably precisely what they had rendered to the Persian authorities, too.¹ Quite different is the depiction of the Uxians living at a lesser altitude. Here there is a high-level governor in place, there is a fortified town well able to withstand a siege, and Quintus Curtius' account makes it plain that Alexander was forced to withdraw in the face of their resistance, leaving the region exactly as he had found it. The relationship between the Cossaeans and the Persians was organised on very similar lines (**17, no.3**). Alexander is credited with bringing them to heel, but only a few years later Antigonos' attempt to use the direct route to Media, which passed through their land, failed so disastrously that he wished he had acceded to the demands of the mountaineers. Elements of this way of managing the inhabitants of difficult and relatively poor territory can be seen to have informed Cadusian–Persian interaction, too (**8, no.37**, n.4). In those cases where sufficient information survives, we can see that the Persian authorities implemented a largely successful policy of symbiosis in dealing with these 'independent' peoples. This allowed them to extract considerable benefits while minimising the damage such groups had the potential to inflict.

Multilingualism (17, Section B)

A striking feature of the Achaemenid empire is the use of a multiplicity of languages. At a purely local level it is not perhaps surprising that people would continue to use their familiar languages for internal community matters. More remarkable is the use of many different languages by the administration, as noted by the author(s) of the book of Esther:

Then the king's secretaries were summoned on the thirteenth day of the first month, and an edict (. . .) was written to the king's satraps and to the governors over all the provinces and to the officials of all the peoples, to every province in its own script and every people in its own language; it was written in the name of King Ahasuerus and sealed with the king's ring.

(Esther 3.12)

This reminds us of Darius' statement at Bisitun that the account of his accession and victories over opponents was sent to all people in a variety of languages (**5, no.1**, para.70). The statement echoes the royal stress on the diversity of peoples embraced by the empire (**11, nos.2–5**).

The languages attested as in use by royal proclamations and governmental directives are, in fact, not that numerous: Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian, Egyptian, Aramaic (cf. **16, Introduction**). Of these, the one that was most widely used by the government was Aramaic. We find it being employed (moreover, in the same form) from Central Asia (Shaked 2004) to Asia Minor (**17, no.33(iii)**; cf. **fig.17.7**) and Egypt (e.g. **14, nos.10; 30; 35–6; 44; 15, no.4; 17, no.28**). All the directives sent by Persian owners of estates in Egypt to their stewards were written in Aramaic (*passim*), as were those addressed by the satrap of Bactria to his subordinate (Shaked 2004). This does not mean, however, that Aramaic was in some sense the official language of the empire. It is interesting to note, for example, that the

receipt for a tax levied on a temple transaction in Egypt (**14, no.14**) was issued in demotic Egyptian. The correspondence between the Persian governor of Egypt and the temple of Khnum at Elephantine was also conducted in Egyptian demotic (**17, no.30**), although the underlying Aramaic chancery usage is at times plain. The letters also reveal that the satrapal office had in its service an Egyptian, who translated the administration's Aramaic directives into demotic (**17, no.30(ii)**). The evidence for multiple language use in the Fars region has already been discussed (**16, Introduction**).

It is not surprising to find a number of Old Persian terms in the Aramaic of this period. Written records of the language of the ruling group were largely restricted to royal statements (see now **Chapter 1** & n.3), but it was, of course, spoken. Moreover, the populations of the Iranian plateau and Central Asia spoke related dialects and shared some cultural traits with the Persians (**17, Section B(a)**). In the Armenian highlands, too, Persian seems to have been understood (**17, no.12**), probably because Armenian belongs to the Iranian language group. Certainly, Persian was the language in use at court and in the region, as several anecdotes make plain (**17, nos.13–15**; cf. also, **16, Introduction**). Interestingly, the one time it is referred to in an Old Persian text it is called 'Aryan', i.e. Iranian (**5, no.1**, para.70).

Beyond that, our picture is that inside the huge empire a number of people and communities operated, or could do so to some degree, in more than one language (**17, nos.15–19**). In several instances this was, of course, simply the result of emigration or deportation and resettlement in a new environment. But familiarity with more than one's mother tongue may have been rather more widespread than the limited evidence reveals. One further thing is clear: in addition to the king, army commanders, and provincial and regional governors, all had the appropriate interpreters in their employ (**17, nos.20–4**; cf. Briant 1996a: 523–6; 981 [2002b: 507–10; 956]; Pearce 1999 on Bab. *sepiru*).

Interventions and interactions (17, Section C)

A much debated subject is the interaction of central government with local institutions. Here the information is very partial and interpretations differ widely. It is a question of central concern to Old Testament scholars trying to understand how the Jewish community redefined itself following the restoration of the Jerusalem temple in the Achaemenid period. In the book of Ezra, several Persian royal decrees are cited which authorise the rebuilding of the temple (e.g. **3, no.27**), grant privileges, make provisions for cult and order the Jews to worship their god. It is this which has made the Persians famous for their policy of 'religious tolerance' (in supposed contrast to the preceding Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and succeeding Seleucid régimes; see Kuhrt 2001a for discussion). There are, however, serious problems with accepting the authenticity of the Ezra decrees. Many find support for them in evidence from Egypt and Asia Minor and, on this basis, define an Achaemenid imperial 'religious policy' which had real legal force (Frei 1996). Does the material bear out such an understanding? Unfortunately, not one document provides unambiguous support. One Greek inscription (ML no. 12), thought to parallel the granting of privileges to sanctuaries of subjects, is very likely to be a Roman period forgery (Briant 2003b) and so must be excluded from the debate. The evidence, slight as it is, for legal practices in the Achaemenid empire (**4, no.14(b)**, **17, nos.25–9**) indicates that there was no empire-wide law code. The Persian authorities seem to have implemented and observed local norms (cf. the Hittite empire; briefly, Kuhrt 1995a: 273–4). These could, of course, be overridden by government edicts as and when necessary; but they were *ad hoc* measures, varying from place to place and

in time. At the same time, local communities could appeal directly to the king, without going through the local authorities (Tod, no.138, cf. CAH VI, 63).

When we look at the evidence for Persian interventions in local cults, it is difficult to see the authorities involving themselves intimately with the religious practices of their subjects (**17, nos.30–3**). An exchange between the Persian satrap and the establishment of an Egyptian sanctuary (**17, no.30**) shows the authorities insisting that the procedure for selecting an appropriate administrator be followed by the sanctuary staff. We know that temples were subject to tax (**14, no.14**), so ensuring that they were run by reliable individuals was of immediate concern to the government. In other instances we see the Persian authorities stepping in to resolve a conflict (**17, no.32**) and permitting observation of a cult involving work-free days (**17, no.31**) – both matters directly affecting the smooth running of the province. A Lycian–Greek inscription (**17, no.33**) records the institution of a new cult and the arrangements made for its support by the local community. An Aramaic summary on the same stela shows the authorities noting its main contents. The Greek text makes it clear that the role of the provincial governor was to act as a court of last instance, should these arrangements be challenged or undermined. In each instance, it seems plain that governmental action was in response to requests from local communities and limited to matters directly affecting the administration.

The series of documents concerned with the violent quarrel in Elephantine may serve as a case-study of Persian intervention in local cults and institutions (**17, no.32**). What do we see going on? The Jews of Elephantine report to both the governors and priests in Jerusalem and Samaria, as well as to the Persian satrap of Egypt, Arshama, that several civic installations and their Yahweh temple had been destroyed by the adherents of the Egyptian god Khnum. In this, the Egyptians were aided by the local Persian commander. Khnum was the ancient ram-headed deity, to whom Elephantine had been sacred since early dynastic times, i.e. about 3,000 years. The quarrel between Jews and Egyptians was protracted, dragging on for several years before eventually the authorities gave permission for the Jews to rebuild their temple and re-initiate its cult. There were, of course, two sides to the quarrel, of which we hear only one in the surviving documentation, which makes it hard to disentangle the course of events. Briant (1996b) has proposed the following reconstruction, which makes perhaps the best sense.

It is clear both from the Elephantine texts and recent archaeological work that the Yahweh temple stood in close proximity to the age-old sanctuary of Khnum. Further, it was never destroyed. There is a suggestion that the issue may have been more one of profanation of sacred space, than any major physical destruction (Briant 2003c: 183), despite the precise itemising of the damage sustained. At some point, before 410, the Khnum temple had been enlarged with official sanction. In the course of this expansion, part of a government granary was destroyed, a wall built and the shared water supply blocked up, while the fabric of the Yahweh temple sustained some damage. When the Jews complained to the local governor's tribunal, the Egyptians countered with the claim that the Jewish shrine occupied terrain legally belonging to Khnum. The Egyptian claim was upheld, as the Jews were unable to produce proof of their entitlement to the space occupied by their cult. As a result, in accordance with Egyptian usage, the Yahweh temple was partly(?) dismantled under the aegis of the local Persian commander. In doing this, however, he overstepped the mark in one respect: under Egyptian law, the guilty party in such a property dispute was responsible for removing the offending structure and entitled to keep the materials. This the Persian commander had not permitted the Jews to do. In the light of this legal breach, the Elephantine

Jews turned to a higher authority. They petitioned Arshama, the satrap, as well as community leaders in Jerusalem and Samaria. They pointed to their ancient right to have a Yahweh shrine from the Saite period on, an entitlement confirmed by Cambyses, and requested that judges and inspectors investigate and confirm their claims. After three years, the Jewish entitlement was indeed proved and they were granted permission to reconstruct the temple and bring offerings. Nevertheless, the permission was hedged about with certain stipulations. The Jews had to pay a fine, or compensation, to the satrapal treasury; all the rebuilding/repair costs had to be borne by the Jewish community itself and they were subject to satrapal surveillance to ensure that they adhere to the terms under which they were allowed to re-establish their cult. Clearly, some of these conditions must relate to efforts by the authorities to calm any counter-claims by the Egyptians, living cheek by jowl with the Jews, and ensure that the two communities, who played an essential role in defending this important and vulnerable frontier, get along reasonably smoothly. The affair can thus be understood to reflect a problem arising from a clash between local Egyptian legal norms and the overarching imperial, or royal, law concerned with the maintenance of proper order.²

Other pieces of evidence allow us to gain a sense of the various forms of interaction between rulers and ruled. One text reveals two Persians (Iranians) resident in Egypt engaged in a commercial venture with two Egyptian boatmen, to transport purchased grain (**17, no.34**; Briant 1996a: 623 [2002b: 607]). This is a valuable insight into how members of the ruling hierarchy participated in local trade circuits. Xenophon provides a picture of how the relationship between local dynasts and Persian satraps could be organised for mutual benefit (**17, no.35**). There is also evidence to show that, as we would expect, there were marriages between Persians and local people (**17, nos.37–8**), which must have been quite widespread. Persian dedications to local cults are also attested (**17, no.36**). Conversely, there are signs of the spread of aspects of Iranian cult in the provinces (**fig.17.10**). Most interesting is the evidence for elements of Persian iconography and practices penetrating the imperial territories (**figs.17.8–12**). These pieces are just the tip of the iceberg. Given the evidence for settlements of soldiers, labourers, prisoners-of-war, deportees, all kinds of people lived cheek-by-jowl (see Appendix, below). The satrapal courts with their belevies of officials and secretaries, both Persian and recruited from the local population, placed members of the ruling group into the heart of the subject territories. The empire was cosmopolitan; cultural and social interchanges must have been intense and diverse.³

The south-eastern territories (17, Section D)

One area that is even less represented in the surviving documentation than eastern Iran and Central Asia is the region from India (modern Pakistan) to the Gulf. Some have, indeed, suggested that places such as India had dropped out of Achaemenid control in the course of the fourth century. Primary evidence derives from the Alexander historians, in particular Alexander's admiral Nearchus, who plotted the coastline from the Indus mouth to southern Babylonia. Although the material is very scanty, we see from these descriptions that Achaemenid India remained sufficiently integrated into the empire to supply forces and elephants for Darius III's army at Gaugamela (**17, no.40**).⁴ Two Persepolis texts hint at governmental arrangements in Gedrosia and the adjacent coastal area (**17, no.42**). Nearchus strengthens this picture, when he notes Persian governors and settlement in and along the Gulf, including some of the islands, which served as places of exile (**17, nos.43–6**). The

sparseness of the evidence is frustrating, but what there is implies no significant loosening of the Achaemenid grip on these territories.

Appendix: foreign communities/individuals attested in imperial provinces

- (a) Babylonia (Stolper 1985: 72–9; Dandamaev 1983; **6, no.44; 10, no.29**, n.1; **17, no.17**):
Iranians, Carians, Scythians, people from Malatya, Tyrians, people from the region Ashsha (unknown location), people from the town of Sharrabanu (Beyond-the-River?), a group from Beyond-the-River(?), Armenians, Arabs, Indians, Phrygians, Lydians, Milesians, Euboeans, Jews, Egyptian, Sattagydians
- (b) Beyond-the-River (Moorey 1980; **9, no.75**):
Iranians, people from Central Asia
- (c) Asia Minor (passim, see particularly **6, no.35; 16, no.71; 17, no.36**):
Persians, Hyrcanians, Assyrians
- (d) Egypt (passim; DAE):
Cilicians, Carians, Arabs, people from Beyond-the-River, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Caspians, Iranians, Persians, Jews, people from Anatolia, Ionians
- (e) Bactria (**6, no.4; 11, no.59; 16, Introduction; 17, no.16**):
Libyans; Milesians; Persians

Notes

1. Note also the likelihood that the Persepolis administration obtained animals from them through the exchange system documented in the Fortification archive (see **16, Introduction**).
2. See now von Pilgrim 2003 correcting and modifying Briant's arguments on the basis of the archaeological remains. It looks as though it was the building of the wall that led to the partial dismantlement of, and damage to, the Yahweh temple. The enclosure wall of the latter appears to have blocked the main (and old) thoroughfare, which will also have been the processional street (von Pilgrim 2003: 315); see also Kratz 2006.
3. See Dussinberre 1999 for the change in eating habits at Sardis as a result of Persian rule. Note the astounding mixture of names in the same family in some of the Hermopolis letters (**15, nos.29–30**).
4. Note also that in the 390s Ctesias described Indians making regular presentations to the Persian king (**14, nos.4–6**).

A. The limits of direct control

(a) Peoples of the mountains in west Iran

1. The Zagros communities

Strabo XI, 13.6.

It (sc. Media) is bounded on the east by Parthia and the mountains of the Cossaeans.¹ They are brigands, who once supplied thirteen thousand archers to the Elymaeans, who were their allies, against the Susians and Babylonians. Nearchus² says that there were four of these brigand tribes.³ Of these, the Mardians were next to the Persians; the Uxians and Elymaeans next to the Susians, and the Cossaeans next to the Medes. While all of them exacted tribute from the kings, the Cossaeans also received gifts, whenever the king, after spending the

summer in Ecbatana, moved down into Babylonia.⁴ Alexander, however, put a stop to their bold behaviour, when he attacked them in winter.⁵ So then, on the east, Media is bounded by them as well as the Paraetaceni,⁶ who front on the Persians – they, too, are mountain people and likewise brigands – to the north, by the Cadusians, who live above the Hyrcanian Sea (. . .).⁷

Notes

1. See **fig.17.1**, for the location of these and other groups.
2. Alexander's admiral, who sailed from the Indus mouth to southern Babylonia, and wrote a description of India and the Gulf region, the main source for Arrian's *Indica* (Berve, no.544; Heckel 1992: 228–33).
3. Gr. *lestrika ethnē*. The impression is that none of the people described were under Persian governmental control and paid no tax – indeed, it was the other way round. But note that all are included in Herodotus' tax-districts (**14, no.2**), and that they served in the Persian armies (except the Elymaeans, see **11, no.25**; Briant 1996a: 750–1 [2002b: 730–1]).
4. For an exhaustive and critical examination of the pattern of the court's seasonal migration, much remarked upon by classical writers, see Tuplin 1998.
5. For Alexander's winter campaign in the mountains in 331/0, see **10, no.30(v)**.
6. See **10, no.31**, n.1; **11, no.25**, n.31.
7. The Caspian. For the Cadusians, see **8, no.37**; for their service in the Persian army, see **11, no.22**. Strabo continues describing peoples on Media's other frontiers.

2. The Uxians

(i) Uxian populations in the high mountains

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 17.

Leaving Susa and crossing the Pasitigris river,¹ he (sc. Alexander) invaded the land of the Uxians. Those of the Uxians who inhabit the plains obeyed the Persian satrap and now surrendered to Alexander. But the so-called Uxian hillmen were not subject to the Persians and now sent to Alexander saying he would not be able to take the road into Persia with his army unless they received what they usually received from the Persian king whenever he moved along that way.² Alexander sent them away, ordering them to go to the pass, control of which made them think that the route to Persia was theirs, so that they might receive from him what was prescribed. He himself took the royal bodyguard, the hypaspists³ and around eight thousand of the rest of the army; then he marched by night away from the obvious road with Susian guides. He moved along a rough and difficult route in one day and fell upon the villages of the Uxians. He seized a lot of booty and killed many of them still abed. As for them, they fled into the mountains. He then proceeded at speed to the pass, where the Uxians were likely to oppose him with full force, to receive what was prescribed. He sent Craterus⁴ further ahead to occupy the heights, to where he thought the Uxians under pressure would retreat. He himself advanced with great speed. He got there first, occupied the passage and, with his men drawn up around him, he led them, from a commanding position, against the barbarians. They, in turn, were stunned by Alexander's speed and, as they found themselves at a disadvantage in the very terrain in which they had placed their trust, they fled without coming to close quarters. Some were killed by those with Alexander as they fled, while many died on the steep path. But the majority escaped into the

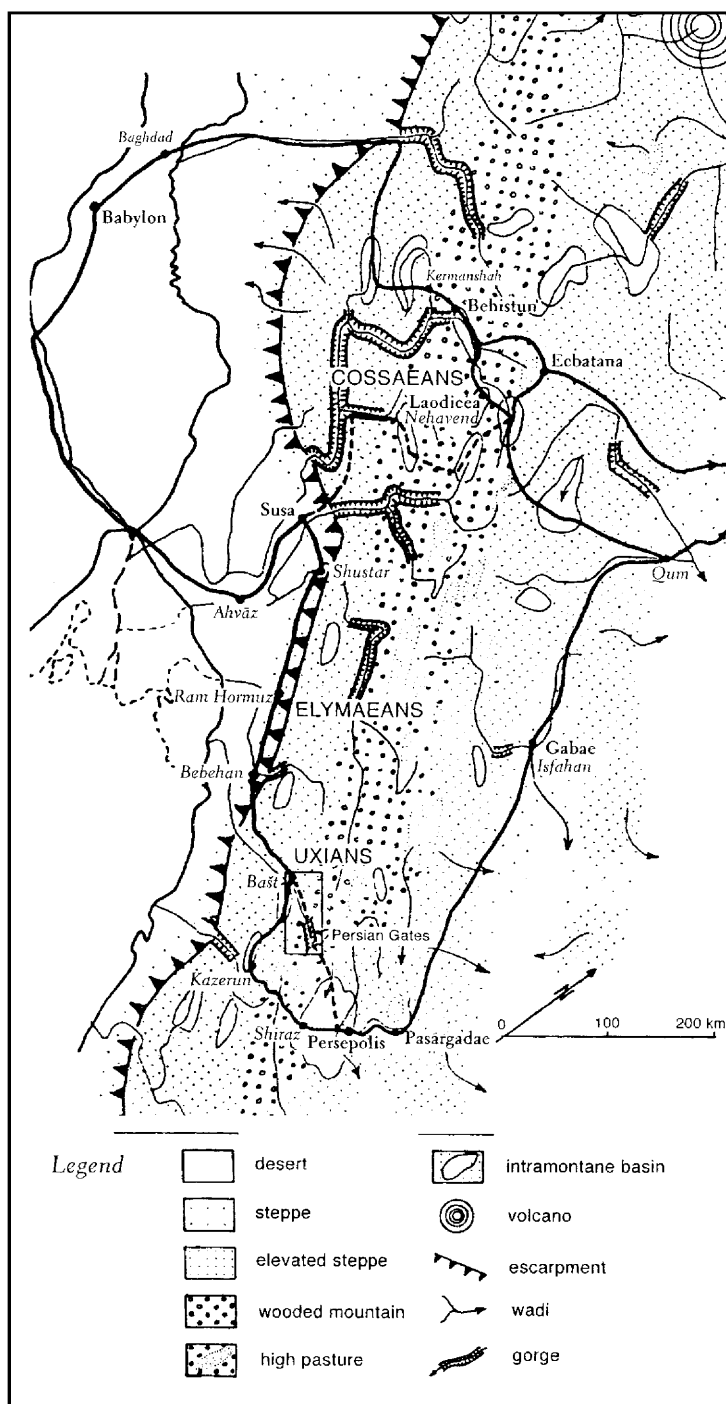


Figure 17.1 Sketchmap of the mountain terrain of the Zagros, showing the location of the Cossaeans, Elymaeans and Uxians (cf. 17, no.1). (After Briant 1996a [2002b].)

mountains, where they ran into Craterus' forces and were destroyed by them. These were the gifts of honour they received from Alexander. Only with difficulty did they obtain their request from him to retain their own country subject to paying Alexander an annual tribute. Ptolemy, son of Lagus,⁵ says that Darius' mother pleaded on their behalf with Alexander to give them their country to live in. The assessed tribute was one hundred horses per year, five hundred pack animals and thirty thousand small cattle,⁶ because the Uxians had neither money nor arable land; for the most part they were animal herders.⁷

(ii) The Uxians of the plain

Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 3.1–15.

After soothing her (sc. Sisigambis') feelings,⁸ Alexander arrived after a four-day march at the Tigris river (the local people call it Pasitigris).⁹ It rises in the mountains of the Uxii and for fifty stadia it tumbles at speed among rocks and between wooded banks. Then it enters the plains, through which it passes more gently and is suitable for boats. For six hundred stadia it flows smoothly through a gentle tract of land until it reaches the Persian Sea.¹⁰ After crossing the river with nine thousand infantry and Agrianian archers,¹¹ as well as three thousand Greek mercenaries plus a thousand Thracians, he arrived in the country of the Uxians. It adjoins Susa and extends to the first part of Persia, leaving a narrow gorge between itself and the Susians. Medates¹² was the governor of the region and certainly no time-server – he had determined to endure the utmost to the best of his loyalty. But some familiar with the place pointed out to Alexander a secret path leading over the mountains and away from the city. If he were to send a few light-armed troops, they would emerge above the enemy.

As Alexander was in favour of the plan, these men acted as guides along the paths. Fifteen hundred mercenaries and almost a thousand Agriani were given to his commander Tauron,¹³ who was ordered to set out on the march after sunset. He himself left camp in the third watch and passed through the defile around daybreak. Then he cut timber to make wickerwork covers and shelters to provide protection from missiles to the men bringing up the siege-towers, and then laid siege to the town. The whole place was precipitous, impeded by rocks and crags. As a result they suffered many wounds and were repelled, given that they had to contend not only with the enemy but also with the location. However, they came forward again, as the king had placed himself in the vanguard and asked them whether the victors of so many cities did not blush to falter in the siege of so small and insignificant a fort. And he reminded them that Tauron would soon arrive with help. As he said this he was being attacked at long range. As his men could not make him withdraw, they were protecting him with a tortoise-formation of their shields.

At last Tauron appeared with his detachment above the citadel of the town. At sight of him, the enemy's spirit flagged while the Macedonians began to enter the fight with more enthusiasm. The two-pronged attack was a blow to the townspeople and stopping the enemy's force was impossible. A few were ready to die, more were inclined to flee, while the majority withdrew into the citadel. From there they sent thirty spokesmen¹⁴ to plead, but the discouraging answer was returned by the king that there was no room for pardon. So then, with the additional terror of torture, they sent, via a secret path unknown to the enemy, to Sisigambis, Darius' mother. They pleaded that she herself might mollify the king because they knew that she was respected and honoured by him like a

mother. Further, Medates was married to her sister's daughter and thus a close relative of Darius.

For a long time Sisigambis resisted the suppliants' pleas. She claimed that to intervene on their behalf was inappropriate given her situation. She added that she was afraid to wear out the victor's kindness, and that she thought more often of herself as a captive than as a former queen. But eventually she was persuaded and begged Alexander in a letter to excuse her presumption in asking a favour. She begged that he would also pardon them and, if not, to pardon her: she was simply pleading for the life of a friend and relative, who was no longer an enemy but a suppliant.

This act alone serves to show the king's moderation and mercy at that time. He pardoned not just Medates, but granted all – those who had surrendered as well as those who had been taken prisoner – freedom and immunity. He left the city intact and allowed it to cultivate the fields free of tribute. Had Darius been the victor, his mother could not have obtained more.¹⁵

Notes

1. Mod. Karun.
2. The impression is that the Persian king made a special detour from the main road in order to cement, with gifts, the relationship between king and mountain peoples. Their co-operation was vital to safeguard routes, discourage raids, and gain access to flocks and manpower.
3. Normally the bodyguard were cavalry, but not here. The hypaspists were a major corps of the Macedonian infantry.
4. See **10, no.22**, n.5.
5. Macedonian general and the later ruler of Egypt, whose memoir of Alexander's wars was one of Arrian's sources.
6. Cf. **14, no.8**, for tribute in animals. Note that supply of animals from this region as tribute has a long history in Mesopotamia, certainly from the late third millennium onwards, see Kuhrt 1995a: 61; **2, nos.1; 2; 4** (cf. Greco 2003, for the Assyrian period). Note also the evidence for exchanges of (e.g.) grain for animals logged by the Persepolis administration, the source for which is very likely to have been mountain folk of this type (Henkelman 2005a).
7. The important points to note here are that the settlement of these Uxians is in scattered villages; they have precipitous mountain refuges, inaccessible to armies; they are poor, lacking farmland and scraping a living with their flocks. It is possible that the small cattle registered as received as tax in the Persepolis archive (**16, no.3**) came from just this kind of source.
8. According to Quintus Curtius, Alexander had offended Sisigambis, Darius III's mother, by suggesting that she might like to do some woolwork.
9. See above, n.1.
10. I.e. Persian Gulf.
11. See **10, no.10**, n.2.
12. Darius III's cousin, according to D.S. XVII, 67.3. For his relationship to the royal family, see further on in this passage.
13. Possibly a brother of the notorious Harpalus, Alexander's financial comptroller in Babylon, see Berve, no.741.
14. Lat. *oratores*.
15. A number of significant points emerge from this account, which concentrates on the Uxians living in the plain, as opposed to the mountain fastnesses (described in the Arrian passage, **17, no.2(i)**). First, the Uxians living in the plain were subject to the regular Persian authorities. Secondly, unlike the mountain groups, much of the population was concentrated in a well-built town, with a citadel and walls able to withstand a sophisticated siege. Thirdly, the inhabitants were able to organise a prolonged resistance, and had civic representatives. Fourthly, again in contrast to their mountain-dwelling neighbours, they farmed the fields located in the plains. Finally, as they were in control of one of the main routes linking Elam and Fars and their

co-operation was important, Alexander imposed no regular tax-payments on them, probably following Achaemenid precedent.

3. The Cossaeans

(i) Alexander's war against the Cossaeans¹

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 111.4–6.

Alexander launched a campaign against the Cossaeans, who had not submitted, with a mobile force. These people are remarkably courageous and live in the mountains of Media. Relying on the ruggedness of the place and their prowess in war, they had never accepted a master from outside and remained unconquered throughout the period of the Persian kingdom. Now they were too self-confident to fear the valour of the Macedonians. But the king seized the access roads, ravaged most of Cossaea, won all engagements, killed many of the barbarians and took many more prisoner. So the Cossaeans were completely defeated. Cowed by the number taken captive, they were forced to ransom them at the cost of submission. They turned themselves in and were granted peace subject to obeying the king. In a mere forty days, if that, Alexander had conquered this people. He founded strong towns in the difficult terrain and rested the army.

(ii) Antigonus' campaign against the Cossaeans²

Diodorus Siculus XIX, 19.2–8.

There were two roads leading into Media, each with disadvantages. The one leading to Colon was a good, royal road,³ but it was hot and long, stretching for a distance of almost forty days. The other, through the Cossaeon tribes, was difficult and narrow, winding past precipices and through enemy territory; moreover, it lacked supplies – but it was short and cool. It is not easy for an army to take this route without obtaining the permission of the barbarians who live in the mountains. From ancient times they have been independent. They dwell in caves, eat acorns and fungi, as well as the smoked meat of wild animals. Antigonus thought it beneath him to use persuasion or present them with gifts when he was accompanied by such a large army. So he picked the most outstanding of the peltasts, divided the archers, slingers and the other light-armed troops into two sections, and placed one under Nearchus.⁴ He ordered him to go ahead and occupy in advance the passes and difficult places. He drew up the others the length of the route and then he moved forward with the phalanx with Peithon⁵ in charge of the rear. Those going ahead with Nearchus occupied a few lookout posts. But in the majority of cases, and these in the most important places, they were too late, lost many men and barely got through with the barbarians pressing them hard. Whenever the troops with Antigonus came to these difficult places, they encountered dangers for which no help was available. For the local people, who were familiar with the region and had occupied the high points in advance, kept rolling large rocks one after the other on the moving troops. Simultaneously, they unleashed arrows, thick and fast, wounding men unable to defend themselves against the missiles or avoid them because of the difficult terrain. With the road so steep and almost impassable, the elephants, cavalry, even the heavily armed soldiers faced death while labouring hard without any chance of helping themselves. Trapped in such a stressful situation, Antigonus regretted that he had ignored

Peithon's advice to buy the passage with money. Nevertheless, after losing many men and endangering the whole enterprise, he arrived safely with great difficulty on the ninth day in Media.

Notes

1. The campaign, according to the Alexander historians, was mounted in the wake of Hephaestion's death, in winter 324/3.
2. The time is summer 317, with Alexander's former general, Antigonos, in pursuit of Eumenes, in his bid to establish control over the larger part of Alexander's empire. It indicates that Alexander's campaign (above) had little lasting impact on the Cossaeans.
3. For the royal roads, see **15, Section A**. The identity of Colon is uncertain, but the circumstantial evidence suggests that it lay at the Mesopotamian end of the main route leading east through the mountains past Bisitun to Ecbatana.
4. See **17, no.1**, n.2.
5. Member of Alexander's bodyguard, see Berve, no.621; Heckel 1992: 276–9.

(b) Highland peoples of Anatolia

4. Mysians, Lycaonians and Pisidians

Xenophon, *Anabasis* III, 2.23.¹

We know that the Mysians,² whom we shall not admit to be better than ourselves, inhabit many prosperous and substantial towns in the king's territory, and we understand the same

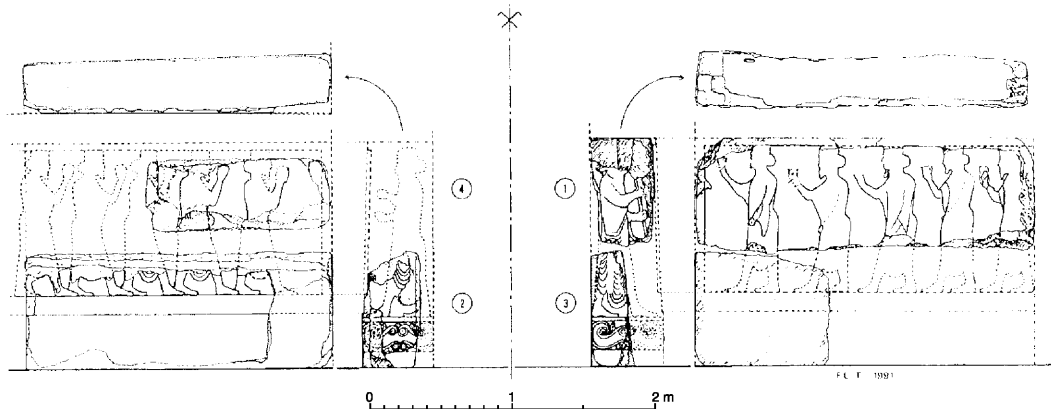


Figure 17.2 Sculpted relief frieze in Persepolitan style (2.5 m estimated original length; 1.6 m high), from the site of Meydancikkale, in the mountains of Rough Cilicia, about 15 km inland; c.400–c.350(?). Although it is heavily eroded, two processions of figures in Persian dress can be seen to advance on either side of a doorway, offering objects of some kind; guards with bows and spears face each group. Fragmentary Aramaic inscriptions indicate that Meydancikkale was the site of Kirshu, centre of the small principality of Pirindu, attested in a Neo-Babylonian chronicle of 557 (ABC 6). Kirshu survived as a small principality under its own dynasts inside a larger Persian province (Casabonne 2004: 142–51). The site continued to be occupied in the hellenistic period, when the building (A), in which the frieze may originally have been located, was rebuilt (Casabonne 2004: 158–62). (After Casabonne 2004.)

applies to the Pisidians.³ As for the Lycaonians, we saw ourselves how they had seized strongholds in the plains and were reaping the lands (sc. of the Persians).⁴

Notes

1. Xenophon is addressing the Ten Thousand (Greek mercenaries), arguing in favour of making their way home, after the defeat and death of Cyrus the Younger in 401 (cf. **9, Section A**).
2. See **9, nos.11**, n.5; **23(ii)**; **39**. For their inclusion in the Persian army and tax districts, see **11, no.25**; **14, no.2**.
3. See **9, no.9**, n.2. For their possible service in the Persian army, see **11, no.25**, n.47; cf. **15, no.18**.
4. See **9, no.12**.

5. Pisidian raids

Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 24.6.

A little later he (sc. Alexander) came to Phaselis.¹ Along with these, he took a strong outpost, which had been fortified against this region by the Pisidians.² With this as their base, they did much harm to the people of Phaselis cultivating the soil.

Notes

1. The time is winter 334/3, with Alexander moving along Asia Minor's southern coast. For his actions at Aspendus, shortly after this, see **10, no.37**.
2. Cf. **17, no.4**, and note that Cyrus the Younger's pretext in 401 for leading out his army was to bring the Pisidians to heel. Note the subsequent opposition offered by them to Alexander, Arr. *Anab.* I, 27.5–28.

6. The Carduchians, c.400¹

(i) Xenophon, *Anabasis* III, 5.15–16.

The route through the mountains and northwards led to the territory of the Carduchians. These, they said, lived up among the mountains, were warlike and did not submit to the king. In fact, a royal army of twelve thousand had once invaded them, but because of the difficult terrain not a single one returned. Nevertheless, whenever they made a treaty with the satrap in the plain, those in the plain did interact with them, and the Carduchians with those in the plain.

(ii) Diodorus Siculus XIV, 27.4.

The Greeks made their way into the mountains of the Carduchians for seven days, enduring much at the hands of the region's inhabitants, who were brave and familiar with the territory. They were the king's enemies, free and experienced in war; in particular, they were expert in hurling the largest possible stones with slings and handling extraordinarily large arrows. With these, they inflicted wounds on the Greeks from advantageous positions, killing many and injuring quite a few badly.²

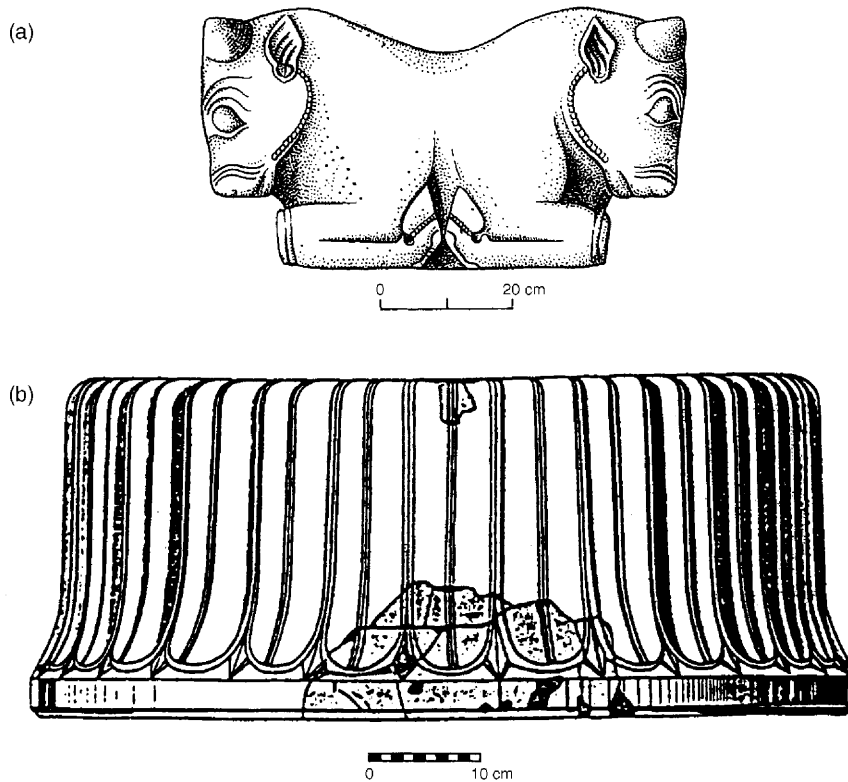


Figure 17.3 (a) Double-headed bull protome capital from Tsikhiagora, Iberia (eastern Georgia). (After Tsetskhladze 2003.)

(b) Bell-shaped column-base from the palace complex at Gumbati, Iberia (eastern Georgia). (After Knauss 2001.)

The remarkable finds made in eastern Georgia in recent decades indicate a shift in the Achaemenid period from an earlier, relatively egalitarian society, to a stratified one, with local dynasts constructing buildings using architectural elements that echo those of the Persian court. This is more marked in eastern than western Georgia (Colchis). Although the region was probably not under direct Persian rule (in the sense of being incorporated into a satrapy, see **14, no.2** for Colchis), local socio-political structures were clearly profoundly affected by intimate contact with the Achaemenid world, a fact reflected in the settlements, craftwork and architecture of the period.

Notes

1. Located by Xenophon and Diodorus in the northernmost foothills of the Zagros, on the Upper Tigris, on the frontier of southern Armenia.
2. Note that by the time Strabo was writing (under Augustus), there were three elaborately built citadels here and the Carduchians (then known as Gordyaeans) were particularly prized for their expertise in defensive building and the construction of siege engines (Strabo XVI, 1.24).

B. Iran, Iranian, Persian and the languages of the empire

(a) Iran and Iranian

7. A definition of Iran

Strabo XV, 2.8.

The name of Ariana¹ is extended further up to a part of Persia and Media, and also north to the Bactrians and Sogdians, for they have more or less the same language² with just small differences.

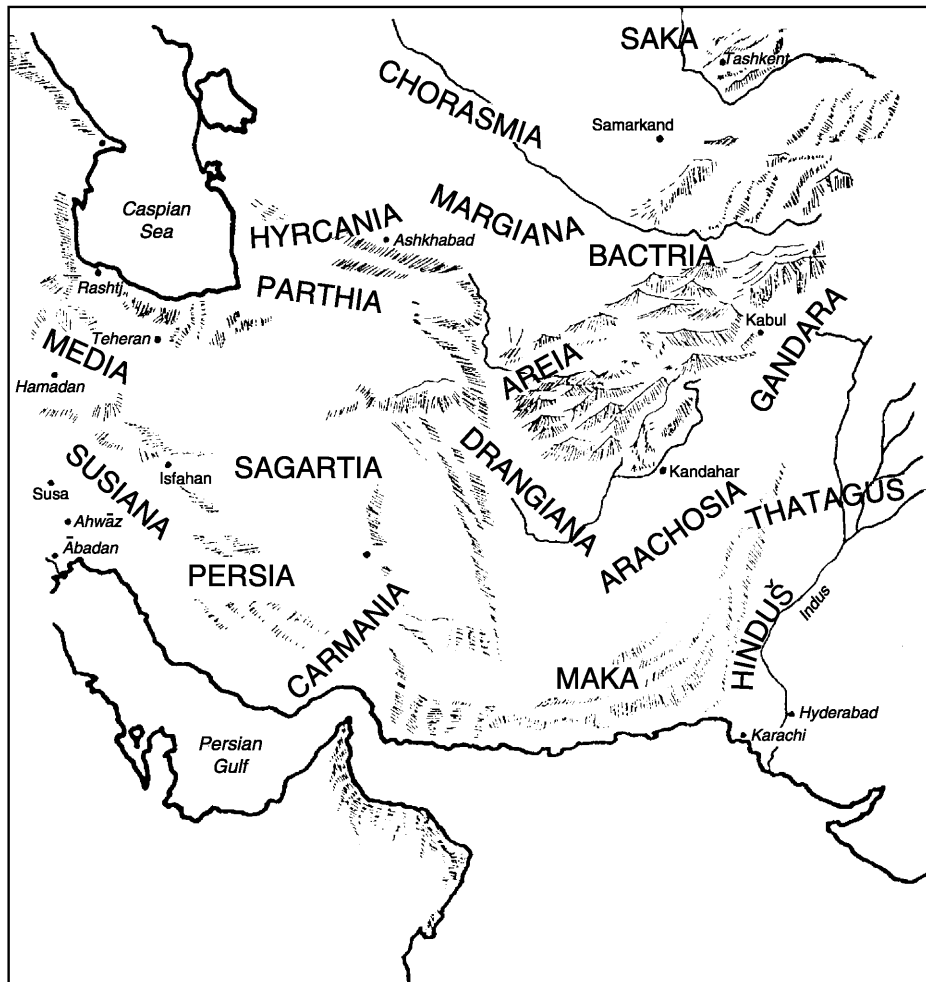


Figure 17.4 Sketchmap of the Iranian plateau. (After Briant 1996a [2002b].)

Notes

1. Strabo means here the Iranian plateau, whose name he takes from the province Areia (**fig.17.4**). Note Darius' definition of himself on several occasions as 'an Aryan, of Aryan lineage' (e.g. **11, nos.12**, para.2 & n.3, **16**, para.2).
2. Gr. *homoglottoi*.

8. Drangiana

Strabo XV, 2.10.

The Drangae,¹ who in other aspects of life are like the Persians,² have very little wine,³ but there is tin in the country.

Notes

1. The people in the region of modern Seistan.
2. Gr. *persizontes*.
3. Wine was the most common drink produced in Fars (Persia), as shown by the issues in the Persepolis texts (see **16, Section A**). Beer figures much less, usually in regions closer to low-lying Elam, where the habitual drink was beer, as it was in Mesopotamia.

9. Sagartia

Herodotus VII, 85.

They (sc. the Sagartians)¹ are Persian, ethnically and linguistically, but their equipment is a mix of Persian and Pactyan. Their custom is not to have iron or bronze weapons, apart from daggers, but to use ropes woven of leather. The way they fight is that when they encounter the enemy, they throw their ropes, which have a noose at the end.² Whatever is caught by the rope, whether horse or man, the fighter pulls towards himself and the enemy trapped in the coils is killed.

Notes

1. For the approximate location, see **fig.17.4**.
2. Note that the Persian education also included the making and use of lassos (**13, no.8(ii)**, cf. **fig.13.1**).

10. Carmania

Strabo XV, 2.14.

It (sc. Carmania) has a desert adjacent to Parthia and Paraetacene. It has farm crops very similar to the Persian ones, among them the vine. From this comes the 'Carmanian', as it is called by us. Often it has clusters two cubits in size, which are thick with large grapes, and it seems likely that it flourishes better there. Most Carmanians use donkeys, including in war, because there are few horses. They sacrifice a donkey to Ares, which is the only god they worship, and they are very warlike. No one marries before he has cut off the head of an

enemy and brought it to the king. The skull is stored in the palace, the tongue is chopped up and mixed with flour, and after the king has tasted it himself, he gives it to the man who brought it to be eaten by him and his household. According to Nearchus, most of the customs and the dialect of the Carmanians are like the Persian and Median ones.¹

Note

1. See **3, no.5**, where the Carmanians (Germanii) are described as a Persian tribe.

11. An expert in Bactrian–Sogdian customs and dialect

Arrian, *Anabasis* IV, 3.6–7.

The news also came that Spitamenes¹ and his troops were besieging those left behind in the citadel of Maracanda.² At this, Alexander sent against Spitamenes' troops, Andromachus, Menedemus and Caranus, together with cavalry consisting of about sixty Companions³ and eight hundred of the mercenaries under Caranus' command, as well as about fifteen hundred infantry mercenaries. He placed these under Pharnuches, the interpreter, who was of Lycian origin,⁴ and familiar with the language of the barbarians of this area⁵ and generally seemed to be skilful in handling them.

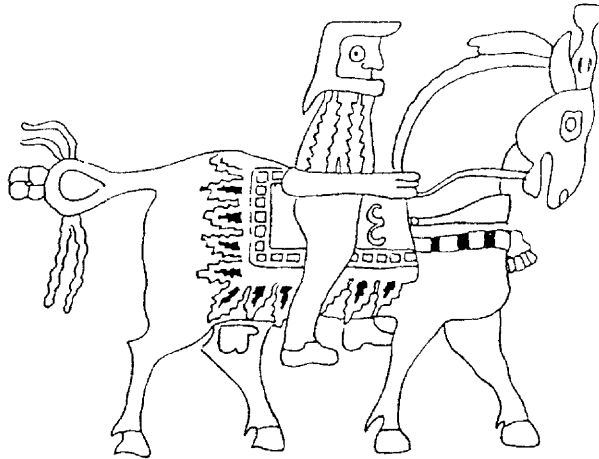


Figure 17.5 Rider and horse, detail from a coloured, handknotted carpet (fifth century; 1.80 × 2m) found in the fifth Pazyryk kurgan, in the Altai mountains of eastern Siberia, excavated between 1929 and 1949 by S.I. Rudenko. The deeply cold conditions allowed items to survive that would normally have perished, such as this and other textiles. The depiction of the horse is comparable to those at Persepolis. It has been thought that this (and similar items) could have been gifts made by the Persian kings to Scythian chieftains, as part of a system of gift-exchange helping to cement relations, which allowed the Persian authority to draw extensively on the manpower of the region (see, e.g., **6, no.56; 7, no.45; 11, nos.22; 25**; Dandamaev 1979). More recent analysis suggests that the carpets either were made locally, or were the products of a Bactrian–Sogdian workshop, influenced by the Achaemenid artistic koine; see Briant 1996a: 1053 [2002b: 1026]. (After Casabonne 2004.)

Notes

1. The occasion is Alexander's protracted and difficult campaign in Bactria–Sogdiana (330–327, see **fig.10.7**). The Bactrian noble, Spitamenes, had initially supported the regicide Bessus (**10, no.33** & n.4), then arrested and handed him over to Alexander, while he led the resistance to the Macedonians.
2. Samarkand in Sogdiana (mod. Uzbekistan).
3. See **10, no.10**, n.3. For Alexander's commanders, see Berve, nos.75, 504, 412, respectively.
4. Gr. to *genos* Lykion. His name is Persian/Iranian, which could mean that he was an Iranised Lycian – very possible given the evidence for the Lycian élite's close links to the Achaemenid regime (see Briant 1996a: 626–7 [2002b: 608–10]). However, the fact that he is described as expert in the particular dialect of Iranian spoken in Central Asia (cf. **17, no.7**) and familiar with the region suggests that he was a member of a Central Asian family which had settled in Lycia (see Briant 1984b: 95; Bosworth 1995: 25).
5. Gr. *empeiros tes phones ton taute barbaron* . . .

12. Persian in Armenia

(i) A village headman

Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV, 5.34.

When Cheirisophus¹ and Xenophon had greeted each other affectionately, they both asked the village chief,² through the Persian-speaking interpreter, what country this was. He said that it was Armenia.³

(ii) Women at a spring

Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV, 5.10.

As they moved on, Cheirisophus arrived at a village⁴ around dusk. He found women and girls who had come out from the village beyond the walls to the spring to get water. They asked them (sc. the Greeks) who they were. The interpreter spoke in Persian⁵ that they were going from the king to the satrap.

Notes

1. Spartan general who took over the command of the Greek mercenaries after the death of Clearchus in 401.
2. Gr. *komarchon*. Whether his office was an official one and his power extended over more than one village is unclear from Xenophon's account.
3. This should probably not be taken as evidence for the spread of the Persian language in the empire, given that Armenian is linguistically related to Iranian. Note also the next passage.
4. It is clear from the account that this village, too, is in Armenia.
5. This makes the probability that a form of Persian–Iranian was spoken in Armenia yet more likely.

(b) Learning Persian

13. Themistocles at the Persian court

Thucydides I, 137.2; 138.1.

He (sc. Themistocles) then travelled inland with one of the Persians living on the coast and sent a letter to Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, who had recently acceded.¹ The letter ran as follows: 'I, Themistocles, have come to you. (. . .)² I wish, however, to wait for one year and then to explain to you myself the reasons for my coming.' It is said that the king was impressed by his intention and told him to do as he proposed. During the time that he was waiting, Themistocles learned as much as he could of the Persian language and the customs of the country.³

Notes

1. Themistocles, architect of the victory at Salamis, fled Athens when he was accused of collaborating with the Persians (Thuc. I, 136–7). For the dependence of travellers on help to make the journey to court, see **8, no.31**; **15, nos.16–17**; cf. Plut. Them. 26, for Themistocles' subterfuge in order to make the journey. For Artaxerxes I's accession in 465, see **7, Section F**.
2. Thucydides here gives a summary of how Themistocles is thought to have presented himself, despite appearances, as a benefactor of the Persian ruler.
3. Cf. Plut. Them. 27–9. Note Histiaeus' ability to speak Persian, presumably as a result of his stay at the Persian court (**6, no.46**(29)).

14. A Macedonian learns Persian

Arrian, *Anabasis* VI, 30.2–3.

As satrap of the Persians, Alexander appointed the bodyguard Peucestas.¹ He thought him particularly loyal to himself, mainly because of his action among the Mallians,² where he risked his life and helped save Alexander. Further, he was well suited to barbarian ways, as he demonstrated immediately on being made satrap of Persia. He was the only one of the Macedonians to change to Median dress and to learn the Persian language; in all other respects, too, he adapted to Persian modes. Alexander praised him for this and the Persians welcomed the fact that he preferred their ways to those of his ancestors.

Notes

1. One of Alexander's captains on the Indus, see Berve, no.634. Alexander executed the Persian governor, Orxines, accused of corruption in 324 (cf. **13, no.6**), on his return to Fars from India in 324.
2. Winter 326/5, in the course of Alexander's descent of the Indus.

(c) Diversity of languages

15. A bilingual Lycian

(i) Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 4.4, 10.

So he (sc. Alexander) ordered that the recently captured prisoners be called.¹ Among them was a man expert in Greek and Persian, who declared that it was hopeless for him (sc. Alexander) to lead the army over the mountain ridge into Persia, but that there were forest paths barely passable in single file. (. . .)² When the prisoner had given his description, the king asked him whether he had learned this by hearsay or observation. He answered that he had been a shepherd who had roamed all over these paths; that he had been captured twice, once by the Persians in Lycia, and again by himself (sc. Alexander).

(ii) Plutarch, *Alexander* 37.1.

When Alexander advanced beyond Susa, he found the province of Persis hard to enter. The country was mountainous and, moreover, was defended by the bravest of the Persians,³ since Darius had fled. In spite of these obstacles, Alexander found a guide who showed him the way by making a short diversion. This man had a Lycian father and a Persian mother, and spoke both Greek and Persian.

Notes

1. Alexander has been brought to a halt at the Persian Gates early in 330 (see **10, no.30(i)**).
2. There follows a vivid and lyrical description of Fars (**16, no.41(ii)**).
3. Ariobarzanes.

16. Acculturation in Central Asia

Quintus Curtius Rufus VII, 5.28–9.

In pursuit of Bessus,¹ they had arrived at a small town inhabited by the Branchidae² who, at Xerxes' command on his return from Greece, had emigrated from Miletus and settled here. This was necessary because, to please Xerxes, they had violated the temple called the Didymeion.³ The culture of their ancestors had not yet vanished, though they were by now bilingual and the foreign language was gradually eroding their own.⁴

Notes

1. See **10, no.33** & n.4.
2. For their association with the Apollo sanctuary of Miletus, see **3, no.20**, n.7.
3. This seems to be connected with the rather unclear story related by Pausanias and, perhaps, Ctesias, see **7, no.78**. Note that, according to Herodotus, the inhabitants of Miletus were threatened with deportation to Bactria. (**6, no.43(9)**).
4. This would presumably have been Bactrian.

17. A bilingual community in Babylonia

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 109.3–5.

He (sc. Alexander) took his army and marched from Susa, crossed the Tigris and camped in the Carae villages.¹ From there he marched for four days through Sittacene,² and came to the place called Sambana.³ He stayed there seven days and on the third day reached the so-called Celones.⁴ Down to the present day there is a settlement of Boeotians, who were moved here in the time of Xerxes' campaign, but still remember their ancient customs. They are bilingual and speak like the local people in one language, while in the other they preserve most of the Greek vocabulary and they maintain some Greek customs.⁵

Notes

1. Perhaps 'Carian villages', see D.S. XIX, 12.1, located west of the Tigris – although Diodorus, confusingly, then has Alexander march along its eastern bank. For the settlement of Carians with military land grants in Babylonia, see Stolper 1985: 73.
2. See **10, no.29**, n. 1.
3. Not otherwise known.
4. Perhaps identical with Colon, see **17, no.3(ii)**, located on a royal road.
5. The local language spoken here is most likely to have been Aramaic.

18. A Persian Greek speaker¹

Herodotus IX, 16.2.

When the dinner was done and they were drinking to each other, the Persian who shared Thersander's² couch asked him in Greek where he came from, to which he responded that he was a man of Orchomenus.³

Notes

1. The context is the banquet prepared by Attaginus of Thebes, to which he invited Mardonius and fifty of 'the most distinguished Persians' on the eve of the Battle of Plataea, 479 (**7, nos.57–9**).
2. Thersander of Orchomenus is named by Herodotus as the source of the story.
3. The Persian's words which follow are almost certainly apocryphal, containing, as they do, a grim warning of the Persian defeat to come. Nevertheless, the passage makes the important point that it was not unthinkable for a member of the Persian élite to speak another language.

19. A slave marked in Egyptian is sold in Babylonia

Babylonian tablet: NBC 6156, Beaulieu 1994, no.55; Stolper 1998a. Sippar XI/2/1, Xerxes (27 January 484).

Iddin-Nabu, son of Ninurta-nur-ukin, and Bel-iqbi(?), son of Ninurta-ah-usur, and Kidinnu, son of Addu-ah-usur, of their own free will sold Tahhar, their slave-woman,¹ whose wrist is inscribed in Egyptian,² to Ahat-abishu, daughter of Kiribtaya, for the full price amounting to 1.5 minas of white silver with one-eighth part alloy, of ordinary quality, unmarked.³

When any claim arises against the slave-woman Tahhar, Iddin-Nabu, Bel-iqbi(?) and Kidinnu will clear Tahhar for servitude and turn her over to Ahat-abishu.⁴

(Witnesses; scribe; place; date)

Notes

1. The name probably renders Egyptian t3-hr.t, 'Syrian woman'.
2. While references to names of owners inscribed on wrists (or cheeks) of slaves are often mentioned, it is unusual to have the language specified (but cf. Camb.143, von Soden 1959; Greenfield 1991; possibly also Segal, no.5 (l.8)); for discussion, cf. Stolper 1998a: 141, n.16.
3. See Vargyas 2000b for discussion of various types of silver.
4. For the guarantee clauses, clearing the slave for sale, see **14, no.13**.

(d) Interpreters

20. Tissaphernes' Carian interpreter

Thucydides VIII, 85.1–2.

It was when things had reached this state of ill-feeling against Astyochus and Tissaphernes¹ that Mindarus, who was to take over from Astyochus as admiral, arrived from Sparta and took over the command. So Astyochus sailed back home. Tissaphernes sent with him as envoy someone from his own circle, called Gaulites, a Carian who was bilingual, to complain about the Milesian action with respect to the fort and defend his own conduct.

Note

1. Astyochus was the Spartan admiral in service to the Persian satrap Tissaphernes. One of the chronic squabbles about Persian pay for the crew of the triremes had broken out (the year is 411), with Astyochus narrowly escaping being stoned to death. In the midst of these disturbances, the Milesians had seized a Persian-built fort in their city and ejected its garrison. For Persian dependence on Greek fleets in the Aegean in the last decades of the fifth century, see **8, Introduction**.

21. Military orders relayed through an interpreter

Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.17.

When he (sc. Cyrus the Younger) had driven past them all, he halted the chariot in the centre of the phalanx. He sent Pigres, the interpreter, to the Greek generals with the order to advance arms and the phalanx to move forward in one body.¹

Note

1. Cyrus is putting on a display for Epyaxa, wife of the Cilician Syennesis (**9, no.14**), who had come to meet him on his march through Phrygia in 401.

22. An interpreter in provincial service

Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV, 4.5.

He (sc. Tiribazus)¹ rode up to the Greeks with a troop of horsemen and sent forward an interpreter to say that he wished to discuss matters with their commanders.

Note

1. For Tiribazus' position and aspects of his career, see **13, nos.16(i); 31**. At this time (401), he was governor of western Armenia.

23. A government interpreter

Plutarch, *Themistocles* 6.3.

Themistocles was also much admired for the example he made of the interpreter, who came with the envoys from the Persian king to demand earth and water in token of submission.¹ He had this interpreter arrested and put to death by a special decree of the people, because he had dared to make use of the Greek language to transmit the commands of a barbarian.

Note

1. This must be the request sent out by Xerxes before the launch of the Greek campaign (**7, no.13** & n.1).

24. The king's interpreter

Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 13.6–7.

In this way he (sc. Alexander) moved on for five hundred stadia and had arrived in the village in which Bessus had arrested Darius.¹ There Melon, Darius' interpreter,² was taken prisoner; as he was ill, he had not been able to keep up with the army. Overtaken by Alexander's speed, he pretended to be a deserter.

Notes

1. See **10, nos.33–5**.
2. Lat. *Darei interpres*. Note Xen. *Hell.* VII, 1.37, where the man interpreting for the king is a (Gr.) *grammateus*, 'secretary'.

C. Central authority and local institutions

(a) Persian regulations and local laws

25. Darius the Egyptian law-giver

Diodorus Siculus I, 94–5.

Darius, father of Xerxes, is said to have been the sixth to concern himself with the laws of the Egyptians.¹ He was outraged by the legal transgressions his predecessor Cambyses had inflicted on the Egyptian temples,² as he wanted to live a virtuous and godfearing life. He even associated with the priests in Egypt and joined in study of the gods and the deeds recorded in the sacred books. When he learned from this history of the greatness of spirit of the kings of old and their goodwill towards their subjects, he imitated their life.³ As a result he was held in such honour that he alone of all kings was addressed as god in his lifetime,⁴ and when he died he was given the same honours as the ancient kings who had ruled in accordance with Egyptian laws.



Figure 17.6 Small limestone stela (Berlin Nr.7493; 19 cm wide × 29 cm high), probably from the Fayum; crudely carved. Below a winged disc, the dedicator kneels before the falcon god Horus. The falcon is identified in the cartouche as 'The good god, lord of the two lands, Darius.' The prayer is a standard one beseeching the god-king to grant him (long) life; see Burchardt 1911: 71–2. (After CAH IV.)

Notes

1. Diodorus' 'Egyptian history' was based on the work of Hecataeus of Abdera, writing c.300 in the service of Ptolemy I (Murray 1970). The notion of outstanding royal law-givers is foreign to Egyptian ideas, where legitimate kings were all conceived to rule in accordance with (Eg.) *māʿat* ('justice', 'order', 'moral uprightness'), no legal code existed, and law emanated from the divine sphere. So Hecataeus–Diodorus is here tailoring aspects of Egyptian history to fit Greek expectations. However, Darius I was certainly associated in hellenistic Egypt with an act of law-gathering (see **4, no.14(b)**), which could have included local and temple regulations, as well as various royal decrees, useful for the new Persian régime. This is perhaps how we should understand Darius' 'legal' activity in Egypt (see further the important article by Redford (2001)).
2. For Cambyses' reputation as profaner of Egyptian cults, see **4, Section F(a)**; for the realities, see **4, Section D**.
3. This descriptions fits well with the Persian policy of accommodation to local norms and monar-chic traditions attested for Cyrus in Babylonia (**3, no.21**) and Cambyses in Egypt (**4, nos.11–13**).
4. Presumably Diodorus means that he alone of all Persian rulers was given such an honour. It was, of course, inconceivable for a king integrated into Egyptian cultic and social life to be denied divinity. For a representation of a divinised Darius, see **fig.17.6**.

26. Parnaka's judge

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1272. IX/–/23, Darius I (December–January 499/8); PFS 40 & PFS 1213.

2 *marriš* beer Bakabada, judge¹ of Parnaka, received. He carried a sealed document of Parnaka.² Rations for 20 days. Year 23, month IX.

Notes

1. El. *dadabarra* from OP **databara*. As he is specifically described as attached to Parnaka, his competence was probably restricted to deciding on issues related to his master's concerns, i.e. the management of agricultural production and redistribution, as well as Parnaka's private domains. Note the 'judge of Parysatis' estate' (**14, no.9; 16, no.66(ii)**), there with the Akkadian title *dayanu* and the '*databaru* of Artareme' (satrap of Babylonia in the reign of Artaxerxes I; Stolper 1985: 91). Judicial authorities related to the Persian administration are also attested in Egypt, see **14, no.36; 17, nos.28; 29**. His name is clearly OP Bagapata = Gr. Bagapates/Megabates.
2. For El. *halmi*, see **12, no.29**, n.2; **15, no.4**; for Parnaka, **16, no.11**.

27. Accounts prepared in accordance with regulations

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 1980. –/–/20, Darius I (502/1); no seal.

This account was made (for) years 18 and 19, at the fortress called Hishtyanush.¹

For Maturzana the wine-carrier, Umaka the *haturmakša*, Zirrusika the *etira*,² total 3, an account was made.

They withdrew 22.7 (*marriš*) wine.

From that wine Kurima withdrew 6 (*marriš*). Then 30 *šaumarraš* were 'impressed'.³

And Maturzana, Umaka and Zirrusika, total 3, did not expend (the remainder) to make *sut*.⁴

Then each 83 *šaumarraš* (and) half a *šaumarraš* were 'impressed'.

And again at the fortress, for Ukshushturra the grain handler, Umaka the *haturmakša*, Hindukka the *etira*, total 3, an account was made.

They withdrew 92 irtiba grain.
 Then Zizza, dwelling(?) (at) Shishudanush⁵ withdrew that grain. . .
 Then that Zizza did not expend (it on) the herd to make sut.
 Then 1 sirimassi⁶ 'of 60' (irtiba) and 160 šaumarraš were issued to him.
 Then (the account) was not made (in conformity with) the regulations.⁷
 And again in that fortress, for Maraza the assistant fruit-handler, Umaka the haturmakša, Hindukka the etira, total 3, an account was made.
 They withdrew 27 $\frac{22}{30}$ (irtiba) fruit.
 Then they made a sut (for) an adult she-donkey of lowest quality, the payment (being) 16 $\frac{20}{30}$ (irtiba) fruit.
 Then the donkey was entrusted to Bakaparna,⁸ in year 20, on day 12 of month I.
 (As) balance they were withdrawing 11 $\frac{2}{30}$ (irtiba).
 Of that they did not expend to make sut.
 Then each 55 šaumarraš (and) one third šaumarraš were 'impressed', in (accordance with) the former law.⁹

Notes

1. South-west of Persepolis, Koch 1990: 128–30.
2. For haturmakša, see **16, no. 1**, n. 4; the others are not very clearly understood. Of the names, the first two may be Iranian (Mayrhofer 8.1028, 8.1715); the last cannot be explained (Mayrhofer 8.1861).
3. This could mean 'minted' (cf. Aperghis 1997). Giovinazzo (1993) translates it 'sealed', and argues that šaumarraš was a way of expressing the values of different types of rations. For its interpretation as designating $\frac{1}{5}$ shekel, see Hinz and Koch 1987, s.v.; for a summary of the problems, see Henkelman 2005a, with references. The name Kurima is etymologically uncertain (Mayrhofer 8.871).
4. This term relates to exchanges made with surpluses in storehouses; see PFT, 62.
5. This is so far the only attestation of the place name; the etymologies of both Ukshushturra and Zizza are unknown (Mayrhofer 8.1707, 8.1892 respectively).
6. Occurs uniquely here; it is obviously a measure.
7. El. šutur; see Giovinazzo 1993: 124, n. 28, for this translation.
8. Obviously OP Bagafarna (Gr. Megaphernes).
9. El. datam appukana, using the OP word data = 'law' (cf. **11, no. 12** & n. 5).

28. Two court records from Egypt

(i) Aramaic papyrus fragment, Saqqara, fifth century: Segal, no. 13.

[. . .] they were interrogated and these words [. . .] we sued him because/alleging that MSSPT¹ [. . .] chiefs(?)² of the judges³ [. . .] other [. . .]

(ii) Aramaic papyrus fragment, Saqqara, fifth century: Segal, no. 14.

[. . .] word to Pahap[i]⁴ thus [. . .] with wood(?) you made there for [. . .] he did not come to me. Now [. . .] decree.⁵ [. . . the j]udges⁶ established a decree.

Notes

1. Probably the OP name Micapata.
2. Ar. NGDY, which Segal relates to Heb. *nagid*.
3. Ar. DTBR' = OP *datbara*, cf. **17, no.26**, n.1.
4. Egyptian personal name, P3-(n)Hp.
5. Ar. T'M, cf. **16, no.60**, n.3.
6. See above, n.3.

29. Royal judges in southern Egypt

Aramaic papyrus, Elephantine: AP 1; TADAE II, B5.1. Epipi/2/27, Darius I (22 October 495).
Translations: DAE, no.2; Porten and Greenfield 1984: 106–7.

On day 2, of month Epipi, year 27 of Darius the king.

Salluah, daughter of Kenaiah, and Yethoma, her sister, said to Yehour, daughter of Shelomam:

'We gave you half the share¹ which the judges of the king² and Rawka,³ the garrison commander,⁴ gave us in exchange for half the share which came to you with Nehebeth.⁵

Tomorrow (or the) next day, we shall not be able to institute (a suit) against you in (regard to) that share, saying: "We did not give it to you."

Brother or sister, son or daughter, near or far, shall not be able to institute (a suit) against you. And whoever shall institute (a suit) against you in (regard to) that share, which we gave you, shall give you silver, 5 karsh, and your share is furthermore yours.'

Notes

1. I.e. a half-share of an allotment, probably inherited by the two sisters.
2. Ar. DYN Y MLK', related to Akkadian *dayane* (*ša šurri*).
3. Iranian name.
4. Ar. RB HYL'. For the structure of judicial and administrative authority in southern Egypt, see Wiesehöfer 1991.
5. All the names in this document, apart from that of the garrison commander, are Hebrew.

(b) The Persian authorities and local cults

30. The satrap of Egypt and the priests of Khnum

Three demotic papyri (plus one unpublished), Elephantine.¹

(i) The priests of Elephantine inform the Persian satrap that they have designated a new *lesonis*

PBerlin 13539; Spiegelberg 1928: 10–13; Erichsen 1950, 1: 69. I/2(?)/30, Darius I (25(?) December 493).

Translations: Vleeming 1981: 83–4; Martin 1996, C3; Fried 2004: 82; Grabbe 2004: 114.

Voice (of the) servants, the *wab*-priests of Khnum (the) great, lord (of) Elephantine, before Pherendates, to whom Egypt is entrusted:²

We make the blessing(s) of Pherendates before Khnum, the great god. Oh may Khnum cause his lifetime to be long.

It happened (in) year 29, Parmuti,³ the time for selecting a successor to the *lesonis*.⁴ We replaced Petikhnum, son of Haaibre, who was *lesonis*. We had Eskhnumpemet, son of Horkheb, follow him as *lesonis*. We are in agreement [to make him] *lesonis*. He will cause to be carried⁵ (and) he will cause burnt-offerings to be made before Khnum.

Wrote Espemet, son of Eshor, the overseer (of) sacred wrappings, in year 30, Thoth 2(?).

Address: Voice (of the) servants, the *wab*-priests of Khnum (the) great, lord of Elephantine, before Pherendates, to whom Egypt is entrusted.

(ii) The satrap replies to the priests' report

PBerlin 13540; Spiegelberg 1928: 4–13. IV/29/30, Darius I (21 April 492).

Translations: Vleeming 1981: 87–8; Hughes 1984: 78; Martin 1996, C1; Fried 2004: 82–3; Grabbe 2004: 114.

Pherendates, to whom Egypt is entrusted, says to all the *wab*-priests (of) Khnum, lord of Elephantine:

Now Pherendates (is) the one who says, 'There are {the} *wab*-priests whom the leader (of the) first phyle⁶ brought before (me) earlier, saying: "Let them be made *lesonis*." Yet one of these *wab*-priests in question, who had fled, the order was given to seek for him; (another) one of them, he was (a) servant of another man. The like of these is not suitable to make *lesonis*.

Now, the *wab*-priest whom it is suitable to make *lesonis* is (a) great man whom, it will happen, I will cause to carry out his functions, there being nothing which he has let fail, one who will be selected in accordance with that which Darius (the) Pharaoh has ordered. The like of this is one whom it is suitable to make *lesonis*.

Now, the *wab*-priest who will be selected to be made *lesonis* is like this. The one who will be selected, he is to be brought in accordance with that which Darius (the) Pharaoh has ordered. The *wab*-priest whom it will happen that there is (a) thing which he has let fail, or the one who is (a) servant of another man, the like of these, do not let them be brought to be made *lesonis*. Let it happen (that) it is known to you.'

Satibar knows this order.⁷

Peftuaneith (is) the one who wrote this letter.

Wrote Wahibre⁸ in year 30, Choiak, day 29.

Address: [A letter to] all the *wab*-priests of Khnum [lord of Elep]hantine, from Pherendates, to whom Egypt is entrusted.

(iii) The new *lesonis* receives acknowledgement for money paid

PBerlin 13572; Zauzich 1978. VI/16/30, Darius I (7 June 492).

Translations: Martin 1996, C2; Fried 2004: 84.

Naneferibreemakhet blesses Es[khnum]pemet, the *lesonis*.⁹

Oh may Re cause his lifetime to be long.

You caused (my) heart to be satisfied with the ¼ of the silver concerning which you wrote to Pekhet to give it to me. You gave it to me. (My) heart is satisfied with it. I will cause

Pekhet to be far from you with respect to it. If I do not cause him to be far, I will give to you silver, 5 (deben),¹⁰ without taking any legal action in the world against you.

Wrote Nanefibreemakhet, son of Pakheret, in year 30, Mecheir, day 16.

(Witnesses)

Notes

1. For the revised chronology of these texts, see Chauveau 1999. For the important observation that Pherendates' demotic letter (passage (ii)) shows that it has been translated from Aramaic, see Hughes 1984. This translation is that of Carey Martin (with chronology and order of the correspondence revised), whose permission to use it I gratefully acknowledge.
2. I.e. the satrap. The form of address is standard in demotic letters. For *wab*-priests, see **4, no.14(i)**; 9, no.78, n.12; **10, no.39**, n.7.
3. July–August 493.
4. The Greek rendering of Eg. *mr-šn*, an important official with a responsible role in temple administration (cf. **10, no.39**). He seems to have been (re-)appointed annually.
5. Relating to his function as an organiser of supplies to the temple.
6. The permanent cult was performed by groups of priests acting for designated periods of time, each such group being called conventionally a 'phyle' (from Greek 'tribe', 'set of people').
7. Iranian name. We should regard him as equivalent to the satrap's chancellor (cf. **16, no.60** n.3).
8. The formula is exactly like that found in the letters of Arshama (e.g. **16, no.60(iii)**). Peftuaneith (Egyptian PN) will have been one of Pherendates' secretaries, composing the letter in Aramaic. Wahibre (again Egyptian PN) was probably the scribe who translated the letter into demotic, and clearly in Pherendates' service. As Chauveau has shown, Pherendates was reproving the Elephantine priests for simply informing him of their decision, expecting it to be rubber-stamped. His response shows that he is not prepared to do this and the due process must be gone through.
9. Despite the row between the priests and the satrap, the original nominee for the position of *lesonis* has finally been installed.
10. See **14, no.14**, n.3.

3.1. Persian authorisation of a Jewish cult observance?¹

Aramaic papyrus fragment, Elephantine: AP 21; TADAE I, A4.1. –/–/5, Darius II (419).

Translations: DAE, no.96; Porten and Greenfield 1984: 78–9; Lindenberger 1994, no.30; Grabbe 2004: 211–12; Fried 2004: 88–9.

[To my brothers,] Yedoniah and his colleagues, the Jewish [garrison], from your brother Hananiah.

May the gods bless my brothers [always].

This year, year 5 of Darius the king, the king sent to Arsham [. . .].² You should count as follows: four [. . .]. And from day 15 to day 21 of [. . .].

Be pure and take care. [Do] n[ot do] work [. . .]. Do not drink [. . .] nor [eat] anything of heaven. [. . . at] sunset until day 21 of Nisan.³ [. . .]. Bring into your chambers [. . .] and seal up during [these] days. [. . .]⁴

Address: [To] my brothers Yedoniah and his colleagues, the Jewish garrison, from your brother Hananiah, son of [. . .].

Notes

1. This letter has raised much discussion ever since its first publication. The contents can be restored to suggest that the Persian king, through his satrap, ordered observation of the Passover by the Jewish

community of Elephantine. Several features make such a reconstruction unlikely. First, the Passover was already being celebrated by the Elephantine Jews. Secondly, the regulations in the letter come from a fellow Jew. Thirdly, the Passover is not mentioned in the letter, although the dates make this feast probable. It seems more likely that, in response to an appeal, the Persian government gives its blessing to the continued performance of the cult, which includes not working on certain days – a matter that would be of immediate interest to the authorities and the community's neighbours. For clarity's sake, I have omitted all the restorations usually made, apart from those that are indisputable.

2. Over half of this (the third) line is missing, as well as of the four subsequent ones.
3. First month of the Babylonian year, during which Passover was celebrated.
4. Virtually, the whole of this (the ninth) line is destroyed.

32. *A quarrel between the Jewish and Egyptian communities on Elephantine*

Six Aramaic papyri, Elephantine: AP 27, 30–3; TADAE I, A4.5–10.¹ Years 14–17, Darius II (c.410–407).²

Translations: DAE, nos.101–4; Porten and Greenfield 1984: 86–101; Lindenberger 1994, nos.33–6; Fried 2004: 98–102; Grabbe 2004: 210–11 (AP 32–3 only).³

(i) The Jews accuse their Egyptian neighbours (c.410)⁴

obv., col.I

(c.3 lines missing)

The Egyptian companies have rebelled. We have not abandoned watch (erasure: and nothing) wrong can be found against us.

In year 14 of King Darius (i.e. 410/9), when our lord Arsham had gone to the king, this is the crime that the priests of the god Khnum⁵ committed at the fortress of Elephantine: they joined themselves together with Vidranga who was governor here;⁶ they gave him money and goods. There was part of the granary of the king at the Elephantine fortress – they destroyed (it) and they built a wall in the middle of the Elephantine fortress [. . .]

(c.3 lines missing)

obv., col.II

(c.3 lines missing)

And now that wall has been built in the middle of the fortress.

There is a well which had been constructed inside the fortress, and there was plenty of water for the garrison to drink so that if one were stationed there, one drank the water of that well – those priests of the god Khnum have blocked this well.

If an enquiry is made by the judges, the police, the inspectors,⁷ who are appointed in the province of Tshetres,⁸ may this be known to our lord just as we have told it. Also, we are not involved(?)⁹ [. . .]

(c.3 lines missing)

rev.

[. . .] which are in the Elephantine fortress [.] was not found in [.] to bring meal-offer[ing.] to offer there to Yahu the g[od.] but a brazier [.]th fittings they took (and) [made their] own [. . .].¹⁰

And now, if it please¹¹ our lord, . . . much [.] we of/from the garrison [. . .].

[If it] please our lord, may he give [orders . . .] we.

[If it] please our lord, [.] the things [. . .] be protected; and that the [temp]le which was destroyed be [rebuilt].

(ii) Fragmentary letter about arrested Egyptians (c.410?)

Your servants [.] Arta[. . .] . . . [. . .] all/every [. . .]
(c.3 lines missing)

[. . .] Bagadates, son of [.]¹² came to the fortress of Elephantine [.].
force . . . Egypt(ian) . . . [. . . the na]mes of the men who . . . [.]: 1 named [PN], son
of Petmeter, [1 named] Pia, son of Ho[. . .], the men whose names are written [.] men
from us they seized (and) bound in chains of before Cambyses . . .¹³

(iii/a & b) A plea to the governor of Judah for support (25 November 407)

obv.

To our lord Bagohi,¹⁴ governor of Judah, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, priests
of Elephantine fortress.

May the god of heaven grant wellbeing to our lord for ever! May he grant you ever more
favour with King Darius and the princes! May he grant you long life! Be happy and prosper
forever!

Now, you servant Yedoniah and his colleagues speak thus:

In the month Tammuz, year 14 of King Darius,¹⁵ when Arsham had left and gone to the
king, the priests of Khnum, the god, who are at Elephantine fortress, joined with Vidranga,
the governor who was here, saying: 'The sanctuary of Yahu the god who is in Elephantine
fortress, let them remove it from there!' Then that criminal Vidranga sent a letter to Nafaina
his son who was commander of the garrison at Aswan fortress, saying: 'The sanctuary (of
Yahu) at Elephantine fortress – destroy it!' Then Nafaina led the Egyptians and other sol-
diers; they came into the fortress of Elephantine with their weapons; they entered the
sanctuary; they rased it to the ground; as for the stone columns that were there – they
smashed them. Also there were 5 doorways made of dressed stone in the sanctuary; they
destroyed them. The shutters – in good repair, and the bronze hinges of the shutters, and
the cedar roof, together with the rest of the material and the other things that were there,
they burnt with fire. As for the gold and silver basins and the stuff which were in the
sanctuary, they took it all for themselves.

It was in the days of the kings of Egypt that our fathers built this sanctuary at Elephantine
fortress;¹⁶ and when Cambyses came to Egypt he found this sanctuary already in existence; and
the temples of the Egyptian gods were all sacked, but nobody damaged anything in this one.¹⁷

When this was done, we ourselves with our wives and children dressed in sackcloth,
fasted and prayed to Yahu, lord of heaven, who let us gloat over that Vidranga: the 'dogs'
took the fetters from his feet,(?) and all the goods he had acquired were lost. As for the men
who wished evil on this temple, they were killed and we watched it.¹⁸

Further, before this at the time when this evil (rev.) was done to us, we sent a letter to our
lord, and also to Yahuhanan, the high-priest, and his colleagues, the priests of Jerusalem,
and to Ostana, brother of Anani, and the notables of Judah: but we have not received a single
letter.¹⁹

Further, since Tammuz of year 14 of King Darius until now, we have been dressed in
sackcloth and fast; our wives behave like widows; we are not anointing (ourselves) with oil
nor drinking wine.

Further from that time until now, year 17 of King Darius, neither offerings nor incense-
burning, nor burnt sacrifices have been made in this temple.

Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and all the Jewish citizens of Elephantine, speak thus: If it please our lord, do something about rebuilding this temple, because we are not allowed to build it. See what people have obligations to you and what friends you have in Egypt; send a letter to them about the temple of Yahu the god, that it be rebuilt at Elephantine fortress as it was earlier; and offerings, incense and burnt sacrifices will be offered by us in your name on the altar of Yahu the god, and we shall pray for you all the time, ourselves, our wives, our children, and all the Jews here. If you do something so that the sanctuary is built, you will be more worthy before Yahu the god of heaven than a man who offers him a burnt sacrifice and makes sacrifices up to a value of one thousand talents of silver, and gold. For this we have informed you.

Further, about all of this we have sent a letter in our own name to Dalaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sinuballit, governor of Samaria.²⁰

Further, all that has been done, was not known to Arsham.

20th Marcheswan, year 17 of King Darius.

(iv) Memorandum for reconstructing the Yahu temple (after 407)

Memorandum of what Bagohi and Dalaiah said to me, saying:

Memorandum. You will say in Egypt (erasure) before Arsham, on the subject of the house of the altar of the god of (erasure) heaven, which had been built at Elephantine fortress earlier, before Cambyeses, (and) which that criminal Vidranga destroyed in year 14 of King Darius:

to (re)build it in its place as it was before, and they shall make offerings and incense-burnings on the altar, in the way it was done earlier.²¹

(v) The Elephantine Jews agree to pay an indemnity (after 407)

Your servants:

- 1 named Yedoniah son of Gamariah:
- 1 named Mauzi, son of Natan:
- 1 named Shemaiah son of Haggai:
- 1 named Hosea son of Yatom:
- 1 named Hosea son of Nattu:
- in all, 5 men –

people of Aswan who are holders of allotments²² at Elephantine fortress speak thus:

If our lord [. . .], and our temple of Yahu the god be constructed at Elephantine fortress, as it was before, and burnt sacrifices of sheep, ox (and) goat are not made there, but incense (and) offerings [are made there], and should our lord make a statement [about it, then,] as for us, we shall give to the house of our lord si[lver . . . as well as] barley: 1000 artabas.²³

Notes

1. The usual complement of texts making up this dossier is five (two, AP 30 & 31, should really be counted as one, since they almost duplicate each other, being perhaps a first and second draft,

- here combined as (iii/a & b). Porten and Yardeni suggest adding another, very fragmentary, document (here presented as (ii)); for the sources, see TADAE I, A4.6.
2. Only AP 30/31 (iii/a & b) has the date preserved; the other documents are dated approximately in relation to them on the basis of internal evidence.
 3. For a detailed analysis of this complex affair, see Briant 1996b, cf. **17, Introduction**.
 4. It is possible that this papyrus represents a draft only.
 5. Written 'Khñûb'.
 6. His name is Iranian; the title (Ar. PRTRK) renders OP **frataraka*, who, Wiesehöfer (1991) argues, was the regional governor.
 7. Ar. GWŠKW', lit. 'listeners'.
 8. See **14, no. 14**, n.5.
 9. Or: 'separated'.
 10. Although this section is very broken, the subsequent letters indicate that the Yahweh temple on Elephantine had been, at least partly, damaged by the Egyptians, together with Vidranga, so that the Jews were unable to carry out the regular acts of worship.
 11. Written above the line.
 12. Iranian name, perhaps a representative of the authorities.
 13. Note the reference to the precedent under Cambyses in document (iii). If Porten and Yardeni are right in associating this fragment with the other documents, then this would be the only letter reflecting the Egyptian side of the conflict, showing the Persian authorities taking action in response to the complaints (see also below (iii)).
 14. Although this is the Iranian name Bagavahya, it is very possible that he was Jewish, like all the other attested governors of Judah (see further, Grabbe 2004: 148–9). This would then be an instance of adoption of a Persian/Iranian name by a Jew (Porten 1968: 290).
 15. July–August 410. This refers back to the events, three years earlier, outlined in document (i).
 16. The Jewish garrison was established at Elephantine in the Saite period.
 17. The Egyptian temples were not destroyed during Cambyses' invasion, as far as we know (**4, nos. 11–14**). The Jews are clearly trying to counter arguments that have been put forward by the Egyptians and the local Persian commander. They cite the Persian conqueror's endorsement of their temple as a vindication of their rights to it (see further, Briant 1996b; **17, Introduction**).
 18. This passage is difficult to understand. Grelot suggests that Vidranga was punished for his perhaps overhasty action by being stripped in public of his property and his official position by having the 'rings' (i.e. anklets) removed (cf. **13, Section B(c)**), although it would be a unique instance of ankle decoration, as far as I am aware). Against Grelot's interpretation (see DAE, 410, n.t) is the fact that the word normally means fetters, and there is an unmistakable reference to 'dogs'. Lindenberger interprets the whole passage quite differently (and rather attractively) as something only wished for:

... we ... put on sackcloth, and fasted and prayed to Yahu, the lord of heaven:

'Show us our revenge on that Vidranga:
May the dogs tear his guts out from between his legs!
May all the property he got perish!
May all the men who plotted evil against the temple – all of them – be killed!
And may we watch them!'

Given the uncertainties, it is probably best to stick with a more literal translation, while admitting that the sense is obscure, and Lindenberger's rendering the most attractive solution.

19. Ostana is again an Iranian name, yet he was clearly Jewish. For the implications of this passage for Judahite society of the time, see Grabbe 2004: 172–3.
20. Sinuballit/Sanballat appears in the book of Nehemiah, as governor of neighbouring Samaria and an enemy of Judah. This reference shows that both regions were considered likely to have an

interest in the welfare of the Jews of Egypt, and that any enmity had been resolved or was perhaps never as fierce as the biblical account suggests.

21. This is very much in the nature of a jotting, perhaps from an oral instruction, for a courier to use as a prompt when putting the case in the satrapal court. Note that the governors of Judah and Samaria have now combined forces and are acting jointly. One omission is any request to reinstate animal sacrifice, an important part of Jewish ritual. Instead the shrine is now referred to as an 'altar house', rather than a temple, cf. Bedford 2001: 150–1.
22. Ar. MHHSN, 'holders of shares (of property)', cf. the holders of fiefs in Babylonia (**14, Introduction**; further, **14, no.36, n.4**).
23. This seems to form the resolution of the Egyptian–Jewish conflict, with the Jews agreeing to refrain from animal sacrifice and make substantial restitutions to the public coffers, in return for being allowed to rebuild their temple. What precisely the significance of the veto on animal sacrifice is is uncertain. Did it offend the adherents of the ram-headed Khnum cult? If so, how is it that the Jews had been carrying out such sacrifices for nearly 250 years without problems? Or should we see it in terms of the Jerusalem community using this opportunity to assert its own temple as the only proper place in which such sacrifices might be performed (certainly the situation later)? See **17, Introduction**, for a way of making sense of the conflict.

33. *The citizens of Xanthus found a new cult*

Trilingual inscription on a limestone stela, in the area of the Leto Sanctuary, Xanthus (Lycia): FdX VI; Hornblower 1982, M9 (Greek text). III/–/1, Artaxerxes IV (June–July 337) (**fig.17.7**).¹

Translations: Briant 1996a: 728 [2002b: 708]; Grabbe 2004: 107–8; Fried 2004: 141–4; Bryce 1986: 91–3 (N320, Lycian text); Melchert 2000 (Lycian text); Bertrand 1992, no.65 (Greek text).

(i) Lycian text²

(I. Institutional context, ll.1–5)

When Pigeseres, son of Katamla, was satrap of Termis³ and had appointed Iyeron and Natrapiyemi as officials for the Termiles, and Ertimeli (as) governor for Arna,⁴

(II. The inhabitants found a cult, ll.5–8)

the citizens and the *perioikoi* of the Arnaeans⁵ decreed the foundation(?) of this sanctuary for Khantavati of Khbide⁶ and for Arkazuma the King.

(III. Installation of priest, ll.9–11)

And they have made Eseimiya, son of Kondorahi, the priest of these gods, and those who will succeed(?) Eseimiya.

(IV. Provision for cult and priest, ll.12–20)

And they have given him free (of dues) what is his. And there the city and the *perioikoi* have set aside fields of the city. (And they) . . . which Khesentedi and Pigres irrigate.⁷ And whatever is attached and whatever is built (will be) the property of Khantavati of Khbide and Arkazuma. And Arna will give each year 120(?) *adas*⁸ (as) payment.

(V. Enfranchised slaves to contribute in future, ll.20–2)

And it demands that slaves(?) – all those who will henceforth be enfranchised – will give (x) shekels.

(VI. Consecration of the grant, ll.22–4)

And all the things inscribed on this stela have been made sacred to Khantavati of Khbide and Arkazuma.

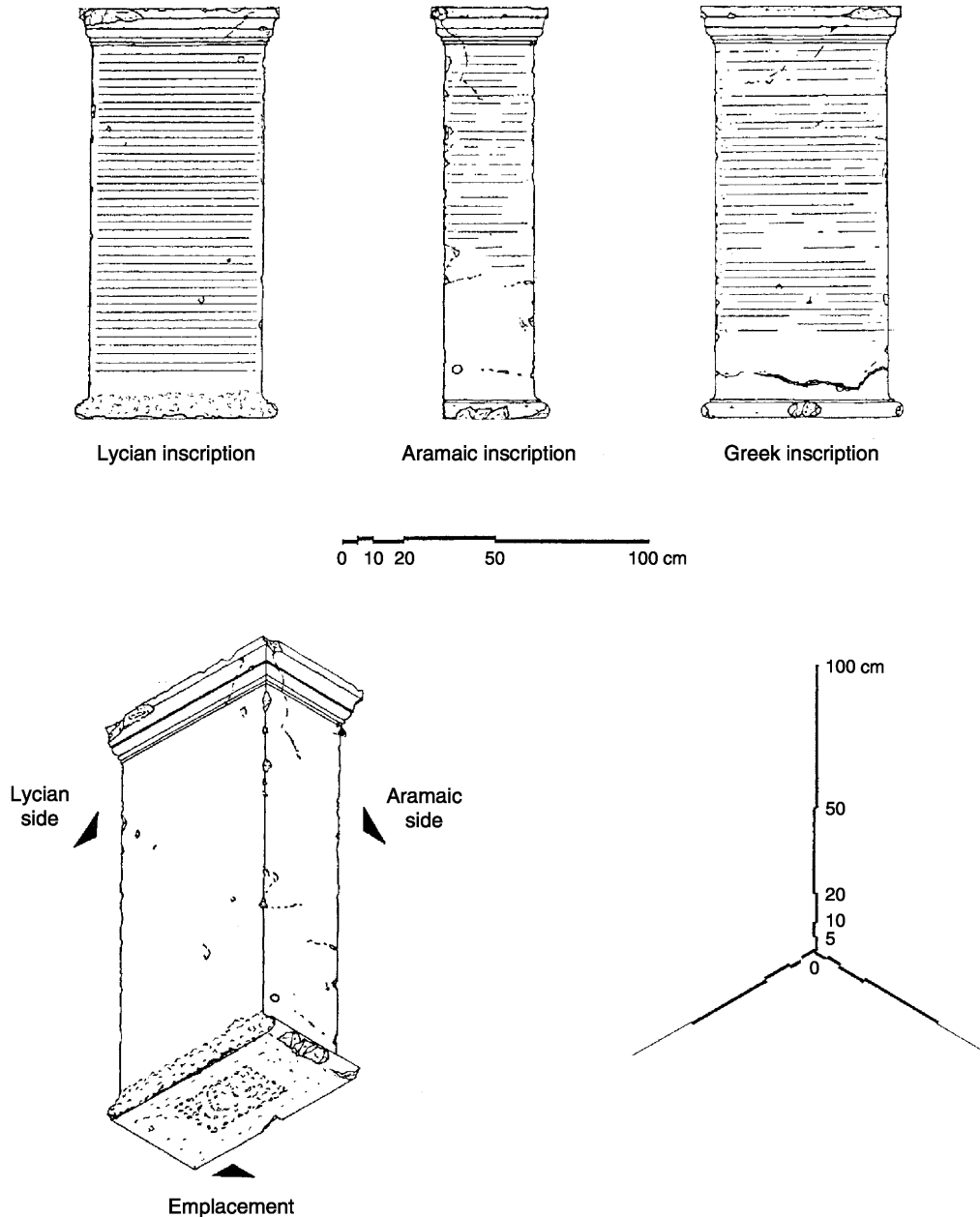


Figure 17.7 Drawing of the limestone stela, inscribed in Lycian, Greek and Aramaic, found within the enclosure of the Leto Sanctuary at Xanthus in Lycia (17, no.33). It was excavated by a French team, under the direction of H. Metzger, in 1973, and is now in the Fethiye Museum, Turkey. It is 1.35 m high, 57 cm wide and 30 cm thick. The diagram shows the disposition of the three inscriptions. Note that the Aramaic summary is on the narrow side, in the least conspicuous position. (After FdX VI.)

(VII. Performance of the cult, ll.25–30)

And from what accrues in benefits, one will make due sacrifice each month with a victim, and annually with an ox, to Khantavati of Khbide and to Arkazuma. And Seimiya (it is who) will make the sacrifice, and those who will succeed(?) Seimiya.

(VIII. Oath to abide by the resolution and invocation of the gods to protect it, ll.30–41)

And the city of Arna and the *perioikoi* of Arna made an oath for this law;⁹ thus this law that is inscribed is established, and none shall remove anything in it (relating) either to these gods or to the priest. Whosoever removes anything will be punishable by these gods and the mother of this sanctuary, the *pentremni* and her children and the Eliyana.¹⁰ To Pigeseres, if . . . then . . .¹¹

(ii) Greek text¹²

(I, ll.1–5)

After Pixodarus, son of Hecatomnus, had become satrap of Lycia, [and] established as archons of Lycia, Hieron and Apollodotus, and as governor¹³ of Xanthus, Artemelis,

(II, ll.5–8)

the Xanthians and their *perioikoi* have decreed that an altar be erected in honour of Basileus Kaunios and Arkesimas

(III, ll.8–11)

and they have chosen as priest Simias, son of Kondorasis, and, in the course of time, whoever is closest related to Simias,

(IV, ll.11–18)

and they have granted him, on all his goods, an exemption from imposts¹⁴ and the city has given the land which Kesindelios and Pigres used to cultivate and all that adjoins that land and the houses as property to Basileus Kaunios and to Arkesimas and three half minas shall be given each year by the city

(V, ll.18–20)

and all those who have been emancipated shall pay ten drachmas to the god

(VI, ll.20–3)

and all that has been inscribed on the stela has been consecrated to belong in its totality to Basileus Kaunios and to Arkesimas

(VII, ll.23–6)

and, in addition to all the resources which will accrue from it, each new moon a sheep shall be sacrificed and each year an ox

(VIII, ll.26–35)

and the Xanthians and the *perioikoi* have sworn to do for the gods and for their priest everything that has been written on the stela, not to take any of it away and not to allow anyone else to do so. Whosoever takes something away from it, may he be guilty before the gods, Leto, her descendants and the Nymphs, and may Pixodarus be the guarantor.¹⁵

(iii) Aramaic text

(I. Date, place, provincial authority, ll.1–5)

In the month Siwan of year one of Artaxerxes the king, in the fortress of Orna,¹⁶ Pixodaro, son of Katomno, (being) the satrap who (governs) in Caria and (in) Lycia.¹⁷

(II. The decision to found a cult, ll.6–8)

The inhabitants of Orna have decided to make a cult(?) for Kandawas the God of Kaunos and (for) his Companion.¹⁸

(III. Appointment of priest, ll.9–10)

And they have made Simias, the son of Koddorasi, priest.

(IV. Cult endowment, ll.10–14)

And there is an estate¹⁹ which the inhabitants of Orna have given to Kandawas the God. Annually, by the town,²⁰ is given one and a half mina of silver.

(V. Performance of cult and exemption, ll.14–18)

The priest sacrifices at the beginning of the month one sheep to Kandawas the God, and he burns(?) each year 1 ox. And the property, which is his,²¹ is exempted.

(VI. Inscription and invocation, ll.19–27)

This decree (here) inscribed is (the one which conveys title of) the property.²² Further, if anyone ever takes (something) from Kandawas the God or the existing priest, (may that person) be removed by Kandawas the God and by his Companion! And, by the God, Lato, Artemis, Hshatrapati²³ and the other (gods), (may) that person be removed! And may those gods exact (expiation) from him!

Notes

1. For the virtually certain attribution of the inscription to Artaxerxes IV (Arses), see Badian 1977; Briant 1998a: 305–6, n.3; for Arses' throne-name, see **10, no.2**. For the disposition of the inscriptions on the stela, see **fig.17.7**. For discussion, see Teixidor 1978; Frei 1981; Lemaire 1995; Grzybek 1998; Briant 1998a; 2001a: 179–83. Note that, while the Lycian and Greek texts are very close to each other, the Aramaic is a fairly curt endorsement.
2. Lycian is still not very well understood. The translation here is that of E. Laroche, see his full edition in *FdX VI*, 50–127. What seems clear is that Lycian is the original version, which explains some of the unusual features in the Greek text (cf. Briant 1998a: 320–5).
3. Lyc. Trmmis/Trmmile, 'Lycia', 'Lycians', cf. **16, no.28**. As is evident from the Greek text, this is Pixodarus of the Carian Hecatomnid dynasty, satrap between 341/0 and 336/5 (**10, no.11**, n.3); for the creation of the new province of Caria–Lycia under their rule, see **9, no.44**, n.5.
4. The Lycian name of Xanthus, meaning 'source', see *FdX VI*, 62 & n.6.
5. This Greek word, meaning 'those who live round about', is used to designate the non-citizens, who nevertheless share to some degree in civic life in this instance. For the Lycian (a hapax, 'those who dwell behind'), see *FdX VI*, 63.
6. '(Divine) King of Caunus', of Carian origin.
7. Lyc. *khbai-*, for this hapax, see *FdX VI*, 68. The Greek text has 'cultivate'.
8. The reading of the number is uncertain, 18 and 22.5 have also been proposed. For arguments in favour of 120 (which makes 80 Lycian *adas* equal to 1 mina), see Bryce 1986: 62–3.
9. Lyc. *mere ebette*, *FdX VI*, 73; cf. *ibid.* 114 & 115.
10. The 'mother of this sanctuary' (or 'of the gods') is an old deity, who came to be equated with Leto. The Eliyana only appear here, and the Greek equivalent is the Nymphs. The Leto sanctuary was built near a water source, and the cult of the nymphs continued to be very strong into the Roman empire period. *Pentremni* seems to have been an epithet of Leto (*FdX VI*, 75–6).
11. As Laroche observes (*FdX VI*, 76), with three words out of five unknown, it is impossible to arrive at a translation of this closing passage.
12. The subdivisions are the same as for the Lycian text, so I have only given the Roman numerals.
13. Gr. *epimeletes*.
14. Gr. *ateleia*.
15. Gr. *kurios*, a term that appears quite regularly in Greek civic inscriptions, where a magistrate or official is given the responsibility to act should a difficulty in relation to terms in a decree arise. In

this case, the Xanthians invoke divine sanctions on anyone who infringes the regulations and, for good measure, Pixodarus as the governor to whom appeal may be made as a judge of last instance (see the detailed discussion in Briant 1998a: 330–6).

16. Ar. BYRT¹; note that Xanthus/Arna is here simply called a fortress or citadel.
17. This introductory passage is simply the formula for fixing the time and place when the resolution was passed, contra Dupont-Sommer (FdX VI, 137), who adds ‘said’, thus changing the civic resolution into a satrapal declaration.
18. On Ar. B¹LY, ‘free inhabitants’, see Frei 1996: 43–4. For the translation ‘cult’, see Briant 1998a: 316, n.40; for the deities, see FdX VI, 145–6.
19. Ar. BY[T¹].
20. Ar. MT¹.
21. I.e. ‘the god’s’. Ar. DM¹, interpreted as this (the first letter could also be /r/ or /k/), following Mayrhofer’s suggestion that it relates to Avestan *dama*, ‘dwelling place’.
22. Ar. DTH DK KTB ZY MH<H>SN. DTH is clearly OP data; for MHHSN, see **17, no.32**, n.22, and the act of writing/inscribing is also plain. I have followed Teixidor’s (1978) translation here, which seems to make reasonable sense; alternatively, Lemaire (1995): ‘The property holder (i.e. Simias, the priest) has written this law.’ Both differ radically from Dupont-Sommer’s ‘This law, he (Pixodaro) has inscribed (it), (he) who is lord (of the decision)’ (FdX VI, 137). In fact, there is no subject for the action of inscribing, and Dupont-Sommer’s interpretation rests on a misunderstanding of the force of Pixodarus’ role at the end of the Greek text (see above, n.15). For detailed discussion of this crucial passage, see Briant, 1998a: 330–6.
23. This deity is only attested here. It is interpreted as equivalent to Mithra by Dupont-Sommer (FdX VI, 155–6), and as an Iranian epithet for Apollo (‘Lord of Power’) by Mayrhofer (FdX VI, 184–5), cf. discussion with references in Briant 1996a: 1025 [2002b: 999].

(c) Interactions

34. Two Iranians invest in grain purchase and transport

Aramaic papyrus, PBerlin 23000; Elephantine, late fifth/early fourth century: Naveh and Shaked 1971; TADAE I, A3.10.

Translations: DAE, no.109; Briant 1996a: 623 [2002b: 607].

To my brothers Hori and Petemachis, your brother Spentadata.¹ May all the gods look after the welfare of my brothers at all times.

And now, I have a boat, in common with its master, which is in your possession. Look after my share (so that you) load onto it what Armantidata² will tell you and (heed) what he wants to do to it. Also, give him my share of the rent of [that] boat [of ours]. There is silver 8 sh(ekels). I gave (it) to [. . .] to give (in exchange) for grain to bring to my house. And there is silver 1 karsh³ which I gave to you to buy grain for Yatma.⁴ Total silver: 1 karsh, 8 sh(ekels). If you bought grain (with) them and brought (it) to our houses, good. And if not, give the silver to Ar[manti]data. H[e will b]ring (it) to us. And if [that] grain is in your possession, [in]form Armantidata about it [and g]ive it to him [that he may s]ell it.

Let Petemachis [. . .] with you on [the] boat. Let him be far from you until he comes to me.

To my brothers Hori, son of Kamen, and Petemachis, your brother Spentadata, son of Fravartipata.⁵

Notes

1. The first two have Egyptian names, the last an Iranian one, as does his father (see end of document). ‘Brother’ is a form of friendly address and does not signify a family relationship here.

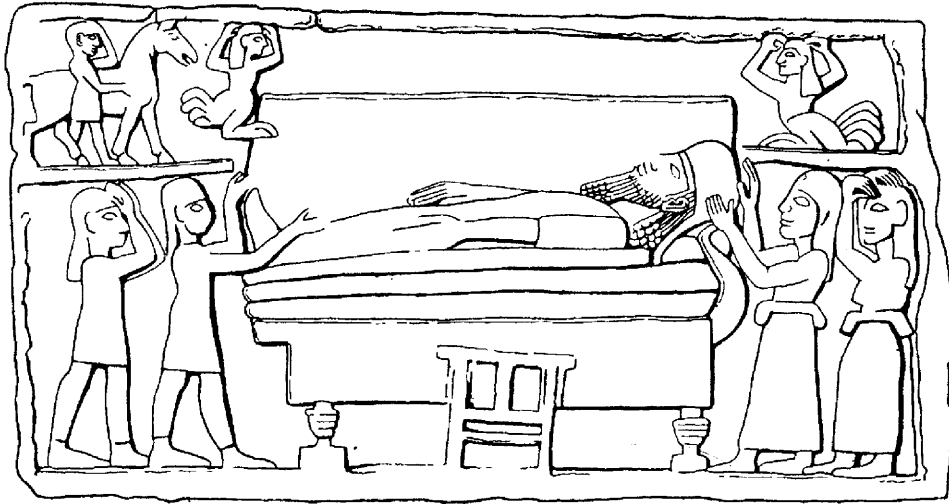


Figure 17.8 Stone stela, Mit Rahina (Memphis); 23 cm high, 45 cm wide; uninscribed, c.500 (Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin). The stela shows a prothesis (laying out of the dead), which is a well-attested Greek motif (but cf. Egyptian funerary scenes), as are the two sirens (top, right and left). The furniture is western Asiatic in style (cf. the relief of Ashurbanipal on a couch in his garden; North Palace, Nineveh, now in the British Museum); the tearing of hair by the mourners is standard in Egypt, but not limited to that country. The dead man's beard is long, resembling that shown on the Persian king (cf. **fig.11.29**), hair and head-dress again Persian (cf. **fig.11.32**), while the curving profile of the horse's head has been compared to the horses on the Persepolis reliefs. The dead man may, indeed, be a Persian/Iranian while the style of the carving is Greek. (See K. Parlasca, *FuB* 14 (1972), 76, n.2; cf. Nicholls in Masson 1978: 66–7.) (After CAH IV.)

2. Armantidata (Iranian name) must be the 'master' referred to.
3. 67 and 84 g, respectively.
4. An Aramaic name.
5. Although not all details are clear, the document shows two individuals, almost certainly Persians/Iranians in service around the First Cataract, who have entered into a business partnership with a Syrian and two Egyptians to import and sell grain (presumably) at a profit. A neat indication of the benefits and opportunities offered by the empire, of which members of the ruling ethnic group could (and did) avail themselves.

35. Cooperation between local dynast and Persian satrap

Xenophon, *Hellenica* III, 1.10–15.

This part of Aeolis belonged to Pharnabazus,¹ but Zenis of Dardanus had, while he was alive, governed² it for him. After he fell ill and died, Pharnabazus had planned to give government of the region to someone else,³ but Mania, the wife of Zenis, who was also from Dardanus, set out to visit him with a train and with gifts to present to Pharnabazus himself and to gain the favour of his concubines and the most influential people at his court.⁴ When she obtained an interview, she said: 'Pharnabazus, my husband was always a good friend to you and used to pay the taxes due. For this you praised and honoured him. Now, if I serve you as

well as he did, what need is there to appoint anyone else as governor? And if I fail to please you, surely it is in your power to remove me and give it to someone else.'

After listening to this, Pharnabazus decided that the woman should be governor. When she had taken over the region, she paid the taxes just as regularly as her husband had done and, in addition, never visited Pharnabazus without bringing gifts for him. And whenever he came down to her country, she gave him a far more splendid and enjoyable reception than did any of his other governors. She not only kept loyal to him all the cities which she had taken over, but gained control over other cities on the coast which had not been subject to him before – Larissa, Hamaxitus and Colonaë. She used a Greek mercenary force to attack the walls while she looked on from a covered carriage. Anyone who won her approval would be rewarded with the most splendid gifts, so that this force of hers was magnificently equipped. She also used to join forces with Pharnabazus, in particular when he invaded the Mysians and Pisidians as they continually raided the king's land.⁵ In return for all of this, Pharnabazus gave her special honours and privileges and sometimes called her in as a counsellor.

When she was more than forty years old, her daughter's husband, Meidias, found it intolerable to hear people saying that it was a disgrace for the country to be ruled by a woman and for him to be merely an ordinary individual. Against other people Mania always took the precautions that are normal for an absolute ruler, but she trusted Meidias and was fond of him, as a woman naturally would be of her son-in-law. He was therefore able, so they say, to make his way into her presence and to strangle her. He also killed her son, who was a remarkably good-looking boy of about seventeen. Next he seized the fortified towns of Scepsis and Gergis, where Mania had kept most of her treasure; but the other cities refused him entry and were held for Pharnabazus by their garrisons. Meidias then sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed that he should be appointed ruler of the province just as Mania had been. But Pharnabazus told him to keep his gifts and look after them well, until he came himself to take them and him too. For he would rather not live if he failed to avenge Mania.

Notes

1. A Spartan commander was about to raid the territory of the Persian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia (i.e. Aeolis) in autumn 399 (see **9, no.30**).
2. Gr. *esatrapeue*, does not mean that Zenis was a satrap in the sense of wielding an overarching provincial authority, as is plain from this episode. The term 'satrap' is not precise – it can be applied to diverse kinds of officials and governors functioning at various levels. In this instance, Zenis is clearly a local dynast, confirmed in position by the authorities subject to safe-guarding Persian control and paying taxes.
3. Note, throughout, that the story hinges on acknowledgement of the satrap's power to instal or remove whomsoever he pleased.
4. For the difficulties of gaining audience with a Persian satrap, see **12, no.47(ii)**. The reference to Mania's overtures to the concubines (Gr. *pallakai*) suggests a separate audience in the women's section of the household (note the find of a late sixth-century relief from Dascylium showing a female 'audience scene', Bakir 1995: 274–5).
5. See **17, nos.4** & nn.2 & 3 (for references); **5**.

36. Persian dedications to local cults

(i) A Persian official dedicates a statue in Sardis

Stone slab with Greek inscription, Sardis, carved in the Roman period: Robert 1975. –/–/39, Artaxerxes (429 or 367).¹

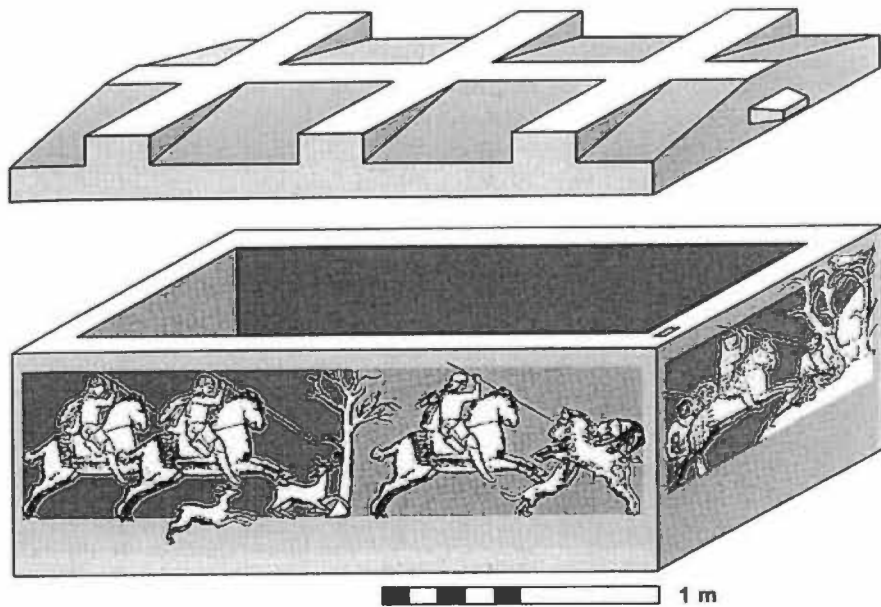


Figure 17.9 Sarcophagus (2.41 m × 0.95 m × 0.85 m) from a tumulus at Can, midway between Ilium and Dascylium, Hellespontine Phrygia, now in the Canakkale Museum, Turkey. It was found after robbers had vandalised the circular tomb chamber in the winter of 1998. It is made of marble from Proconnesus and dates to the first quarter of the fourth century. Most fortunately, and unusually, a good amount of the original paint has survived: blue, red,

Translations: Gschnitzer 1986; Briant 1998b; 2000; Dussinberre 2003, App.2, no.40; Fried 2004: 130.

In the thirty-ninth year of Artaxerxes' reign, Droaphernes, son of Barakes,² sub-governor of Lydia,³ (dedicated) the statue⁴ to Zeus of Baradates.⁵

(ii) The statue of a Persian governor at Athena's sanctuary, Ilium

Diodorus Siculus XVII, 17.6.

As the king (sc. Alexander) was marching out of the Troad⁶ and approached the sacred enclosure of Athena, the sacrificer (called) Alexander⁷ observed, lying on the earth in front of the temple, the statue of the former satrap of Phrygia, Ariobarzanes.⁸

(iii) Persian devotees of Artemis in Amyzon, Caria.

White marble block inscribed with a Greek city decree, Amyzon. J. and L. Robert 1983: 97–118 (Amyzon 2). Philip III, year 4 (321/0).

Translations: Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 122; Briant 1998c: 330.⁹

The fourth year of King Philip,¹⁰ Asander being satrap, in the month of Marsellios,¹¹ Paos son of Artimes, prostates in Amyzon, the archons being Panamyas son of Hyssollos, Hyrgas son of Kotobalos and Timagoras son of Aristodamos, the mountain guard being Paos son of Panamyas, treasurer of the goddess Hyssollos son of Hekatomnos, Menandros having contributed to the matter,¹² the Amyzonians decided in the plenary assembly, on the proposal of Asander, that the *neokoros* of Artemis be Bagadates, whom the oracle at Delphi has designated, because he is devoted to the affairs of the sanctuary; and that Bagadates and his son Ariaramnes be granted citizenship and immunity from all taxes [. . .]¹³

Notes

1. The block was revealed in the bed of the Pactolus river in 1974, as a result of erosion, see Greenwalt 1978. Full references (and analysis) in Briant 1998b. Although the inscription as it stands dates from the Roman period, everything suggests that the inscribed clauses were part of a temple dossier, containing records of diverse earlier dedications and cult regulations.
2. Although neither name is attested elsewhere, there is relatively little reason to doubt their Persian/Iranian etymology (Briant 1998b: 206–7 & n.3).

Figure 17.9 continued

purple, ochre, green, with a little black, as well as red and black mixed to create shading. The occupant was a man in his twenties. The reliefs, on two panels only, show (on the long side) two hunting scenes (stag and boar) and (on the short side) a battle scene, with the mounted warrior thrusting his spear into the eye of a fallen Greek soldier. Both the huntsmen and the protagonist on horseback are wearing Persian dress. The main figure wears a tunic and trousers, with an *akinakes* hanging from his belt; the typical Persian sleeved coat is tied back to leave his arms free, and he has a *mitra* on his head. This is very likely to be a depiction of the man laid to rest in the coffin, who was probably a member of the local Persianised élite. (After Sevinc et al. 2001.)



Figure 17.10 Limestone (fire-?)altar from the Kayseri region, central Turkey. Height 55 cm; fourth century BC. Both sides show a man in Persian dress and coat, with a head-dress that can be pulled round to cover the mouth. He holds a barsom (see [fig.11.42](#)) and raises his hand in a gesture of prayer. (Ankara Museum.) (Drawing David Saxon.)

3. Gr. *Ludies huparchos*, indicating that Droaphernes held an important, but not the supreme, position within the Persian administration of Lydia.
4. Gr. *ton andrianta*. This can define a statue of a divine, but more usually a human, being (cf. [7, no.8, n.3](#)). Possibly it was a statue of himself, cf. Ariobarzanes in the next passage.

5. Baradates is again a Persian/Iranian name and certainly in the genitive here. Robert's notion that this Zeus was a hellenised form of Auramazda has been widely criticised and cannot be sustained (see Briant 1998b). How exactly Baradates is related to the cult of Zeus in Sardis is unknown. What seems possible is that he had displayed a particular reverence for this local god at an earlier period, which was now being echoed by (his descendant?) Droaphernes. The fact that this is all that Droaphernes did is clearly indicated on the inscription by a leaf decoration, which marks the end of his act (see Briant 1998b, pl.2). Following this, a set of quite *separate* cult regulations is engraved.
6. Alexander had just landed in the Troad (334) and honoured the tombs of the Greek (as opposed to the Trojan) heroes. Cf. Xerxes in 480 (7, no.19).
7. This is thought to be a mistake by Diodorus for Aristander, Berve, no.117.
8. For Ariobarzanes, governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, see 13, no.36, n.11. For the evidence of continuity of cult at Ilium through the Persian period, see Berlin 2002.
9. See also the discussion in Briant 1985b: 169–76.
10. I.e. Philip III, Alexander's half-brother, who acceded to the Macedonian throne on Alexander's death together with his nephew, Alexander IV.
11. A local month-name, see J. and L. Robert 1983: 100; Asander was the Macedonian satrap (J. and L. Robert 1983: 98–100).
12. For discussion of Amyzon's civic institutions illuminated by this decree, see J. and L. Robert 1983: 101–10. Note that most of the personal names are Carian.
13. *Neokoros* was an important function within the sanctuary. Bagadates would seem to have been a Persian/Iranian who, together with his family, held land in the vicinity of Amyzon, and had developed close relations with its cult. Following Alexander's conquest of the Achaemenid empire, the satrap persuaded (ordered?) the Amyzon community to appoint him to this position (which his family continued to hold for well over a century, see Amyzon 18), as a way of incorporating the Persians of the imperial diaspora, left stranded after Alexander's conquest.

37. A marriage is negotiated between a Persian noble and a Paphlagonian chieftain

Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV, 1.3–15.

When Agesilaus arrived in Paphlagonia,¹ Otys² came and made an alliance, as he had not gone up when summoned by the king. Spithridates³ persuaded him to leave one thousand horsemen and two thousand peltasts for Agesilaus. Agesilaus was grateful and said to Spithridates, 'Tell me, Spithridates, would you not give your daughter to Otys?'

'Rather more', he replied, 'than he would take her as a fugitive's daughter, when he rules much territory and is powerful.'

That was all that was said about the marriage at that point. But when Otys was about to leave, he came to Agesilaus to say good-bye. After having Spithridates leave, Agesilaus began the conversation in the presence of the the thirty.⁴ 'Tell me, Otys', he said, 'what sort of family is Spithridates from?'

'Not inferior to that of any of the Persians', he replied.

'And have you seen', he said, 'how beautiful his son is?'

'Certainly; I had dinner with him last night.'

'Yet they say that his daughter is even more beautiful.'

'Yes, by Zeus', said Otys, 'she is beautiful.'

'Now I', he said, 'as you have become our friend, would advise you to take the girl as your wife, as she is very beautiful – and what can be nicer for a man? Also, her father is extremely well-born and is so powerful that when Pharnabazus treats him unfairly he takes such vengeance that, as you see, he has been forced into exile from his land. Moreover, be well aware of this', he said, 'just as he can wreak vengeance on that enemy, so he can do

good to the man who is his friend. Bear in mind, that if this (marriage) should come off, not only would he be your kinsman, but I, too, and the rest of Spartans – and as we are the leaders of Greece, the rest of Greece also. (1.9) And who would have a more splendid wedding than you if you marry her? What bride is there who has had as many horsemen, peltasts and hoplites to escort her as would escort your wife to your house?’

Then Otys asked, ‘Agesilaus’, he said, ‘does Spithridates think the same about what you say?’

‘Good heavens’, Agesilaus said, ‘he has not told me to say this. I am delighted to take revenge on an enemy, but I think I am even more pleased when I find some good for my friends.’

‘So why not find out’, he said, ‘if he would like this too?’

So Agesilaus said, ‘Herippidas, and all of you, go and tell him to want the same thing we do.’

So they rose to instruct him. After a while, Agesilaus said, ‘Otys, shall we call him here ourselves?’

‘I think he is more likely to be persuaded by you than by all the others.’

So Agesilaus summoned Spithridates and the others. As soon as they approached, Herippidas said, ‘Why make a long story out of the other things said, Agesilaus? In short, Spithridates says he is happy to do whatever you think best.’

‘Well, now’, Agesilaus said, ‘I think, Spithridates, you should give your daughter to Otys and he should take her – and may it go well! However, we cannot bring the girl on foot before spring.’

‘Well, yes, but, by Zeus’, said Otys, ‘if you want, she can be sent by sea at once.’

They shook hands⁵ on this and sent Otys away. Agesilaus knew that Otys was eager, so he immediately manned a trireme and ordered Callias, a Spartan, to bring the girl back.

Notes

1. Summer 395, see **9, no.39**.
2. The Paphlagonian chieftain, also called Gyes and Thuys, see **9, no.39**, n.13.
3. See **9, no.36** & n.1. He had quarrelled with the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, and temporarily joined Agesilaus’ raiding party.
4. The group of officers with the Spartan commander.
5. Gr. *dexias dontes*, ‘they gave (their) right hands’, thus solemnising the agreement.

38. An Egyptian funerary stela with a Persian figure

Limestone stela, Saqqara: Mathieson, Bettles, Davies and Smith 1995. Late sixth to fifth century(?); see **fig.17.11**.¹

Translation: Brosius 2000, no.197.

(i) Hieroglyphic text

Spell: Osiris, the foremost of the West, the great god, the lord of the sanctuary, (may) he give an invocation-offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, clothing, alabaster(?), incense(?), things perfect and pure, the luxuries upon which the god lives, to the *kā* of Djedherbes, son of Artam, born of the lady Tanofrether.²

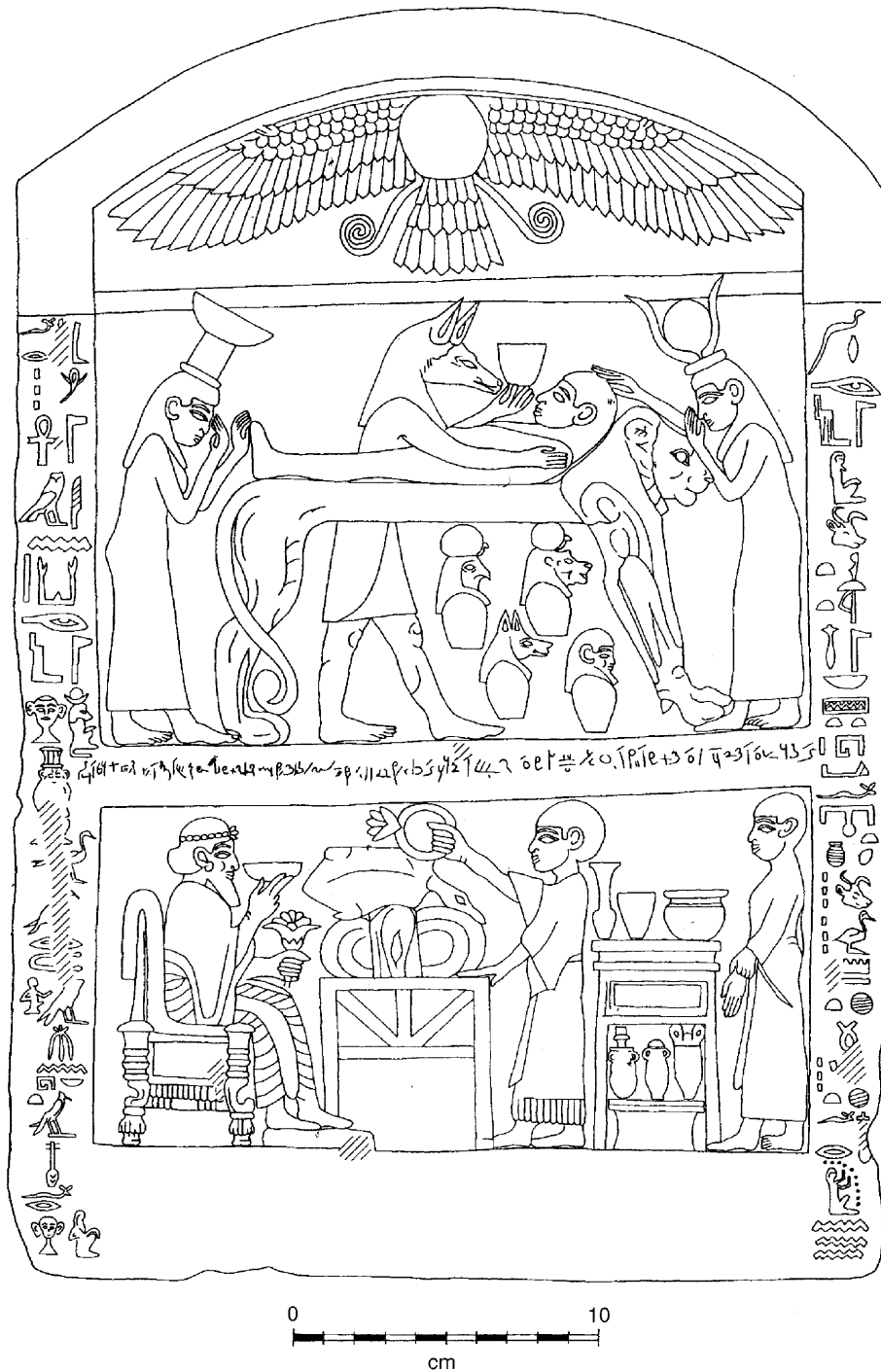


Figure 17.11 Limestone stela, 26 cm wide, 38 cm high; found in a secondary context at Saqqara in Autumn 1994. It shows a typical Egyptian funerary scene. Lunette: winged disc. Middle

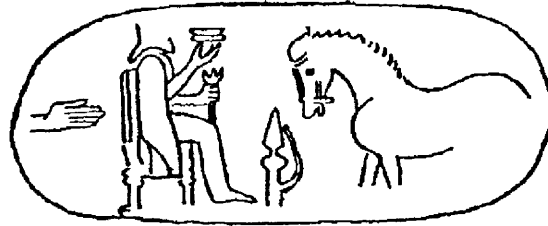


Figure 17.12 Drawing of cylinder seal impression (1.4 cm high) on one of the tablets in the Murashu archive (Nippur, 24 July 420). The tablet is in the Philadelphia University Museum; publication of seal image, Legrain 1925, no.984, cf. Bregstein 1993, no.214; Briant 1996a [2002b], fig 62; 1996c: 21. The horse on the right is bridled and has a saddle-cloth (not visible); on the left a disembodied hand. In the centre is a bearded figure in Persian dress, seated on a throne, holding a bowl and a lotus. Briant's re-examination of the impression makes clear that the figure's feet originally rested on a footstool (note the discrepancy in height between the figure's feet and the visible foot of the throne). In front of the figure is an incense altar. The pose, the items held, dress and throne show a strikingly close resemblance to the Persian figure on the Saqqara stela (**fig.17.11**). (After Briant 1996c.)

(ii) Demotic text

Spell: Osiris, foremost of the West, Wennofer, great god, lord of (Ro)staw(?), praises(?) his name, (that is) Djedherbes, son of Artam, born of Tanofret [. . .] for ever.

Notes

1. The translation is that of H.S. Smith in the original publication. For the disposition of the two texts, see **fig.17.11**. Evidence for the stela's date is entirely circumstantial, but must, almost certainly, fall into the period of the first Persian domination of Egypt (525–400).
2. The dead man's name is Egyptian, as is that of his mother, while his father bears an unmistakably Persian/Iranian one, *Rtama* (see Schmitt in Mathieson et al. 1995: 37). The most likely interpretation is that this is evidence (the first clear one) of marriage between a Persian man and an Egyptian woman. Given the fine workmanship, as well as the scene in the lower register (**fig.17.11**), he is likely to have occupied a relatively high position in Achaemenid Egyptian society.

Figure 17.11 continued

register: the dead man, laid out on a lion-bier, is being offered a cup by Anubis (god of the necropolis) and mourned by Isis and Nephthys; below the bier stand the canopic jars (containing his inner organs). Bottom register: bearded and diademed figure in Persian dress, holding bowl and lotus, seated on Persian-style throne, feet resting on a footstool (cf. **11, no.29**). Facing him are two offering tables and attendants, one of whom offers the enthroned figure a ring with a floral attachment; the other holds his hands in the standard Persian gesture of respectful attendance (cf. **11, no.29**). The Persian figure, directly comparable in virtually every detail with the figure of the Persian king in the audience reliefs at Persepolis, is striking in such an otherwise standard Egyptian monument. His identity is uncertain: is it the dead man himself, or is it his father, with the son presenting the floral item to him? Either way, the seated figure has all the trappings of a high dignitary, his presentation consciously modelled on that of the king in audience – an image known to have circulated widely in the empire (see **figs.11.30; 11.31; 17.12**). (After E. Bettles in Mathieson et al. 1995.)

D. The southern edge of the empire

(a) Achaemenid India

39. The peoples west of the Indus

Strabo XV, 2.9.

The position of the peoples is like this: along the Indus are the Paropamisadae, above whom lies the Paropamisus mountain,¹ then to the south the Arachosians.² Next to them southwards (are) the Gedroseni,³ together with the others who occupy the coast. Alongside all these places, sideways, lies the Indus. Of these, in parts, Indians have some that lie along the Indus, but earlier they belonged to the Persians.⁴

Notes

1. The Hindu Kush and region around Kabul, Afghanistan.
2. Area centred on Kandahar, Afghanistan.
3. Gedrosia, Baluchistan.
4. See **6, no.3**, for Darius I's conquest of north-western India.

40. Indian troops in Darius III's army at Gaugamela

Arrian, *Anabasis* III, 8.6.

It is said that the number of Darius' entire force¹ was forty thousand cavalry, a million infantry, two hundred chariots equipped with scythes,² and a few elephants, but the Indians from this side of the Indus had at least fifteen.³

Notes

1. For discussion of Arrian's numbers for the Persian army in 331, see Brunt 1976–83, App.IX.
2. It is not certain when these were introduced into the Achaemenid army (they are not mentioned by Herodotus). By the late fifth century they were certainly being deployed (see **9, no.21 (iii)**), and for their potentially deadly effect, see Xen. *Hell.* IV, 1.17.
3. The implication is that the Persians had a supply of elephants, their number swelled by the Indian contingents.

41. Indian elephants at Susa

Quintus Curtius Rufus V, 2.9–10.¹

The king (sc. Alexander) received the young man² and reached the Choaspes, reputed to carry fine water,³ under his guidance. There Abulites met him bearing gifts of a royal opulence. Among the gifts were camels, very swift dromedaries, (and) twelve elephants acquired by Darius from India.

Notes

1. The setting is Alexander's approach to Susa in 331 (**10, no.29**).
2. The son of Abulites, satrap of Susa, sent by his father to escort Alexander.

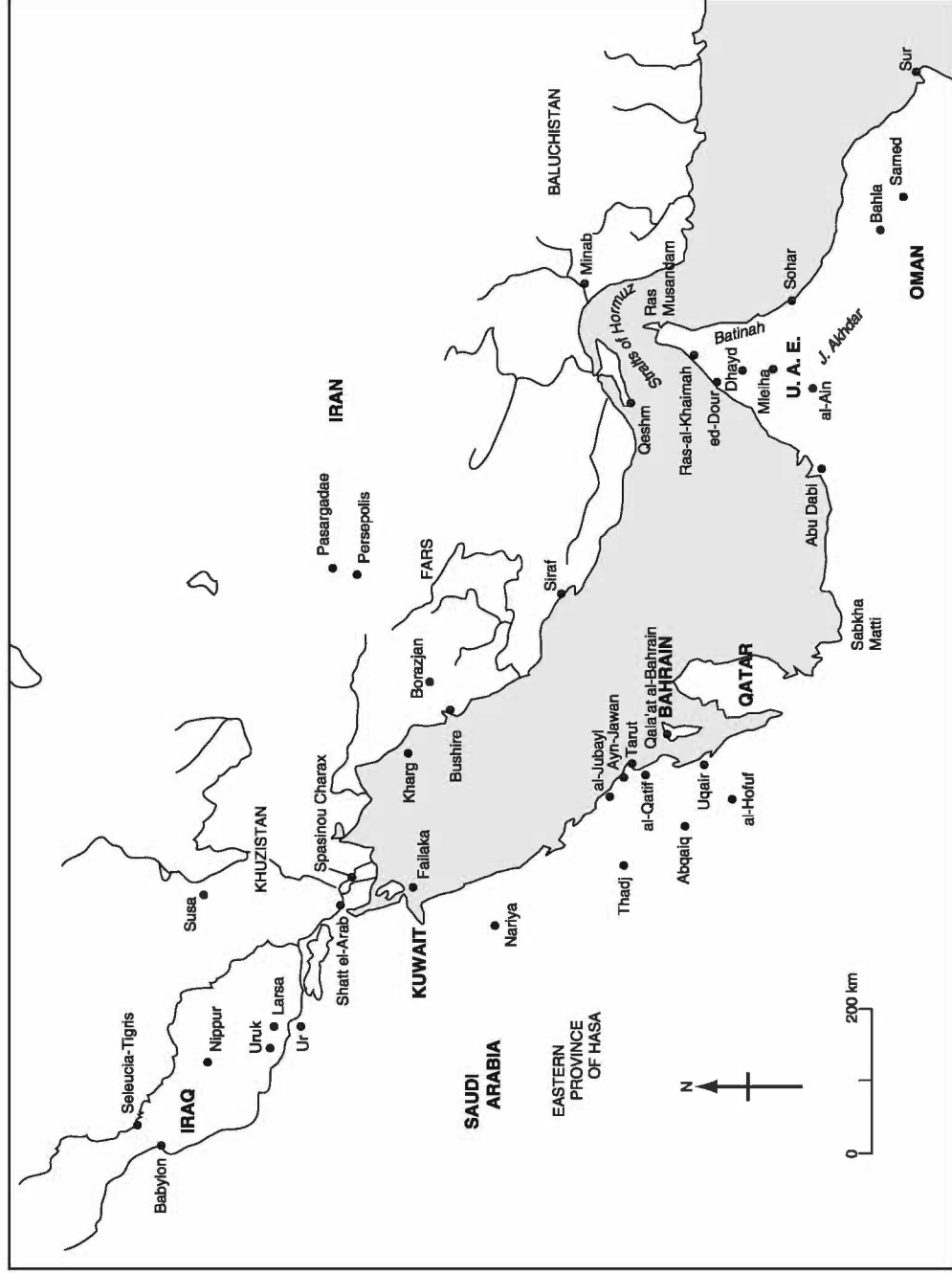


Figure 17.13 Sketchmap of the Persian Gulf. (After Salles 1990.)

3. See **12, no.10**, for Herodotus' account of the health-giving properties of the Choaspes, which was supposedly the only water drunk by the Persian king

(b) The coastal area and Gulf

42. Persian officials in Gedrosia

(i) The Makran coast

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 679. –/–/17, Darius I (505/4); no seal.

38 marriš (wine), allocation by Parnizza, Irdumasda, satrap at Makkaš,¹ received for rations. (At) Tamukkan and Tabban.² Year 17.

(ii) The main city of Gedrosia?

Elamite tablet, Persepolis: PF 681. VIII/–/21, Darius I (October–November 501); no seal.

35 (BAR) grain, allocation by Dakka, Karkish, satrap (at) Purush³ received for rations. He carried a sealed document of the king. Month VIII, year 21. He went to Purush.

Notes

1. Very likely OP *Maka*, which should probably be located on the Makran coast of Baluchistan, although some argue for Oman (see **11, no.2**, n.16). What type of official this 'satrap' (El. *šakšabama* = OP *khshcapavan-*), like the one in the next passage, might be is unknown. But note Koch (1993: 20–2), who takes him (like the *Zamashba* of PF 680) to be the provincial governor of *Maka*. Both names are Iranian (Mayrhofer 8.1286; 8.617); the hellenised form of the second is *Artabazus*.
2. See **fig.16.5**(4), for the location of *Tamukkan* (*Taoce/Tuke*, Ptolemy, *Geography* 6.4.7) to the east of Persepolis. Koch (1993: 21) identifies it with the *Taoce* mentioned by Nearchus, near the coast (see **17, no.46**), and sees *Irdumasda* taking the sea-route. But this is not a necessary assumption.
3. An identification with *Pura* in *Gedrosia*, where there was a palace (*Bampur?* Arr. *Anab.* VI, 24.1), is proposed by Hallock and very possible. However, Koch (1993: 16–20) argues in favour of *Purush* as the capital of *Carmania*. For the possible etymologies of *Dakka*, see Mayrhofer 8.339.

43. The Straits of Hormuz

Arrian, *Indica* 32.6–8; 33.1–2, 8.

Setting out from there (sc. *Badis* in *Carmania*) and sailing eight hundred stadia, they moored at a desert shore and saw a long cape, which jutted a good distance out into the sea. It appeared to be about one day's sail away. Those who knew the country said that this jutting cape belonged to Arabia and was called *Maceta*.¹ From here, cinnamon and other such items were imported to Assyria.²

(33) They sailed from the shore, staying close to the land as they went and sailed for seven hundred stadia before they moored at another beach – *Neoptana* was its name. They set off again at dawn, sailed one hundred stadia and anchored by the River *Anamis*; the place was called *Harmozia*.³ Here there was a mass of produce, except that olives did not grow.

(...)⁴ With shouts and clapping, they (sc. Nearchus' men) brought the man (a Greek soldier) to Nearchus and he told Nearchus everything, including that the camp and the king (sc. Alexander) were at a five days' journey from the sea. He also said that he would show Nearchus the hyparch of the region⁵ and did so.

Notes

1. Mod. Ras Musandam, United Arab Emirates.
2. This refers to spice imports from the Indian subcontinent (cinnamon comes from Sri Lanka) to Mesopotamia, via the Gulf – a trade that had been going on certainly since the eighth century, if not earlier (Salles 1990: 114).
3. This is probably Minab, on the Straits of Hormuz.
4. Arrian here describes Nearchus' men resting, some wandering off inland where they found a stray soldier from Alexander's army, whom they brought back to the fleet.
5. I.e. the regional Achaemenid governor.

44. Persian controlled islands in the Gulf

Strabo XVI, 3.5, 7.

Both Nearchus and Orthagoras¹ say the island Ogyris² lies south in the sea about two thousand stadia distant from Carmania. On it the grave of Erythras can be seen – a large mound planted with wild date palms – who was king of the region and left his name to the sea.³ Nearchus says that they were shown this by Mithropastes, son of the satrap of Phrygia, Arsites. He had been banished by Darius,⁴ and was now living on the island. He joined them when they landed in the Persian Gulf⁵ and tried to get home through their agency.

(7) Nearchus says that Mithropastes met them together with Mazenes; that Mazenes was governor of an island in the Persian Gulf; that the island was called Oaracta;⁶ that Mithropastes took refuge on this island and received hospitality there after he left Ogyris; also, that he conferred with Mazenes in the hope of being recommended to the Macedonians in the fleet; and that Mazenes became a guide for their journey.

Notes

1. For Nearchus, see **17, no.1**, n.2. Virtually nothing is known about Orthagoras, but the contexts in which he is (very occasionally) cited imply that he was a member of Nearchus' reconnoitring expedition, see *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. (1).
2. Not certainly located; one of the smaller islands off the Iran coast.
3. The Erythrean, i.e. Red Sea, was the name used by classical writers for the Arab–Persian Gulf, cf. **11, no.25**(80). There were several different theories about the etymology of the name and the mythological identity of Erythras in antiquity, reported by the second-century BC geographer Agatharchides of Cnidus (Burstein 1989a: 42–5, frs.2a, 2b, 3, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b). For the Persian version, see the next passage.
4. For the Gulf as a region of exile in the Achaemenid period, see **11, no.25**(80); **13, no.30**.
5. Strabo presumably means the bay area of Hormuz on the Iranian coast.
6. This is generally identified with the substantial island of Qeshm, see **fig.17.13** (cf. Potts 1990, II: 301 & n.121).

45. A Persian story of how the Erythraean Sea got its name and was colonised

Strabo XVI, 4.20.

Agatharchides, a compatriot of Ctesias,¹ tells a story coming from a certain Boxus, by birth a Persian.² When a herd of horses was driven by a frenzied lioness out of the country as far as the the sea and then crossed to a certain island, a Persian called Erythras built a raft and was first to cross over to the island. When he saw it was excellent for settlement, he drove the herd back into Persis, sent colonists there, and to the other islands and the adjoining coast and had the sea named after himself. But according to others (he says) Erythras was the son of Perseus, and ruled the region.

Notes

1. See 17, no.44, n.3.
2. Settled in Athens, in either the third or second century (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 148). For the name (a shortened form of Persian Bagabukhsha, Gr. Megabyxus), see Mayrhofer 8.210.

46. Gardens and a palace near Bushire

Arrian, *Indica* 39.2–3.

When the sun rose they sailed along to a torrential river, called Padargus; the entire place is a peninsula. In it were many gardens and all sorts of fruit-trees grew there; the name of the place was Mesambria.¹ They set out from Mesambria and sailed for about two hundred stadia, when they anchored at Taoce² on the Granis river. Inland from there was a Persian royal palace, around two hundred stadia from the river mouth.

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| <p>(a) Bessus, satrap of Bactria = Bactrians, Sogdians, Indians bordering Bactria, Sacae ('the king's allies', archers, commanded by Mauaces)</p> <p>(b) Barsaentes, satrap of Arachosia = Arachosians, Indian hillsmen</p> <p>(c) Satibarzanes, satrap of Areia = Areians</p> <p>(d) Phrataphernes = Parthaeans, Hyrcanians, Tapyrians (all cavalry)</p> <p>(e) Atropates = Medes, (and with them) Cadusians, Albanians, Sacasinians</p> <p>(f) Orontobates, Ariobarzanes, Orxines = peoples on the borders of the Gulf</p> <p>(g) Oxathres, son of Abulites (satrap of Susa) = Uxians, Susians</p> <p>(h) Bupares = Babylonians (drawn up with them), deported Carians, Sittacenians</p> <p>(i) Orontes and Mithraustes = Armenians</p> <p>(j) Ariaces = Cappadocians</p> <p>(k) Mazaeus = Coele Syrians, Mesopotamian Syrians</p> |
|--|

Figure 17.14 Persian army contingents at the Battle of Gaugamela (331) (Arr. *Anab.* III, 8.3–6, cf. discussion in Briant 1996a: 716–17; [2002b: 696–7]).

Notes

1. Everything indicates that this is the area around Bushire, on the coast of Fars.
2. It is possible that Taoce should be identified with Borazjan, where a residence similar to Palace S at Pasargadae has been excavated, see Boardman 2000: 65–6 & fig.2.45. Boucharlat 2005 describes recent work in the vicinity indicating that it was not an isolated structure. Iranian archaeologists working at the site are reported (May 2005) to have discovered the remains of several water channels, possibly intended to conduct water from local springs to a palace pond.

TABLES

Table 1 Kings of Persia

Teispes (of Anshan)	c.650–620
Cyrus I (son)	c.620–590
Cambyes I (son)	c.590–559
Cyrus II the Great (son)	559–530
Cambyes II (son)	530–522
Bardiya (Smerdis) (brother)	522
Darius I (son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, descendant of Achaemenes)	522–486
Xerxes (son)	486–465
Artaxerxes I (son)	465–424/3
Xerxes II & Sogdianus (sons)	424/3
Darius II (Artaxerxes I's son)	423–405
Artaxerxes II (son)	405–359
Artaxerxes III (son)	359–338
Artaxerxes IV (Arses, son)	338–336
Darius III (second cousin)	336–330
Alexander of Macedon	330–323

Table 2 Chronology of main political events

550	Cyrus II defeats the Medes
540s	Cyrus' conquest of Lydia
539	Cyrus conquers Babylonia
530	Death of Cyrus: accession of his son, Cambyses
526/5	Cambyses conquers Egypt
522/1	Accession of Bardiya, Cambyses' younger brother: assassinated by Darius and six Persian nobles; Darius seizes throne; major series of revolts through large part of empire; at some point after this, northern India and Thrace added to empire
499–493	Ionian revolt
490	Battle of Marathon
486	Egypt revolts; death of Darius I: succeeded by his son, Xerxes
484	Revolts in Babylonia
480/79	Persian invasion of Greece
465	Xerxes assassinated; followed, after short period of confusion, by his son, Artaxerxes I
464/3–454	Egypt revolts
424	Death of Artaxerxes I; succeeded by his only legitimate son, Xerxes II; Xerxes assassinated by his half-brother Sogdianus, who claims throne
423	Sogdianus murdered by his half-brother Darius II, who accedes to throne
405	Darius II dies; Artaxerxes II (his son) accedes to throne
401	Attempt by the king's younger brother (Cyrus) to topple him; Cyrus the Younger killed in Battle of Cunaxa
401/0	Egypt secedes
358	Artaxerxes II dies; succeeded by his son, Artaxerxes III
343/2	Egypt reconquered
338	Artaxerxes III dies; his son, Arses (= Artaxerxes IV) accedes to throne
336	Arses murdered; Darius III (not a direct descendant) accedes
333	Battle of Issus between Alexander of Macedon and Darius III: Persians defeated
331	Battle of Gaugamela ends in Macedonian victory: Alexander conquers the main royal Persian centres
330	Darius III murdered by two Persian nobles, one of whom proclaims himself king of Persia in eastern Iran and Bactria (= 'Artaxerxes V'); Alexander arranges for Darius III's burial and proclaims vengeance on Darius' assassins
330–327	Hard fighting in eastern Iran and Central Asia by Alexander
327–325	Alexander rounds off his conquest of the Persian empire by capturing the former Achaemenid regions of India
324–323	Alexander returns from India through Persia to Babylonia; dies in Babylon

Table 3 Some attested Persian period governors

(a) Persian period governors of Babylonia and Across-the-River, Babylon, and the separate province Across-the-River (attested in documents)¹

1. ‘Governor of Babylon and Across-the-River’

Gubaru (Gobryas): 17 March 535 to 28 August 525

Ushtanu (Hystanes): 21 March 521 to June/July 516

Huta-x-x-’, son of Pagakanna (**16, no.60(i)**): 5 October 486

2. No title, but almost certainly Governor of Babylonia

Artareme (Artarios): 23 October 431 to 6 October 423²

3. ‘Governor of the Land of Akkad’/‘Governor of Babylon’

Gubaru: 4 March 420 to 16 April 417

4. ‘(District) Governor of Babylon’³

Bagapa(?): 29 September 503

Belshunu (Belesys), son of Belusurshu: 422 to 24 April 415

Eriba: February/March 402

5. ‘Governor of Across-the-River’

Tattannu: 5 June 502

Belshunu (Belesys), son of Belusurshu (see 4, above; cf. **12, no.46(iii)**): 23 June 407 to 16 January 401⁴

6. ‘Satrap’ (Akk. *ahšadrapanu*)⁵

Siha: 424

Belshunu: 6 January 429(?)

Notes

1. See Stolper 1989a: 290–1, Table I.

2. See Stolper 1985: 90–2.

3. The title is the same as that of the governor, but it is clear from the context that they have a more limited competence and act at a level below that of provincial governor.

4. See Stolper 1987.

5. The title does not necessarily indicate the top post in a province; for its lack of precision, see Briant 1996a: 481–4 [2002b: 466–9]; for its use in Babylonian documents, Stolper 1989a: 291, n.p.

(b) Governors of Bactria

Dadarshi (**5, no.1**, para.38): 522/1

?Rtabanush/Artabanus/Irdabanush (**15, no.1(viii)**, n.18; Koch 1993: 34): attested between 500 and 494.¹

?Masistes (Xerxes’ full brother (cf. **7, no.80**; Hdt. IX, 113): 470s

Artapanus or Hystaspes (**8, no.2** & n.1.): 460s

Bessus (**10, no.34**): ?–330

TABLES

Note

1. The evidence is limited to the Persepolis Fortification texts, where he appears as an authority for withdrawals of provisions from depots. It is assumed, but not at all certain, that such authorisers were provincial governors.

(c) Governors of Egypt

Aryandes (**5, no.17; 6, no.4**): ?522–c.519
 Pherendates (**17, no.30**): ?519–492
 Achaemenes (**7, no.6; 8, no.6**): 485/4–c.462
 Arshama/Arsames (see **8, no.9**, n.1; **8, no.34**, n.1): before 435 to at least 407
 (Egypt's secession, c.400–343, see **ch.9, Section C(b) & no.77**)
 Sabaces (**10, no.16**, n.5): ?343/2–333
 Mazaces (**10, no.24**): 333–332

(d) Governors of Hellespontine Phrygia

Mitrobates (**4, no.16**): c.525–522
 Oibares (**6, no.47**): 493
 Artabazus, Darius I's cousin, son of Pharnaces/Parnaka (**7, no.81**): 479–?
 Pharnabazus (I), his son (**8, no.16**, n.4)
 Pharnaces, his son (first attested, Thuc. II, 67): 430/29
 Pharnabazus (II), his son (first attested, Thuc. VIII, 6; cf. **8, no.26**): 413/2–c.387
 Ariobarzanes (**13, no.36**, n.11): c.387–367
 Artabazus, son of Pharnabazus (II) (**13, no.44**): c.367–350s
 Arsites (**10, no.8(i) & (iii)** & n.5): before 336–334

(e) Governors of Lydia

Tabalus (**3, no.20**): 540s
 Oroites (**4, no.16; 5, no.15**): c.525–?520
 Artaphernes I (Darius I's brother; **6, nos.20**, n.1; **30**): c.513–492
 Artaphernes II (his son; **11, no.25** (74)); c.480
 Pissuthnes (grandson of Darius I?; **8, nos.14; 17; 25**): 450s–c.420
 Tissaphernes (**8, no.25** & n.3): c.416–407
 Cyrus (son of Darius II; **8, no.32**): 407–401
 Tissaphernes (**9, nos.24; 38**): 401–395
 [Tithraustes? (**9, no.38**): 395–394]
 Tiribazus (**9, no.44**): c.391–c.374?
 Autophradates (Weiskopf 1989: 38–44): c.374?–362?
 Spithridates (**10, no.8(i) & (iii)**): ?–334

(f) Attested district governors of Judah (YHWD) (in approximate chronological order)¹

Sheshbazzar (Ezra 5.14): 530s
 Zerubbabel (Haggai 1.1, 14; 2.2.21): c.520–?²
 Nehemiah (Nehemiah 1–7; **14, no.28; 15, no.19**): c.445–432
 Bagohi (**17, no.32** (iii) & (iv)): late fifth century
 Hezekiah (coins): c.350–330

Governors of Judah attested on seal impressions (chronological order uncertain)

Jehoezer (Ramat Rahel seals)
 Ahzai (Ramat Rahel seals)
 Elnathan (see Avigad 1976)

TABLES

Notes

1. See Grabbe 2004: 148–9, for discussion of the evidence and uncertainties. For the even less certain sequence of governors of Samaria, see *id.* 156–8.
 2. Note Bedford 2001: 187–8, n.7 for a discussion of the problems surrounding the precise position of Zerubbabel.
-

Table 4 Weights, measures, calendars**1. Weights and measures** (all are approximate)**Weights** (the most widely used)

(a)

1 karsh (OP) = 10 shekels = c.84 grams

1 shekel = 40 hallurs = 8.4 grams

1 hallur = 4 quarters = 0.21 grams

1 quarter = 0.5 grams

(b)

1 (Babylonian) talent = 60 minas = 30 kilograms

1 mina = 60 shekels = 500 grams

1 shekel = 8.4 grams

Capacity

(a) Babylonian

1 G/KUR/kurru = 5 PI/panu = 180 litres

1 PI/panu = 6 BAN/sutu = 36 litres

1 BAN/sutu = 6 SILA/qa = 6 litres

1 SILA/qa = 1 litre

(b) Elamite/Old Persian

1 BAR = 10 qa = 10 litres

1 marriš (used for liquids) = 10 qa = 10 litres

1 irtiba = 3 BAR = 30 litres

1 QA/qa = 1 litre

(c) West Semitic

1 kor = 30 seah = 360 litres

1 seah = 1 GRIW = 6 qab = 12 litres

1 qab = 2 litres

1 hofen = 0.1 seah/GRIW

1 zuz = 0.5 sheqel = 4.2 grams

Length

1 cubit = 50 centimetres

1 stadium = 190.5 metres

1 parasang = 5.5 kilometers

1 plethrum = 30 metres

2. Calendars

(a) Babylonian (widely used throughout empire)

Note that because this calendar is based on lunar months, the latter do not coincide consistently with the Julian calendar. Intercalations – either of month VI or XII – are used at regular intervals to correct this.

- I = Nisanu/Nisan = March–April
- II = Ayaru/Iyyar = April–May
- III = Simanu/Siwan = May–June
- IV = Dumuzu/Tammuz = June–July
- V = Abu/Ab = July–August
- VI = Ululu/Elul = August–September
- VII = Tashritu/Tishri = September–October
- VIII = Arahsamnu/Heshvan = October–November
- IX = Kislimu/Kislev = November–December
- X = Tebetu/Tebeth = December–January
- XI = Shabatu/Shebat = January–February
- XII = Addaru/Adar = February–March

(b) Egyptian

There are three seasons, consisting of four months each, each month having thirty days: prt ‘cultivation’ (months I–IV); šmw ‘harvest’ (months V–VIII); 3ht ‘inundation’ (months IX–XII). (The English translations of the seasonal names are conventional.) See L. Depuydt, *JEA* 81 (1995): 151–73, Appendix 1, for Achaemenid regnal years in Egypt. (Note that five epagomenal days have to be added, so the months are only roughly equivalent to our Julian ones; see P. Montet, *Eternal Egypt*, London (1964): 223–5.)

- I = Thoth = December–January
- II = Paopi = January–February
- III = Hathor = February–March
- IV = Koyhak = March–April
- V = Teobi = April–May
- VI = Mehir = May–June
- VII = Pamenhotep = June–July
- VIII = Parmuti = July–August
- IX = Pahons = August–September
- X = Paoni = September–October
- XI = Epipi = October–November
- XII = Mesore = November–December

(c) Old Persian/Elamite

(see further PFT, 74–5)

- I = Adukanaisha/Hadukannash = March–April
- II = Thuravahara/Turmar = April–May
- III = Thaigarcish/Sakurrizish = May–June
- IV = Garmapada/Karmabatash = June–July
- V = (OP name not known)/Turnabazish = July–August
- VI = (OP name not known)/Karbashiyash = August–September

TABLES

VII = Bagayadish/Bakeyatish = September–October

VIII = (OP name not known, but see PFT, 74, n.11)/Markashanash = October–November

IX = Aciyadiya/Hashiyatish = November–December

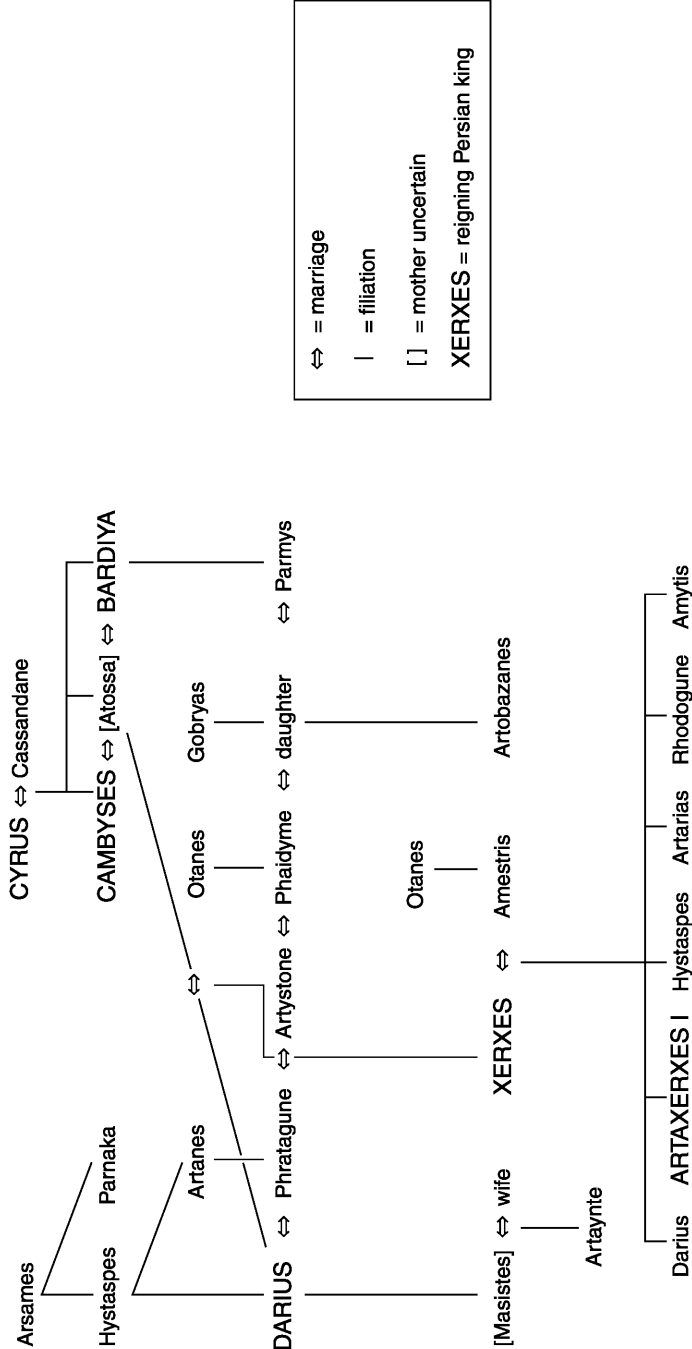
X = Anamaka/Hanamakas = December–January

XI = (OP name not known)/Samiyamash = January–February

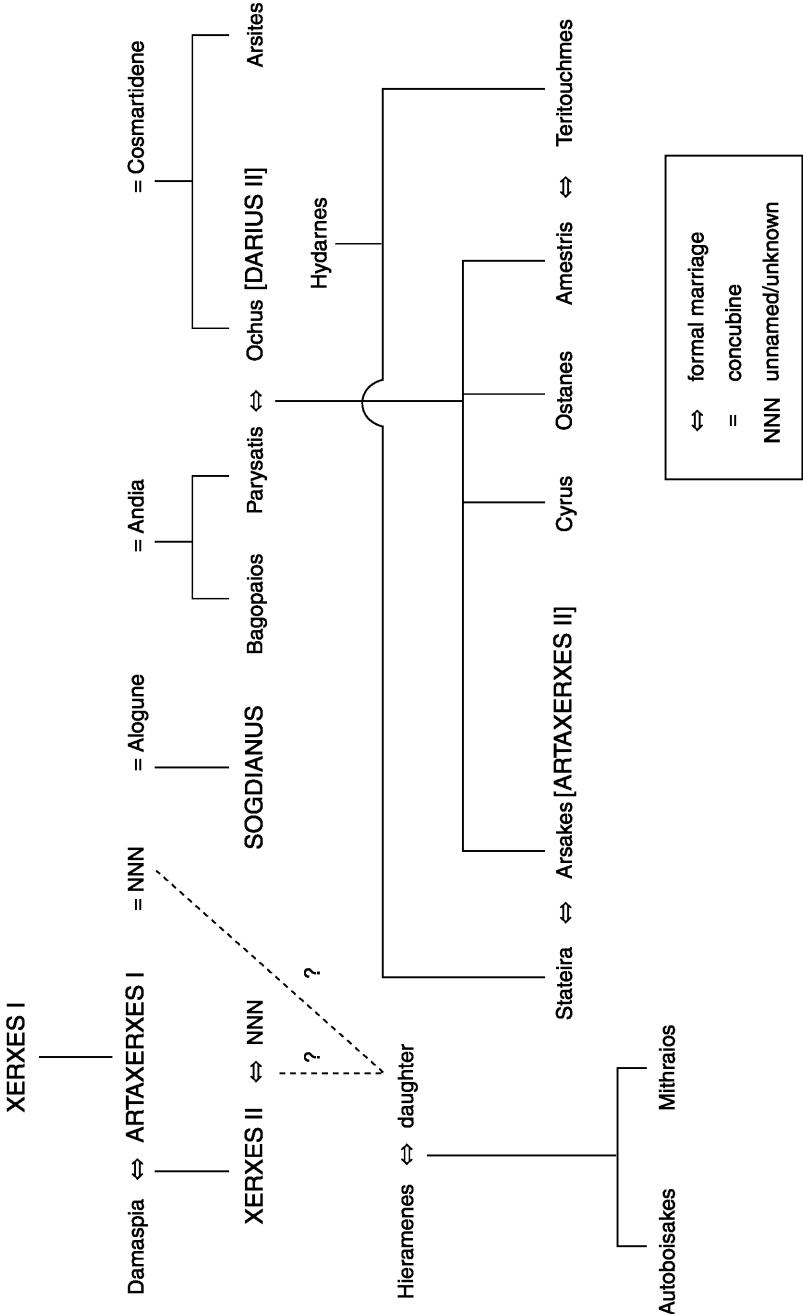
XII = Viyakhna/Miyakannash = February–March

Table 5 The Achaemenid royal family

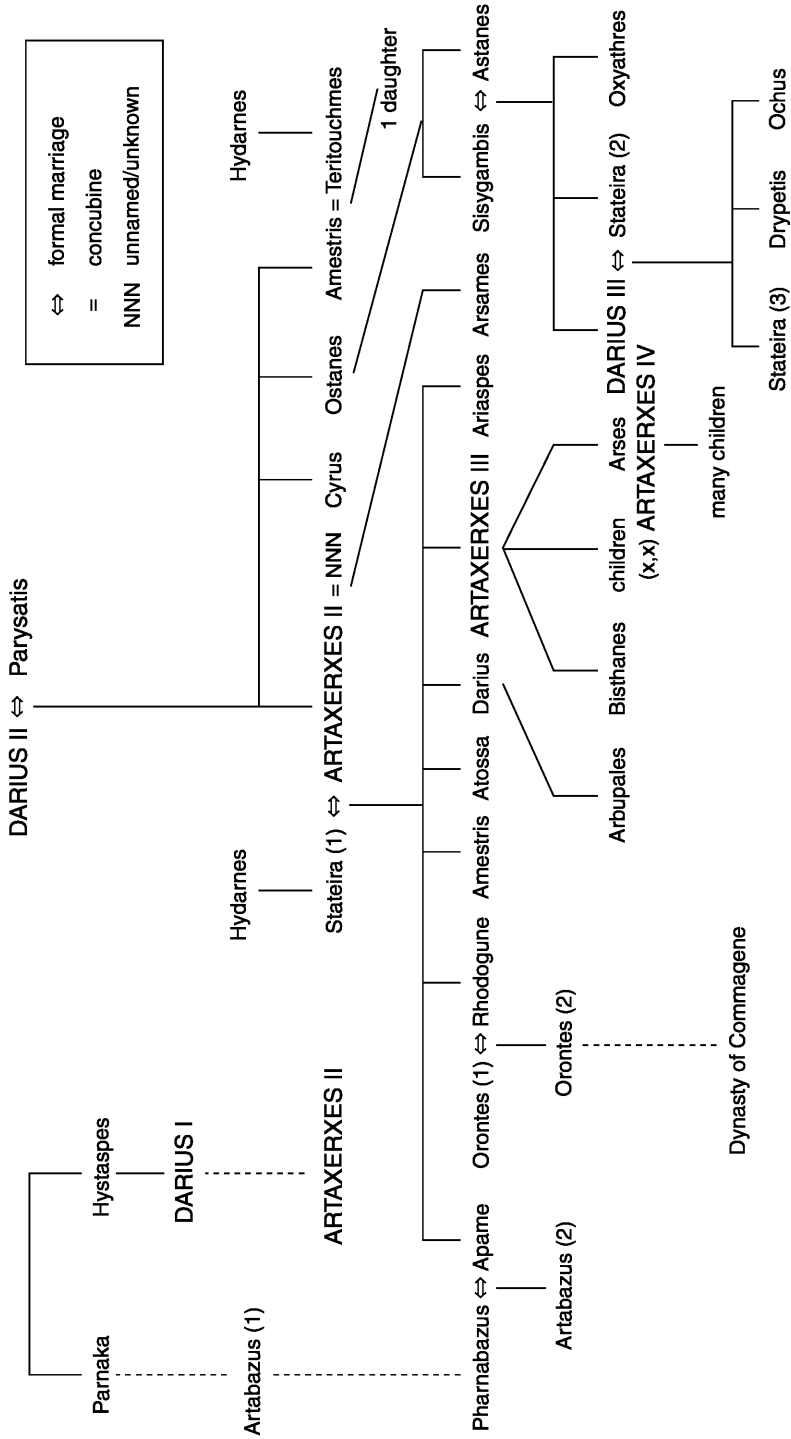
(a) The family of Xerxes



(b) Artaxerxes I to Artaxerxes II



(c) Darius II to Darius III



INDEX OF TEXTS

I. Classical authors

Aelian

De Natura Animalium

4.41	14, no.5
4.46	14, no.6
12.21	5, no.18
12.23	11, no.60
15.26	14, no.22(ii)

Varia Historia

1.22	13, no.23(iii)
1.31	11, no.26(i)
1.32	13, no.37
4.8	9, no.79(ii)

Aeschylus, *Persians*, 765–9

5, no.2

Andocides, *On the Peace*, 29

8, no.24(i)

[Aristotle]

De Mundo, 398a

12, no.3

Oeconomica, 2.1.1–4

14, no.1

Arrian,

Anabasis

I, 12.8	10, no.8(i)
I, 16.3	10, no.8(iii)
I, 17.3	10, no.9
I, 17.11–12	10, no.36
I, 18.3–4	10, no.10
I, 24.6	17, no.5
I, 20.2–3; 23.1–5	10, no.11
I, 24.6	17, no.5
I, 26.2–3, 5; 27.3–4	10, no.37
II, 1.1–2.3	10, no.12
II, 5.7	10, no.13
II, 13.1	10, no.15
II, 13.4–6	10, no.14
II, 13.7–8; 15.6	10, no.18
II, 20.1–3	10, no.21
II, 25.4–26.1; 27.7	10, no.23
III, 1.1–2	10, no.24
III, 8.6	17, no.40
III, 16.3	10, no.40(ii)
III, 16.6–7	10, no.29

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

III, 17	17, no.2(i)
III, 18.2	10, no.30(i)
III, 18.10–11	10, no.30(iv)
III, 19.4–5	10, no.31
III, 20.2	10, no.32
III, 21.1, 4–5, 10; 22.1	10, no.35
IV, 3.6–7	17, no.11
VI, 29.4–7	3, no.29
VI, 30.2–3	17, no.14
VII, 4.7	13, no.2(i)
VII, 19.2	7, no.65
<i>Indica</i>	
32.6–8; 33.1–2, 8	17, no.43
39.2–3	17, no.46
40.2–4	16, no.41(i)
43.1–5	15, no.5
<i>Athenaeus</i>	
X, 434e	11, no.58
XI, 503f	12, no.8
XI, 781f–782a;	12, no.44(i)
784a–b	12, no.44(ii)
XII, 514a	11, no.31
XII, 514b	12, no.27
XII, 514f	11, no.30(iv)
XII, 515a	11, no.62
XII, 548e	9, no.3
XIII, 556b	12, no.23
XIII, 607f–608a	12, no.43
XIV, 633d–e	13, no.11(ii)
XIV, 652b–c	11, no.20(iii)
<i>Bacchylides</i>	
Maehler 1982/1997 F3	3, no.17
<i>Dio Chrysostom</i> , 11.149	7, no.64
<i>Diodorus Siculus</i>	
I, 34.7	4, 10(iii)
I, 94–5	17, no.25
XI, 17–19	7, no.43
XI, 36	7, no.76
XI, 60.4	7, no.71
XI, 60.5–61.3	7, no.73
XI, 62.2	7, no.79
XI, 69	7, no.92(ii)
XI, 71.1–2	8, no.1
XI, 71.3–6; 74; 77.1–5	8, no.6
XII, 4.4–6	8, no.13
XIV, 11.2–3	9, no.10
XIV, 11.3–4	15, no.16
XIV, 19.4–5; 21.1–2	9, no.8
XIV, 20.2–3	9, no.14
XIV, 22.1–2	9, no.21(i)
XIV, 26.4	9, no.24
XIV, 27.4	17, no.6(ii)
XIV, 35.3–5	9, no.58
XIV, 35.6–7	9, no.28
XIV, 39.1–4	9, no.31

INDEX OF TEXTS

XIV, 79.4–8	9, no.34
XIV, 80.1–5	9, no.37
XIV, 81.4	15, no.11
XIV, 83.4–7	9, no.41
XIV, 98.1–4	9, no.51
XIV, 110.5; XV, 2	9, no.52
XV, 3.4–4.1	9, no.53
XV, 4.3; 8.1	9, no.54
XV, 8.1–3; 9.1–2	9, no.56
XV, 8.3–5, 10–11	13, no.31 (iii)
XV, 9.3–4; 18.1	9, no.63
XV, 29.1–4	9, no.64(i)
XV, 38.1	9, no.64(ii)
XV, 41–43.4	9, no.66
XV, 91.1	13, no.32 (ii)
XV, 91.2–3	13, no.35
XV, 92.2–5	9, no.69
XV, 93.1	9, no.74
XVI, 40.3; 40.5–43.3; 44.1–2, 4; 45.1–6; 46.1–3	9, no.75
XVI, 46.4–7; 51	9, no.77
XVI, 52.3–4	13, no.44
XVI, 75.1–2	9, no.80
XVI, 91.2	10, no.6
XVII, 5.3–6	10, no.3
XVII, 7.1–3, 8–10	10, no.7
XVII, 17.6	17, no.36 (ii)
XVII, 38.1	12, no.35
XVII, 40.2–3; 46.3–4	10, no.19
XVII, 48.2–4	10, no.16
XVII, 48.5–6	10, no.20 (i)
XVII, 53; 55.1–2	10, no.26
XVII, 59.2	13, no.14
XVII, 64.1–2	10, no.28
XVII, 66.3–4	12, no.17
XVII, 69.1–2	10, no.30 (iii)
XVII, 70.1–2; 71.1, 3–8	11, no.11
XVII, 109.3–5	17, no.17
XVII, 111, 4–6	17, no.3 (i)
XVII, 114.4–5	11, no.65
XVIII, 26–28.2	11, no.67
XIX, 17.6–7	15, no.23
XIX, 19.2–8	17, no.3 (ii)
XIX, 48.6–7	11, no.30 (iii)
XIX, 48.7–8	14, no.7 (i)
FGrH	
90 F66, 1–7	3, no.32
90 F66, 43–4	13, no.3 (ii)
115 F103	9, no.61
115 F263a/b	11, no.27
532 I	6, no.42
609 F3c	9, no.57
680 F8b	2, no.18 (i)
680 F9a	2, no.18 (ii)
680 F10a	3, no.25
680 F11	11, no.59

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

688 F1b	2, no.16
688 F5	2, no.17
688 F9a	12, no.13
688 F9(1–3)	3, no.8
688 F9(4)	3, no.18
688 F9(5)	3, no.19
688 F9(6)	3, no.10
688 F9(7–8)	3, no.35
688 F13(9)	4, no.2
688 F13a	4, no.6
688 F13(10)	4, no.9(ii)
688 F13(11–15)	5, no.5
688 F13(15)	5, no.8
688 F13(16)	5, no.10
688 F13(20)	6, no.7
688 F13(21)	6, no.13
688 F13(22)	6, no.58
688 F13(23)	6, no.60
688 F13(24)	7, no.4
688 F13(26)	7, no.7
688 F13(31)	7, no.78(i)
688 F13(33); F14(34)	7, no.92(i)
688 F14(34; 43)	13, no.30
688 F14(35)	8, no.2
688 F14(36–9)	8, no.9
688 F14(40–2)	8, no.10
688 F14(45)	8, no.15
688 F14(46); F15(47)	8, no.19
688 F15(48–50)	8, no.20
688 F15(51)	8, no.21
688 F15(52)	8, no.22
688 F15(53)	8, no.25
688 F15(54)	12, no.14
688 F15(55)	12, no.33
688 F15(55–6)	12, no.38(ii)
688 F30(72–3)	9, no.49
688 F31	12, no.45(ii)
688 F33	15, no.2
688 F45(26)	14, no.19
688 F45(47)	14, no.4
688 F53	11, no.20(v)
689 F2	12, no.42
<i>Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i> 21.1–3, 5–6; 22.1–3	9, no.39
Herodotus	
I, 53–4	3, no.12
I, 73–4	2, no.15
I, 73;75–7	3, no.13
I, 79–81	3, no.14
I, 84	3, no.15
I, 85–8	3, no.16
I, 95; 107–13	3, no.30
I, 96–101	2, no.13
I, 102–7.1	2, no.14
I, 114–23	3, no.31
I, 125	3, no.5

INDEX OF TEXTS

I, 127–8;130	3, no.7
I, 131–2	11, no.35
I, 133.1	13, no.1(i)
I, 133.2	12, no.41
I, 134.1	13, no.1(iii)
I, 134.2	11, no.9
I, 136.1	13, no.2(iii)
I, 136.2	13, no.8(i)
I, 137.1	13, no.28(i)
I, 141;153–4; 156; 160–1; 168–9; 171	3, no.20
I, 177–8; 188–92	3, no.28
I, 183	7, no.8
I, 188	12, no.10
I, 192	14, no.27
I, 201; 205–6; 208; 211–14	3, no.34
I, 209–10	5, no.12
II, 1	4, no.1
II, 98	14, no.42(i)
III, 1	4, no.3
III, 2	4, no.4
III, 3	4, no.5
III, 4	4, no.7(i)
III, 5.3–7.1	15, no.14
III, 9	4, no.7(ii)
III, 10–11;13	4, no.8
III, 14–15	4, no.9(i)
III, 16	4, no.17
III, 17; 20–1; 25–6	4, no.10(i)
III, 19	4, no.7(iv)
III, 27–9	4, no.18
III, 30	5, no.3
III, 32	4, no.20
III, 34–5	4, no.21
III, 35–6	4, no.22
III, 37	4, no.19
III, 44	4, no.7(iii)
III, 61–3; 68	5, no.4
III, 68–9; 74–5	5, no.7
III, 70–3; 76–9	5, no.9
III, 83–4	5, no.11
III, 84–8	5, no.13
III, 88	5, no.14
III, 89–97	14, no.2
III, 117	14, no.40
III, 118–20	5, no.16
III, 120–5	4, no.16
III, 126–8	5, no.15
III, 132	13, no.38
III, 135–6; 138	6, no.1
III, 139–47;149	6, no.2
III, 160	3, no.37
IV, 1	6, no.5
IV, 44	6, no.3
IV, 83; 85; 87	6, no.8
IV, 84	13, no.3
IV, 89; 91–3; 97–8	6, no.9

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

IV, 102; 120–8	6, no.10
IV, 131–3	6, no.11
IV, 133–8; 140; 142–3	6, no.12
IV, 143.2–3	13, no.23(ii)
IV, 144; V, 1–2	6, no.17
IV, 165–7; 200–4	6, no.4
IV, 166	5, no.17
V, 11; 23	6, no.22
V, 14–15; 17; 98	6, no.18
V, 16	6, no.27
V, 17–18; 21	6, no.19
V, 25	4, no.23
V, 25–6	6, no.20
V, 27	6, no.14
V, 28; 30–4	6, no.31
V, 35–8	6, no.32
V, 49–51	6, no.33
V, 52–4	15, no.3
V, 55; 96–7; 99	6, no.34
V, 99–102	6, no.35
V, 103–5	6, no.36
V, 108–16	6, no.37
V, 116–23	6, no.38
V, 124	6, no.39
VI, 1–6	6, no.40
VI, 6–11	6, no.43
VI, 18–22	6, no.44
VI, 25	6, no.45
VI, 26; 28–30	6, no.46
VI, 31–3	6, no.47
VI, 40	6, no.15
VI, 41, 1–2	6, no.48
VI, 41, 3–4	13, no.43
VI, 42–3	6, no.49
VI, 48–9	6, no.50
VI, 94–5	6, no.51
VI, 96	6, no.52
VI, 97	6, no.54(i)
VI, 98–100	6, no.53
VI, 102; 117	6, no.55
VI, 112–13; 115–16	6, no.56
VI, 118	6, no.54(ii)
VI, 119	6, no.57
VI, 119.2–3	14, no.16
VII, 1; 4	6, no.59
VII, 2–3	7, no.2
VII, 5; 7	7, no.6
VII, 5–6	7, no.9
VII, 8; 19; 21	7, no.10
VII, 22; 24	7, no.11
VII, 23	16, no.62
VII, 26	7, no.17
VII, 28–9; 38–9	13, no.29(i)
VII, 31	7, no.18
VII, 32	7, no.13
VII, 33–5	7, no.12

INDEX OF TEXTS

VII, 37.2–3	11, no.46
VII, 40–1	11, no.24
VII, 43	7, no.19
VII, 54	11, no.53
VII, 55	7, no.20
VII, 58	7, no.21
VII, 61–80; 83–7.1; 89–94.1; 95	11, no.25
VII, 85	17, no.9
VII, 96	14, no.39
VII, 106; 107	7, no.70
VII, 108	6, no.26
VII, 110–11	6, no.28
VII, 112	6, no.23(ii)
VII, 113.2	11, no.47
VII, 115	7, no.22
VII, 116–17	7, no.23
VII, 118–19	14, no.25
VII, 121–2; 124; 127	7, no.24
VII, 131	15, no.12(iv)
VII, 131–3	7, no.14
VII, 138	7, no.16
VII, 151	7, no.83
VII, 172; 174	7, no.15
VII, 177; 179; 183	7, no.25
VII, 181	12, no.12(ii)
VII, 187	7, no.5
VII, 188; 190–2	7, no.26
VII, 191.2	11, no.48
VII, 192–5	7, no.27
VII, 194.1–2	13, no.28(ii)
VII, 196–7	7, no.28
VII, 201; 207; 210–12	7, no.29
VII, 213; 215; 217–18	7, no.30
VII, 223–5; 233	7, no.31
VII, 224	13, no.2(v)
VII, 239.2–3	15, no.20
VIII, 4; 6–7; 10	7, no.32
VIII, 15–16; 18; 21	7, no.33
VIII, 23	7, no.34
VIII, 24–5	7, no.35
VIII, 26	7, no.36
VIII, 31–3	7, no.37
VIII, 34	7, no.38
VIII, 40–1	7, no.39
VIII, 51–2	7, no.40
VIII, 54	7, no.41
VIII, 66–7	7, no.42
VIII, 67.2–68.1	13, no.16(ii)
VIII, 85.2–3	13, no.18(ii)
VIII, 90.4	13, no.18(i)
VIII, 98	15, no.21(i)
VIII, 99–100.1	7, no.62
VIII, 105	12, no.20
VIII, 107	7, no.44
VIII, 111–12	7, no.50
VIII, 113	7, no.45

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

VIII, 115.1–3	7, no.46
VIII, 115.4	7, no.49(i)
VIII, 118	7, no.47
VIII, 120	7, no.48
VIII, 126–7	7, no.49(ii)
VIII, 130–2	7, no.52
VIII, 136.1	13, no.42
VIII, 136; 140	7, no.51
IX, 3	15, no.24
IX, 4–5	7, no.53
IX, 12	7, no.54
IX, 13	7, no.55
IX, 15	7, no.56
IX, 16.2	17, no.18
IX, 20; 22–5	7, no.57
IX, 41	7, no.58
IX, 62–3	7, no.59
IX, 66; 89–90	7, no.60
IX, 82.1–2	12, no.1
IX, 90; 96–7; 99; 102	7, no.61
IX, 107	7, no.80
IX, 110.2–111.1	11, no.64
IX, 114–16; 118–19; 120	7, no.66
Isocrates	
Evagoras, 23–32; 47	9, no.48
Panegyricus 140	9, no.62
Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> XI, 120	7, no.89
Justin	
I, 6.16	3, no.9
I, 9.4–13	5, no.6
II, 5.9	6, no.6
II, 10.1–10	7, no.3
III, 1	7, no.92(iii)
VII, 4.1–2	6, no.24
X, 3.2–5	10, no.5
XI, 6.8–10	10, no.8(ii)
Lysias, 19.25	13, no.24
Nepos	
Kings (21.1)	11, no.19(iii)
Datames (14)	13, no.36
Pausanias	
VIII, 46.3	7, no.78(ii)
VI, 5.7	12, no.45
Plato	
Alcibiades	
121d	12, no.21
122–123a–b	16, no.66(iv)
Plutarch	
Alcibiades, 24.7	12, no.46(i)
Alexander	
20.12–13	12, no.2

INDEX OF TEXTS

21.6	11, no.19(v)
36.1–2	14, no.7(ii)
36.4	6, no.16
37.1	17, no.15(ii)
69.1	13, no.2(iv)
72.2	11, no.66(ii)
<i>Artoxerxes</i>	
1.1	11, no.19(ii)
1.3	11, no.56
2.3–5	9, no.2
3.1–2	11, no.63
3.3–6	9, no.5
4.4	11, no.19(iv)
4.5–5.1	11, no.26(ii)
5.3–4	13, no.31(i)
5.5	12, no.11
5.6	12, no.31
6.8; 19.1–8, 10; 23.2–6	12, no.38(i)
7.4–6	9, no.21(iii)
10.1–3	11, no.33(i)
11.1–3	11, no.32
12.1	12, no.18
12.4–6	13, no.39
14.5; 15.2	13, no.22(ii)
14.6–9	13, no.29(ii)
16.1–2	11, no.33(ii)
17.5–6	12, no.19
19.9	12, no.9
22.6–7	13, no.17
22.8	11, no.29(ii)
22.9–11	13, no.20(ii)
24.4–9	13, no.31(ii)
24.10–11	11, no.34
25.1–2	11, no.21(vi)
26.4	11, no.61
26.5–9	12, no.24
27.1	12, no.28
27.6–9	13, no.31(iv)
29.1, 6–7	13, no.31(v)
29.11–12	11, no.54
30	9, no.72
<i>Cimon</i>	
9	7, no.69
12.4	7, no.72
13	7, no.74
<i>Eumenes</i> , 8.5	16, no.61
<i>Lysander</i> , 6	12, no.47(ii)
<i>Moralia</i>	
140b	12, no.22
172f	14, no.3(i)
565a	8, no.3(ii)
<i>Themistocles</i>	
6.3	17, no.23
13.2	13, no.12
27.4–5; 28.1	11, no.29(i)
29.5	8, no.3(i)

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

29.8	13, no.41
30.1	15, no.18
31.1	7, no.63
Polyaenus	
IV, 3.32	12, no.39
VII, 11.3	14, no.3(ii)
VII, 16	9, no.38
VII, 21.4	11, no.29(iii)
Polybius	
X, 27.5–10	11, no.15
X, 28.1–4	14, no.41
Quintus Curtius Rufus	
III, 3.8, 11	11, no.55
III, 3.9	11, no.52
III, 3.15	12, no.5(ii)
III, 3.17–19	11, no.28
III, 3.22–5	12, no.34
III, 12.27–13.4; 13.17	10, no.17
IV, 1.34–5	10, no.20(ii)
IV, 2.24–3.1	10, no.22
IV, 5.13–14	10, no.20(iii)
IV, 8.9–11	10, no.25
V, 1.17–23	10, no.40(i)
V, 2.9–10	17, no.41
V, 3.1–15	17, no.2(ii)
V, 4.4, 10	17, no.15(i)
V, 4.5–9	16, no.41(ii)
V, 4.33–4	10, no.30(ii)
V, 6.12–13, 17, 19	10, no.30(v)
V, 9.1, 13–17	10, no.33
V, 10.1–9	10, no.34
V, 13.6–7	17, no.24
VI, 5.22–3; 6.8	12, no.15
VII, 2.22	11, no.21(iv)
VII, 5.28–9	17, no.16
VIII, 1.11–12	11, no.21(v)
X, 1.22–3	13, no.6
X, 5.17	11, no.66(i)
Strabo	
XI, 13.6	17, no.1
XI, 13.8	14, no.29
XI, 14.9	14, no.15
XI, 14.9	11, no.57
XV, 2.8	17, no.7
XV, 2.9	17, no.39
XV, 2.10	17, no.8
XV, 2.14	14, no.18
XV, 2.14	17, no.10
XV, 3.13–14	11, no.36
XV, 3.17	13, no.2(ii)
XV, 3.18–19	13, no.8(ii)
XV, 3.19	13, no.1(ii)
XV, 3.21	11, no.19(i)
XV, 3.21	14, no.8

INDEX OF TEXTS

XV, 3.22	11, no.20(iv)
XVI, 1.3	14, no.42(ii)
XVI, 3.5, 7	17, no.44
XVI, 4.20	17, no.45
XVII, 1.5	4, no.10(ii)
Thucydides	
I, 94.1	7, no.67
I, 96.1	7, no.68
I, 100.2	7, no.75
I, 104; 109–10	8, no.7
I, 112–13	8, no.11
I, 115.2–5	8, no.14
I, 128–131.1	7, no.81
I, 137.2; 138.1	17, no.13
I, 138.1–2, 5–6	13, no.40
II, 67.1	8, no.16
III, 34.1–2	8, no.17
IV, 50	8, no.18
VI, 59	6, no.29
VIII, 5.4–6.3	8, no.26
VIII, 18	8, no.27
VIII, 28.2–4	8, no.28
VIII, 80.1–2	8, no.30
VIII, 85.1–2	17, no.20
Xenophon	
<i>Anabasis</i>	
I, 1–2	9, no.1
I, 1.4–6	9, no.6
I, 1.6–7; 9–11	9, no.7
I, 2.1; 2.4	9, no.9
I, 2.5	15, no.8(i)
I, 2.7–9	7, no.77
I, 2.8	11, no.21(iii)
I, 2.17	17, no.21
I, 2.19	9, no.12
I, 2.20	9, no.13
I, 2.21	15, no.10(i)
I, 2.27	13, no.22(i)
I, 3.1–2	9, no.15
I, 3.20–1	9, no.16
I, 4.4–5	15, no.10(ii)
I, 4.7	9, no.17
I, 4.9	16, no.66(iii)
I, 4.10	12, no.46(iii)
I, 4.11–13	9, no.18
I, 4.11, 18	15, no.8(ii)
I, 5.4–8	15, no.6
I, 6.1–3	9, no.19
I, 6.6; 6.7	9, no.11
I, 6.10	13, no.34
I, 7.6	11, no.5
I, 7.14–16	9, no.20
I, 8.25	13, no.15
I, 8.28–9	13, no.22(iii)

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

I, 9.1–3, 5–8, 11, 13–20, 22–8	11, no.18
I, 9.3–4	13, no.10
I, 24.6	17, no.5
II, 1.7–8; 1.14	9, no.23(i)
II, 2.1	13, no.7
II, 3.10, 13	15, no.9
II, 4.1–2; 4.9	9, no.25
II, 4.13	15, no.8(iii)
II, 4.24	15, no.8(iv)
II, 4.25	9, no.21(ii)
II, 4.27	16, no.66(i)
II, 5.13	9, no.23(ii)
II, 5.31–3; 6.1	9, no.26
III, 2.23	17, no.4
III, 4.14; 4.16	9, no.27
III, 4.31	15, no.13
III, 5.15–16	17, no.6(i)
III, 5.17	13, no.32(i)
IV, 4.4	13, no.16(i)
IV, 4.5	17, no.22
IV, 4.21	12, no.48(i)
IV, 5.10	17, no.12(ii)
IV, 5.34	17, no.12(i)
V, 6.10	15, no.7
VII, 8.8–9, 12–15	16, no.71
<i>Cyropaedia</i>	
I, 2.1	13, no.11(i)
I, 2.1–3.2	3, no.33
I, 2.15	13, no.9
I, 3.2–3	2, no.19(i)
I, 3.4	2, no.19(ii)
I, 3.8–9	12, no.7
VI, 2.36	15, no.12(iii)
VII, 3.1	11, no.50
VII, 5.66–8	12, no.5(i)
VII, 5.59–65	12, no.16
VIII, 1.6, 8, 16	13, no.33
VIII, 1.23	11, no.49
VIII, 2.2–4	13, no.26(i)
VIII, 2.7–8	13, no.21
VIII, 2.10–12	13, no.27
VIII, 2.24	12, no.12(i)
VIII, 3.1, 3, 5, 9–11, 12–19, 24–5, 33, 34	11, no.22
VIII, 3.23	13, no.23(i)
VIII, 4.3–5	12, no.6
VIII, 5.17–20	3, no.11
VIII, 5.2–3, 8, 13	11, no.23
VIII, 6.6	11, no.20(i)
VIII, 6.10	12, no.49
VIII, 6.17–18	15, no.21(ii)
VIII, 6.23	11, no.20(ii)
VIII, 7	3, no.36
<i>Hellenica</i>	
I, 2.19	8, no.35
I, 3.8–9	8, no.31
I, 4.1–7	8, no.32

INDEX OF TEXTS

I, 5.1–3	12, no.47 (i)
I, 5.8–9	8, no.33
II, 1.8–9	9, no.4
II, 1.13	8, no.37
III, 1.4–6	9, no.29
III, 1.6	7, no.82
III, 1.9	9, no.30
III, 1.10–15	17, no.35
III, 2.19–20	9, no.32
III, 4.1	9, no.33
III, 4.2–6	9, no.35
III, 4.10	9, no.36
IV, 1.3–15	17, no.37
IV, 1.15–16	12, no.46 (ii)
IV, 1.26–8	9, no.40
IV, 1.30	12, no.48 (ii)
IV, 8.1–2	9, no.42
IV, 8.7–10	9, no.43
IV, 8.12–14, 16–17, 21	9, no.44
IV, 8.24	9, no.46
V, 1.25, 28, 30–1	9, no.47
VII, 1.38	11, no.30 (ii)
Oeconomicus	
4.13	11, no.21 (i)
4.6–10	13, no.19

II. Inscriptions

A. Royal inscriptions

A(a) Achaemenid

A ¹ I	8, no.4
A ¹ Pa	8, no.5 (i)
A ¹ Pb	8, no.5 (ii)
A ² Ha	11, no.37
A ² Hb	11, no.14
A ² Sd	9, no.71
A ² Sa + Mayrhofer 1978: 30–1	9, no.22
A ³ Pa	9, no.73
A?P	11, no.4
Cma; Cmb; CMc	5, no.19
DB	5, no.1
DNa	11, no.16
DNb; XPl	11, no.17
DPb & XPk; DPb ^H /DPj & XPe ^b /XPP	7, no.87 (ii)
DPd	11, no.8
DPe	11, no.7
DPf	11, no.10
DPg	11, no.3
DPh; DH	11, no.1
DSab; Yoyotte 1974	11, no.2
DSe	11, no.12
DSf	11, no.13 (i)
DSk	11, no.38

INSCRIPTIONS

DSz; DSaa	11, no.13(ii)
DZc	11, no.6
D ³ Sb; D ³ Ha	8, no.23
XE	7, no.87(i)
XPa	12, no.4
XPf	7, no.1
XPg	7, no.85
XPh	7, no.88
XSa; XSd	7, no.84
XV	7, no.86

A(b) Assyrian

Borger 1956, Nineveh A–F, ep.15–16	2, no.4
Levine 1972, ll. 46–71	2, no.2(i)
Lie 1929, ll.114–16	2, no.2(ii)
Lie 1929, ll.191–4	2, no.2(iv)
Luckenbill 1924: 60, l.33	2, no.3
Piepkorn 1933, iv, 3–8	2, no.5
Tadmor 1994, Iran Stele IB, 5'–14'	2, no.1(i)
Tadmor 1994, Iran Stele IIB, 25'–44'	2, no.1(ii)
Weidner 1931–2: 4, ll.7–13	3, no.2

A(c) Babylonian

UET 1, no.194	3, no.22(ii)
UET 1, no.307	3, no.22(iii)
UVB 1, Nr.31	3, no.22(i)
VAB 4, Nbn.1	3, no.6
VAB 4, Nbn.8	2, no.11
V R, pl.35 & BIN 2, no.32	3, no.21

A(d) Egyptian

Posener 1936, no.3	4, no.12
Posener 1936, no.4	4, no.13

B. Civic inscriptions

Amyzon 2	17, no.36(iii)
CIS I, 3	13, no.45
FdX VI	17, no.33
IG II ² 141	15, no.17
IG IV 556	9, no.70
ML no.40	8, no.12
ML no.70	8, no.24(ii)
OGIS 264	13, no.32(iii)
SIG 134	9, no.45
TAM I, 44	8, no.29
TAM I, 45; TL 45	14, no.12
Yon and Sznycer 1991	9, no.50

C. Private inscriptions

Anthes 1965	9, no.78(ii)
Clère 1951	9, no.78(i)
Lefebvre 1924	10, no.39
Mathieson et al. 1995	17, no.38
Posener 1936, no.1	4, no.11
Posener 1936, no.18	14, no.17
Posener 1936, no.31	8, no.8
Robert 1975	17, no.36(i)
Tresson 1931	10, no.38

D. Seal inscriptions

Coll. Golenischeff, no.992	4, no.15
PFS 93*	3, no.3

III. Miscellaneous

A. Assyrian court documents

SAA 4, no.20	2, no.12
SAA 4, no.43	2, no.6
SAA 4, nos.56–7	2, no.7
SAA 4, no.62	2, no.8
SAA 4, no.64	2, no.9
TCL 3, 38–51	2, no.2(iii)

B. Babylonian chronicles, astronomical texts and kinglists

ABC 3	2, no.10
ABC 7, ii, 1–4, 13–18; iii, 1–4, 10–28	3, no.1
ABC 9	9, no.76
BM 32234	7, no.90
Hunger 2001: 40–5	10, no.1
Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–440	9, no.55
Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–369	9, no.67
Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–366	9, no.68
Sachs and Hunger 1988, no.–330	10, no.27
Van Dijk 1962	10, no.4(ii)

C. Babylonian literary texts

BHT, 83–91	3, no.23
BHLT, 28; 32–3	3, no.24
BHLT, 29; 34–5 (iii, 2–8)	10, no.4(i)
BHLT, 29; 34–5 (iii, 9–23)	10, no.41
Sachs 1977: 146–7	10, no.2

D. Biblical passages

Isaiah 41.1–5, 25; 42.1–7; 44.28–45.1–7	3, no.26
Esther 2.2–3	12, no.25

Esther 2.12–14	12, no.26
Esther 6.1–9	13, no.20(i)
Ezra 4.7–8	16, no.60(ii)
Ezra 6.2–5	3, no.27
Nehemiah 2.7–9	15, no.19
Nehemiah 5.4–6	14, no.33
Nehemiah 5.14–18	14, no.28

E. Demotic regulations and selections from the Demotic Chronicle

BN 215, rev. B–D	4, no.14
BN 215, obv.III 18–21; IV 1–3, 7–12	9, no.60
BN 215, obv.IV 4–5, 13–18	9, no.65
BN 215, obv.IV 22–3	9, no.79(i)

IV. Documents and letters

A. Elamite

Fort.6764	16, no.50(i)
Helms 1997, SF 1399	16, no.58
MDP 9, no.34	3, no.4
MDP 11, no.308	16, no.57
PF-NN 1700	11, no.68(i)
PF-NN 1809	6, no.41
PF-NN 2174	11, no.68(ii)
PF 58	16, no.26(i)
PF 62	16, no.26(ii)
PF 70	16, no.26(iii)
PF 74	16, no.26(iv)
PF 75	16, no.26(v)
PF 77	16, no.26(vi)
PF 138	16, no.37(ii)
PF 141	16, no.37(i)
PF 145	16, no.46(i)
PF 152 & 640	16, no.47(i)
PF 153 & 638	16, no.47(ii)
PF 158	16, no.46(ii)
PF 337	11, no.39
PF 338	11, no.40
PF 339	11, no.41
PF 353	11, no.42
PF 543	16, no.55(i)
PF 654	16, no.11(i)
PF 665	16, no.11(ii)
PF 669	16, no.11(iii)
PF 670	16, no.12(i)
PF 672	13, no.26(iii)
PF 673	16, no.12(ii)
PF 678	16, no.12(iii)
PF 679	17, no.42(i)
PF 681	17, no.42(ii)
PF 692	16, no.54
PF 694	12, no.40(i)

INDEX OF TEXTS

PF 696	12, no.40(ii)
PF 698	12, no.40(iii)
PF 699	12, no.40(iv)
PF 708	12, no.40(v)
PF 719	12, no.40(viii)
PF 726	12, no.40(vi)
PF 728	12, no.40(vii)
PF 741	11, no.51
PF 767	11, no.43
PF 769	11, no.45
PF 823	12, no.29(iii)
PF 864	16, no.25
PF 865	16, no.24
PF 866(7-10)	16, no.23(ii)
PF 871	13, no.4
PF 872	16, no.29
PF 873	16, no.32
PF 874	16, no.33
PF 999	16, no.34
PF 1028	12, no.37(i)
PF 1049	16, no.28
PF 1118	16, no.39(iv)
PF 1123	16, no.39(ii)
PF 1137	16, no.39(i)
PF 1250	16, no.42(iv)
PF 1272	17, no.26
PF 1315	15, no.22(i)
PF 1318	15, no.1(i)
PF 1335	15, no.22(ii)
PF 1342	14, no.34(i)
PF 1351	15, no.1(ii)
PF 1357	14, no.34(ii)
PF 1361	15, no.1(iv)
PF 1374	16, no.42(iii)
PF 1442	16, no.56
PF 1477	15, no.1(vii)
PF 1501	15, no.1(v)
PF 1542	16, no.36(iii)
PF 1544	15, no.1(vi)
PF 1550	15, no.1(iii)
PF 1555	15, no.1(viii)
PF 1557	16, no.36(i)
PF 1577	16, no.36(ii)
PF 1587	16, no.31
PF 1591	16, no.42(i)
PF 1596	16, no.52(i)
PF 1672	15, no.22(iii)
PF 1790	16, no.38
PF 1792	16, no.53(ii)
PF 1793	13, no.13
PF 1795	12, no.29(i)
PF 1797	13, no.5
PF 1799	16, no.30
PF 1809	16, no.14
PF 1810	16, no.13
PF 1812	16, no.42(ii)

DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS

PF 1815	16, no.45
PF 1835	16, no.51(i)
PF 1836	16, no.51(ii)
PF 1846	16, no.55(ii)
PF 1857	16, no.48
PF 1943	16, no.10
PF 1947(15–22)	16, no.23(i)
PF 1947(62)	16, no.39(iii)
PF 1953	16, no.9
PF 1957(37–8)	16, no.16(i)
PF 1960(3–4)	11, no.44
PF 1960(29–30)	16, no.16(ii)
PF 1966	16, no.4
PF 1980	17, no.27
PF 1982	16, no.5
PF 1987(30–3)	16, no.50(ii)
PF 1993	16, no.6
PF 1996	16, no.2
PF 2003	16, no.1
PF 2008	16, no.3
PF 2013	16, no.7
PF 2014	16, no.8
PF 2067	16, no.15
PF 2070	16, no.49
PFa 4	13, no.26(ii)
PFa 5	12, no.32(i)
PFa 14	12, no.37(ii)
PFa 18	16, no.36(iv)
PFa 19	15, no.12(i)
PFa 20	16, no.52(ii)
PFa 27	12, no.29(ii)
PFa 28	16, no.17
PFa 30(8–10)	15, no.12(ii)
PFa 30(11–16)	16, no.36(v)
PFa 31	12, no.32(ii)
PFa 32	16, no.53(i)
PFa 33	11, no.21(ii)
PT 1	16, no.18
PT 4	13, no.25(i)
PT 5	13, no.25(ii)
PT 7	16, no.22
PT 15	16, no.40
PT 27	16, no.19
PT 52	16, no.20
PT 59	16, no.43
PT 78	16, no.21
PT 79	16, no.27
PT 1963, no.9	16, no.44
YBC 16813	16, no.59

B. Aramaic

AD 4	16, no.60(iii)
AD 5	8, no.34
AD 6	15, no.4

INDEX OF TEXTS

AD 7	16, no.65
AD 8	14, no.37
AD 9	16, no.64
AD 10	14, no.35
AD 12	16, no.70
AP 1	17, no.29
AP 2	15, no.27
AP 6	7, no.91
AP 16	14, no.36
AP 21	17, no.31
AP 26	14, no.44
AP 27, 30–3; TADAE I, A4.6	17, no.32
Bowman 1970, nos.18; 29	16, no.35
BP 13	9, no.59
Bresciani and Kamil 1966, no.2	15, no.29
Bresciani and Kamil 1966, no.5	15, no.30
Eph'al and Naveh 1996, no.13	15, no.15 (ii)
Lindenberger 1994, nos.28–9	15, no.31
Naveh 1981, no.12	15, no.15 (i)
Padua 1	15, no.28
PBerlin 23000	17, no.34
Segal, nos.13 & 14	17, no.28
Segal, no.24	14, no.30
TADAE III, C3.7	14, no.10

C. Akkadian

AnOr VIII 67	14, no.24 (i)
BE X 61	14, no.31 (ii)
BE X 97	14, no.9
Beaulieu 1994, no.55	17, no.19
BM 30126	14, no.13 (i)
BM 33928	14, no.31 (iii)
BM 49718	14, no.23
BM 61330	14, no.21 (ii)
BM 62588	14, no.13 (iii)
BM 64535	16, no.68
BM 74463	14, no.21 (i)
BM 74554	16, no.60 (i)
BM 79746	14, no.22 (i)
Dalley 1984	15, no.32
Dar. 253	14, no.31 (i)
Evetts 1892, App. Nr.2	12, no.36
Fort. 11786	15, no.33 (ii)
Frame 1986, no.6	15, no.26
GCCI II, 120	14, no.24 (ii)
Joannès and Lemaire 1996, no.2	16, no.67
Lutz 1928	14, no.38
OECT XII, AB 243	14, no.43
PBS II/1, 145	16, no.69
PT 85	14, no.32
ROMCT 2, no.35	14, no.13 (ii)
Stigers, no.28	15, no.33 (i)
Stolper 1990, no.6	8, no.36
TBER, AO 8165	15, no.25

DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS

TCL 13, no.196	14, no.11
TuM II/III, 185	16, no.66(ii)
UET 4, 48	14, no.26
VS VI, no.160	14, no.20(i)
VS VI, no.302	14, no.20(ii)

D. Demotic

PBerlin 13539–40, 13572	17, no.30
PBerlin 13582	14, no.14

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAAH	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae</i>
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Research
ABC	A.K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5), Locust Valley, NY, 1985
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (ed. D.N. Freedman et al.), New York, 1992
AchHist	<i>Achaemenid History</i> , Leiden
AchHist I	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), <i>Achaemenid History I: Sources, structures, synthesis</i> , Leiden, 1987
AchHist II	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History II: The Greek sources</i> , Leiden, 1987
AchHist III	A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History III: Method and theory</i> , Leiden, 1988
AchHist IV	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History IV: Centre and periphery</i> , Leiden, 1990
AchHist V	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and J.-W. Drijvers (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History V: The roots of the European tradition</i> , Leiden, 1990
AchHist VI	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History VI: Asia Minor and Egypt</i> , Leiden, 1991
AchHist VII	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and J.-W. Drijvers (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History VII: Through travellers' eyes</i> , Leiden, 1991
AchHist VIII	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt and M.C. Root (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and change</i> , Leiden, 1994
ActIr	<i>Acta Iranica</i>
AD	G.R. Driver, <i>Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century BC</i> , Oxford, 1956
ADOG	<i>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft</i>
Ael., NA	Claudius Aelianus, <i>De Natura Animalium</i>
Ael., VH	Claudius Aelianus, <i>Varia Historia</i>
AFK	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i> (continued as AfO)
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AGS	J.A. Knudtzon, <i>Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals</i> (2 vols.), Leipzig, 1893
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Akk.	Akkadian
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
AMIT	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan
Amyzon	J. and L. Robert, Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I: Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions, Paris, 1983
ANET	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (3rd rev. edn), Princeton, NJ, 1969
AnOr 8	A. Pohl, Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen I (Analecta Orientalia 8), Rome, 1933
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AO	Siglum for tablets in the Oriental Collection of the Musée du Louvre
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AÖAW	Abhandlungen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AOF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AP	A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., Oxford, 1923
Ar.	Aramaic
ARAB	D.D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (2 vols.), Chicago, 1927
ARID	Analecta Romana Instituti Danici
[Arist.]	Pseudo-Aristotle
[Arist.] Oec.	Pseudo-Aristotle, Oeconomica
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni
Arr. Anab.	Arrian, Anabasis Alexandri
Arr. Ind.	Arrian, Indica
ARTA	Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology (www.achemenet.com/ressources/enligne)
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica Japonica
Athen.	Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae
Bab.	Babylonian
BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBR	Bulletin of Biblical Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique
BE IX	H. Hilprecht and A.T. Clay, Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.), Philadelphia, PA 1898
BE X	A.T. Clay, Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.), Philadelphia, PA 1904
Bengtson, Staatsverträge	H. Bengtson, Die Staatsverträge des Altertums II (2nd edn), Munich, 1975
Berve	H. Berve, Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage, Munich, 1926
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptian Seminar
BHLT	A.K. Grayson, Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts, Toronto, 1975
BHT	S. Smith Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon, London, 1924

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français de l'Archéologie Orientale
BIN 2	J.B. Nies and C.E. Keiser, <i>Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Library of J.B. Nies 2)</i> , New Haven, CT, 1920
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BM	British Museum
BMC	British Museum Catalogue
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
BP	E. Kraeling, <i>The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New documents of the fifth century B.C. from the Jewish colony at Elephantine</i> , New Haven, CT, 1953
BSFE	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago, 1956–2005
CAH IV	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History IV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c.525 to 479 B.C.</i> (ed. J. Boardman et al.; 2nd edn), Cambridge, 1988
CAH V	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History V: The fifth century B.C.</i> (ed. D.M. Lewis et al.; 2nd edn), Cambridge, 1992
CAH VI	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History VI: The fourth century B.C.</i> (ed. D.M. Lewis et al.), Cambridge, 1994
Camb.	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inscripfen von Cambyfes, König von Babylon (529–521 v. Chr.)</i> (<i>Babylonische Texte 8–9</i>), Leipzig, 1890
CANE	J. Sasson et al. (eds.), <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> (4 vols.), New York, 1995
CDAFI	<i>Cahiers de la Délégation Française en Iran</i>
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CHI II	<i>Cambridge History of Iran II: The Median and Achaemenian periods</i> (ed. I. Gershevitch), Cambridge, 1985
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i>
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
CJ	<i>The Classical Journal</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>
DAE	P. Grelot, <i>Documents araméens d'Égypte</i> (<i>Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient</i>), Paris, 1972
Dar.	J. Strassmaier, <i>Inscripfen von Darius, König von Babylon (521–485 v. Chr.)</i> (<i>Babylonische Texte 10–12</i>), Leipzig, 1897
DATA	<i>Data, Achaemenid History Newsletter</i>
DB	<i>Darius I's Rock Inscription at Bisitun</i>
Dem. Lib.Rhod.	<i>Demosthenes, On the Freedom of the Rhodians</i>
Dem. Phil.	<i>Demosthenes, Philippics</i>
Der Kleine Pauly	<i>Der Kleine Pauly, Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden</i> (Munich, 1979)
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</i>
Dictionnaire	<i>Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique</i> (E. Lipinski et al.), Turnhout, 1992

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DN	Divine name
DS	Daskyleion (Dascylium) Seal
D.S.	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca</i>
EA	Siglum of El-Amarna texts
EES	Egypt Exploration Society
Eg.	Egyptian
El.	Elamite
EncIr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> , New York, 1985–
EPRO	<i>Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain</i>
Evetts	B.T.A. Evetts, <i>Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach (B.C. 562–559), Neriglissar (B.C. 559–555) and Laborosoarchod (B.C. 555)</i> . (Strassmaier <i>Babylonische Texte</i> , Heft 6B), Leipzig, 1892
EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i>
F	Fragment
FdX	H. Metzger et al., <i>Fouilles de Xanthos VI: La stèle trilingue du Létôon</i> , Paris, 1979
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58
Fort.	Siglum for unpublished/partially published Persepolis Fortification tablets
FuB	<i>Funde und Berichte</i>
Garrison and Root I	M.B. Garrison and M.C. Root, <i>Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets I: Images of heroic encounter</i> (2 vols.), Chicago, 2001
GCCI II	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions II: Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods</i> , New Haven, CT, 1933
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GN	Geographical name
Gr.	Greek
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HANE	<i>History of the Ancient Near East</i> (Padua)
HAU	J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, <i>Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums von Xerxes bis Mithridates II. (485–93 v.Chr.)</i> , Leipzig, 1911
Hdt.	Herodotus, <i>The Histories</i>
Heb.	Hebrew
Hell.Oxy.	<i>Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew University College Annual</i>
IAM	<i>Istanbul Archaeological Museum</i>
ICS	O. Masson, <i>Inscriptions Chypro-Syllabiques</i> (2nd edn), Paris 1983
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IFAO	<i>Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 1873–
IrAnt	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
Isoc. Evag.	Isocrates, <i>Evagoras</i>
Isoc. Paneg.	Isocrates, <i>Panegyricus</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JAOS	<i>Journal of American Oriental Studies</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, 'Ex Oriente Lux'</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal for the Social and Economic History of the Orient</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
Jos. AJ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
Justin	M.I. Justin, <i>Epitome of the Philippic Histories of Pompeius Trogus</i>
KAI	H. Donner & W. W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i> , Wiesbaden, 1973–9
KAT	<i>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</i>
Kent	R.G. Kent, <i>Old Persian: grammar, texts, lexicon</i> (2nd edn), New Haven, CT, 1953
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Wiesbaden, 1975–86
LACTOR	London Association of Classical Teachers – Original Records: a series of translations of sources for Ancient History
Lat.	Latin
LBAT	<i>Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts</i> (copies by T.G. Pinches and J.N. Strassmaier; prepared for publication by A.J. Sachs), Providence RI, 1995
Lenfant	<i>Ctésias de Cnide: La Perse; L'Inde; autres fragments</i> (Coll. des Universités de France/Association Guillaume Budé). Texte établi, traduit et commenté par D. Lenfant, Paris 2004 (nos. cited refer to the French translation and the Greek text on facing page)
Lg.	Logogram
Mayrhofer	M. Mayrhofer, <i>Onomastica Persepolitana: das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen</i> , Vienna, 1973
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo</i>
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft</i>
MDP 8	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Perse</i> 8, Paris, 1905
MDP 9	V. Scheil, <i>Textes élamites-anzanites</i> (3ème série, <i>Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Perse</i> 9), Paris 1907
MDP 11	V. Scheil, <i>Textes élamites-anzanites</i> (4ème série, <i>Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Perse</i> 11), Paris 1911
ML	R. Meiggs & D. Lewis (eds.), <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> (rev. edn), Oxford, 1988
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i>
NABU	<i>Notes assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
NAPR	<i>Northern Akkad Project Reports</i>
NBC	<i>Siglum for Cuneiform Tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NEAEHL	E. Stern (ed.), <i>New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , New York and Jerusalem, 1993
Neh.	Nehemiah
Nepos Dat.	Cornelius Nepos, <i>Lives of the Great Generals XIV: Datames</i>
Nepos Reges	Cornelius Nepos, <i>Lives of the Great Generals XXI: Kings</i>
NIN	NIN: <i>Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity</i>
NRVU	M. San Nicolò and A. Ungnad, <i>Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-urkunden übersetzt und erläutert I: Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Berliner Museen aus vorhellenistischer Zeit</i> , Leipzig, 1929–35
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
OBO	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (3rd edn), Oxford, 1996
OCT	<i>Oxford Classical Texts</i>
OEANE	<i>Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> (ed. E.M. Meyers) Oxford, 1997
OECT	F. Joannès, <i>Les tablettes néo-babyloniennes de la Bodleian Library conservées à l'Ashmolean Museum</i> (<i>Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts</i> 12), Oxford, 1990
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , Leipzig, 1903
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitschrift</i>
OP	<i>Old Persian</i>
OpAth	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
OpRom	<i>Opuscula Romana</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
OT	<i>Old Testament</i>
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i>
PBerlin	<i>Berlin Papyri</i>
PBS II/1	A.T. Clay, <i>Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II</i> , Philadelphia, PA, 1912
PCPS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PF	Siglum for Persepolis Fortification tablets published in PFT
PFa	R.T. Hallock, 'Selected Fortification Texts', <i>CDAFI</i> 8 (1978): 109–36
PF-NN	Siglum for Persepolis Fortification tablets transliterated, but not published, by Hallock
PFS	Persepolis Fortification (cylinder) seal
PFS*	Inscribed Persepolis Fortification (cylinder) seal
PFs	Persepolis Fortification stamp seal
PFs*	Inscribed Persepolis Fortification stamp seal
PFS-N	Persepolis Fortification (cylinder) seal only attested on tablets published as PFa
PFT	R.T. Hallock, <i>Persepolis Fortification Tablets</i> (OIP 92), Chicago, 1969
Phoen.	Phoenician
Plato Ale.	Plato, <i>Alcibiades</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Plut. Alc.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Alcibiades</i>
Plut. Alex.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Alexander the Great</i>
Plut. Arist.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Aristides</i>
Plut. Artox.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Artoxerxes</i>
Plut. Cim.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Cimon</i>
Plut. Eum.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Eumenes</i>
Plut. Lys.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Lysander</i>
Plut. Mor.	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
Plut. Per.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Pericles</i>
Plut. Them.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Themistocles</i>
PN	Personal Name
PNAE	The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus, editor-in-chief S. Parpola), Helsinki, 1998–
Poly.	Polyaenus, <i>Stratagemata</i>
Polyb.	Polybius, <i>The Histories</i>
Pomp.Trog. Prol.	Pompeius Trogus, <i>Prolegomena</i>
PRT	E.G. Klauber, <i>Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit</i> , Leipzig, 1913
PT	Siglum for Persepolis Treasury tablets published in PTT
PT 1963	G.G. Cameron, 'New tablets from the Persepolis Treasury', <i>JNES</i> 24 (1965): 167–92
PTS	Persepolis Treasury Seal
PTT	G.G. Cameron, <i>Persepolis Treasury Tablets</i> (OIP 65), Chicago, 1948
PWien	Vienna Papyrus
Q.C.	Quintus Curtius Rufus, <i>The History of Alexander the Great</i>
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
RAss	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie</i>
RC	C.B. Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: a study in Greek epigraphy</i> , London, 1934
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 1893–
RÉA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
Rec.Trav.	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
RÉG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RFIC	<i>Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica</i>
RIMA	<i>Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Rulers I–</i> , Toronto, 1987–
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> , Berlin, 1928–
RN	Royal Name
ROMCT 2	G.J.P. McEwan, <i>The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum</i> (Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts 2), Toronto, 1982
RSF	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista di Studi Orientali</i>
RY	Regnal Year
SAA 1	<i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, I: Letters from Assyria and the West</i> , ed. S. Parpola (State Archives of Assyria 1), Helsinki, 1987
SAA 2	<i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> , ed. S. Parpola and K. Watanabe (State Archives of Assyria 2), Helsinki, 1988

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SAA 4	Queries to the Sungod: divination and politics in Sargonid Assyria, ed. I. Starr (State Archives of Assyria 4), Helsinki, 1990
SAA 6	Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon, ed. T. Kwasman and S. Parpola (State Archives of Assyria 6), Helsinki, 1991
SAA 7	Imperial Administrative Records I: Palace and temple administration, ed. F.M. Fales and J.N. Postgate (State Archives of Assyria 7), Helsinki, 1992
SAA 10	Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars, ed. S. Parpola (State Archives of Assyria 10), Helsinki, 1993
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAK	Studien zur ägyptischen Kultur
SANE	Sources from the Ancient Near East
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
Segal	J.B. Segal, <i>Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra with Some Fragments in Phoenician</i> (EES Excavations at North Saqqara, Documentary Series 4), London, 1983
SIG	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (3rd edn), 1915–24
SpTU V	E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk V</i> (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte 13), Mainz, 1998
Stigers	H.C. Stigers, 'Neo- and Late Babylonian business documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection', <i>JCS</i> 28 (1979): 3–59
StIr	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
Strabo	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
STT	O. Gurney and P. Hulin, <i>The Sultantepe Tablets I & II</i> , London, 1957; 1964
Sum.	Sumerian
TADAE I	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Letters</i> (newly copied, edited and translated) B. Porten and A. Yardeni, Jerusalem, 1986
TADAE II	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Contracts</i> (newly copied, edited and translated) B. Porten and A. Yardeni, Jerusalem, 1989
TADAE III	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Literature, Accounts, Lists</i> (newly copied, edited and translated) B. Porten and A. Yardeni, Jerusalem, 1993
TADAE IV	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Ostraca & Assorted Inscriptions</i> (newly copied, edited and translated) B. Porten and A. Yardeni, Jerusalem, 1999
TAM	E. Kalinka et al., <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , 1901–
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TAVO	<i>Tübingen Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i>
TBER	J.-M. Durand, <i>Textes babyloniens d'époque récente</i> (Recherche sur les grandes civilisations 6; études assyriologiques), Paris, 1982
TCL 3	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon</i> (Textes cunéiformes de Louvre 3), Paris, 1912

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TCL 13	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néobabyloniens II</i> (Textes cunéiformes de Louvre 13), Paris, 1929
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
Thuc.	Thucydides, <i>The Peloponnesian War</i>
TL	Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti (= TAM II)
TMO	Travaux de la Maison Orientale (Lyon)
Tod	M.N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions II: From 403 to 323 BC</i> , Oxford, 1948
Trans	Transeuphratène: recherches pluridisciplinaires sur un province de l'empire achéménide
TrGF	Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (4 vols.), ed. B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, 1971–85
TSBA	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
TUAT	O. Kaiser (ed.), <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> , Gütersloh, 1982–97
TuM II/III	O. Krückmann, <i>Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte</i> (Texte und Materialien der Professor Hilprecht Sammlung zu Jena), Leipzig, 1933
UET 1	C.J. Gadd, L. Legrain and S. Smith, <i>Royal Inscriptions</i> (Ur Excavation Texts 1), London, 1928
UET 4	H.H. Figulla, <i>Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period</i> (Ur Excavation Texts 4), London, 1949
UVB	Uruk Vorläufige Berichte
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAB 4	S. Langdon, <i>Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften</i> (VAB 4), Leipzig, 1912
VR	<i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia V: A selection from the miscellaneous inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia</i> , prepared by Sir H.C. Rawlinson, assisted by T.G. Pinches, London, 1880, 1884 (it is, in fact, the work of Pinches)
VS 5	A. Ungnad, <i>Neubabylonische und achämenidische Urkunden</i> (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 5), Leipzig, 1908
VS 6	A. Ungnad, <i>Neubabylonische und achämenidische Urkunden</i> (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 6), Leipzig, 1908
WdO	<i>Welt des Orients</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
Xen. Ages.	Xenophon, <i>Agesilaus</i>
Xen. Anab.	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>
Xen. Cyrop.	Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>
Xen. Hell.	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>
Xen. Oec.	Xenophon, <i>Oeconomicus</i>
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandgesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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GENERAL INDEX

This is a rough guide to most of the proper names and some recurring terms. References are to chapter plus numbered passage with notes and figure captions. (*In the case of documents, only place names and the more significant personal names are included.) Diacritical marks do not affect the alphabetisation. Abbreviations: s. = 'son of'; d. = 'daughter of'; f. = 'father of'; m. = 'mother of'; gf. = 'grandfather of'; ggf. = 'greatgrandfather of'; gs. = 'grandson of'; ggs. = 'greatgrandson of'; w. = 'wife of'; b. = 'brother of'.

- Ab/manu (royal estate, Babylonia)
14, no.24(i)
- Abbaukish (abbamuš/abbaki; royal woman?)
12, nos.29, n.7; 37(ii)
- Abdalonymus (ruler of Sidon)
10, no.18, n.10
- Abde/ymon (of Tyre)
9, no.48, n.2
- Abdera (Thrace)
3, no.20; 6, no.23(i); 7, introd.; nos.46, n.1; **48; 8, no.16**, n.2
- Abiradu (Elam)
11, nos.13(i), (ii)(a)
- Abrocomas
(1) (s. Darius I & Phratagune)
7, nos.2, n.5; 31
(2) (Persian commander late 5.–4. century)
9, nos.16; 62; 15, nos.8(ii); 10(ii)
- Abronichus (Athenian messenger)
7, no.33
- Abulites
(1) (royal secretary(?), c.400)
9, no.49
(2) (satrap in Susa, 331)
9, no.49, n.3; **10, no.29**, n.2; 17,
no.41
- Abusir (Egypt)
4, no.11, n.1
- Abydos, Abydene(s) (on Hellespont)
6, nos.38; 46; 7, nos.12; 15, n.2; **66; 9, no.7; 10, introd.; no.6**, n.3; **fig.10.7; 11, nos.25; 46**, n.1; **14, fig.14.1; 15, introd.**, n.1
- Acanthus (Chalcidice)
6, no.21; 7, nos.22–24; 46, n.1; **52**, n.3
- accountant(s) (*hamarakara)
14, nos.35; 37; 43; 44; 16, nos.17; 64
- Aces (river, Central Asia?)
14, no.40
- Achaea, Achaeans(s) (Thessalian)
7, no.28; 10, no.20(iii)
- Achaemenes (Hakhaimanish)
(1) (eponymous founder of the Achaemenid dynasty)
Introduction; **3, no.21**, n.15; **5, introd.; nos.1; 7; 18**
(2) (Xerxes' brother & governor of Egypt)
7, nos.1, n.4; **6; 8, introd.; no.6**
- Achaemenid(s)
Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.13**, n.5; **16**, n.13; **17**, n.4; **19**, nn.1–2; **3, introd.; nos.5; 11**, n.3; **31**, n.1; **36**, n.1; **fig.3.5; 4, introd.; nos.4; 12**, n.2; **14**, n.1; **5, introd.; nos.1; 4; 9**, n.6; **12; 19; 6, introd.; nos.4**, n.10; **31; 56**, n.4; **7, introd.; nos.1; 19**, n.1; **23; 57**, n.8; **77**, n.2; **86–88; fig.7.5; 8, introd.; nos.4; 5(i); 8**, n.3; **19**, n.10; **23; 37**, n.4; **9, introd.; nos.22; 71; 73; 10, introd.; nos.3**, n.1; **18**, n.10; **29**, n.1; **11, introd.; nos.1; 2; 6; 7; 10; 12; 13; 14; 15**, n.7; **16; 22**, n.10; **25; 35**, n.1; **36**, n.1; **37; 38; 65**, n.2; **67**, n.7; **figs.11.8; 11.9; 11.14; 11.34; 11.35; 11.40; 11.41; 11.45; 11.50; 12, introd.; nos.4; 7**, n.1; **38**, n.6; **39**, n.1; **fig.12.7; 13, introd.; nos.6**, n.1; **30**,

- n.7; **31**, n.15; **45**, n.12; **fig.13.5**; **14**, **introd.**; **nos.1**, nn.1, 2; **7**, n.2; **8**, n.2; **9**, n.7; **10**, n.14; **13**, n.5; **15**, n.1; **16**, n.2; **19**, n.3; **20**, n.7; **21**, n.3; **36**, nn. 5, 7; **41**, n.3; **44**, n.8; **fig.14.2**; **15**, **introd.**; **nos.3**, nn.2, 19; **12**, n.6; **31**, n.1; **33**, n.10; **fig.15.5**; **16**, **introd.**; **nos.41**, nn.3; **5**; **58**, nn.1, 3; **60**, n.3; **61**, nn.1, 3; **17**, **introd.**; **nos.2**, n.15; **11**, n.4; **36**, n.13; **38**, n.2; **40**, n.2; **43**, n.5; **figs.17.3**; **17.5**
- Achaemenides (prob. identical with Achaemenes(2))
8, **no.9**
- Achilles (Greek hero)
10, **no.23**, n.10; **11**, **no.48**, nn.2, 3
- Acina, son of Upadarma (Elamite rebel, 522)
5, **introd.**; **no.1**
- Acrisius (Greek mythical king)
5, **no.18**
- Ada
(1) (I, sister of Pixodarus (2))
10, **no.11**, n.3
(2) (II, d. Pixodarus (2))
10, **no.11**, n.3
- Adad (Mesopotamian god)
11, **introd.**, n.6; **42**
- Adapa (Mesopotamian sage)
3, **no.23**
- Addarnurish (woodcarver?)
16, **no.30**
- Adraste (region on Granicus)
10, **no.8(ii)**
- Aeaces, s. of Syloson
6, **nos.45**; **49**, n.7
- Aeantides, s. of Hippocles
6, **no.29**
- Aegean
3, **introd.**; **4**, **introd.**; **nos.3**, n.1; **11**, n.9; **16**, n.1; **23**, n.1; **5**, **introd.**; **no.15**, n.1; **6**, **introd.**; **nos.2**, n.6; **41**, n.1; **51**, n.5; **56**, n.6; **7**, **introd.**; **nos.4**, n.2; **12**, n.6; **20**; **61**, n.1; **66**, n.1; **fig.7.2**; **8**, **introd.**; **no.11**, n.1; **9**, **introd.**; **nos.28**, n.3; **29**, n.1; **30**, n.4; **10**, **introd.**; **nos.18**, n.5; **20**, nn.11–2; **21**, nn.4, 8; **fig.10.7**; **11**, **nos.25**, nn.15, 48; **16**, **no.71**, n.1; **17**, **no.20**, n.1
- Aegilia (Eretria)
6, **nos.53**; **55**
- Aegina, Aeginetan(s)
6, **nos.50**; **51**, n.1; **7**, **nos.25**; **39**; **52**
- Aegli (Central Asia?)
14, **no.2**
- Aegospotami (Thracian Chersonese)
7, **no.66**; **9**, **nos.31**, n.2; **43**, n.5
- Aelian (Claudius Aelianus)
ch.1; **5**, **no.18**, nn.1, 7; **7**, **no.7**, n.3; **11**, **nos.26**, n.2; **29**, n.4; **13**, **no.23**, n.4; **14**, **nos.5**, nn.1, 2; **6**, n.1; **22**, n.7;
- Aeolia/Aeolis, Aeolian(s)
3, **no.20**; **4**, **nos.1**; **3**; **6**, **introd.**; **nos.9**; **12**; **38**; **43**; **46**; **53**; **7**, **nos.27**; **66**; **10**, **no.7**, n.5; **11**, **nos.20(iv)**; **25**; **13**, **no.28**, n.2; **14**, **no.2**; **17**, **no.35**
- Aeschines (s. Nothon)
6, **no.53**
- Aeschirionian(s) (tribe in Egypt)
4, **no.10(i)**
- Aeschylus (tragic poet)
ch.1; **5**, **nos.2**, nn.1, 5–7; **3**, n.5; **6**, **no.44**, n.8; **7**, **introd.**; **no.8**, n.1; **8**, **no.9**, n.9; **11**, **nos.25**, nn.34, 55; **46**, n.4
- Aesopus (river, Hellespontine Phrygia)
10, **no.8**, n.6
- Afghanistan, Afghan
Introduction; **2**, **no.16**, n.6; **5**, **no.1**, n.96; **7**, **introd.**, n.4; **10**, **nos.29**, n.1; **35**, n.4; **11**, **nos.13(i)**, n.12; **fig.11.40**; **15**, **introd.**; **16**, **introd.**; **17**, **no.39**, nn.1, 2
- Africa
6, **no.3**, n.3; **11**, **no.25**, n.35
- Africanus, Julius
9, **no.57**, n.4
- Agade (Babylonia)
3, **no.21**
- agalma
7, **no.8**, nn.2, 3
- Agamemnon (Greek hero)
9, **no.35**, n.5
- Agatharchides of Cnidus
16, **no.28**, n.2; **17**, **nos.44**, n.3; **45**
- Agathocles
(1) (Sicilian tyrant)
11, **no.58**, n.2
(2) (author of *On Cyzicus*)
11, **no.62**
- Agathyrsi (Scythian tribe)
6, **no.10**
- Agesilaus
(1) (Spartan king)
9, **introd.**; **nos.34**, n.1; **35–37**; **38**, n.1; **39**; **40**; **44**; **69**; **11**, **no.20**, n.3; **12**, **nos.46(ii)**; **48(ii)**; **13**, **no.17**; **17**, **no.37**
(2) (b. Agis III)
10, **no.14**
- Agias (Greek mercenary commander)
9, **no.26**
- Agis (Spartan king)

- (1) (II)
8, no.26
- (2) (III)
10, introd.; nos.14; 20, n.12; 25, n.5; fig.10.7
- Agradates (Cyrus' original name?)
3, no.32, n.3
- Agrianes, Agrianoi (Paeonian group)
6, no.27; 10, no.10; 17, no.2(ii)
- Agyris (Cypriot dynast, early 4. century)
9, no.51
- Ahasuerus, *see* Xerxes (1)
- Ahiqar, Story of
14, no.10, n.1
- Ahpepi (secretary/scribe)
16, no.60(iii)
- Ahuramazda *see* Auramazda
- Aigilia (Anticythera)
9, no.43, n.2
- Akaufaka (unknown GN)
7, no.88
- akinakes
3, no.29, n.6; 7, nos.48; 80, n.2; 11, nos.25, n.26; 28, nn.2, 3; 53; 54, n.2; figs.11.26–11.29; 11.43; 13, nos.22(i), (iii); 17, fig.17.9
- Akkad (northern Babylonia)
2, nos.10; 11; 3, nos.1; 21; 23; 24
- Akkadian
ch.1; 3, introd.; no.24, n.1; 5, nos.1, nn.1, 29, 116; 19, n.1; 6, fig.6.4; 7, figs.7.4; 7.5(a); 10, nos.1, n.3; 2, n.1; 11, nos.12, n.1; 13(i), n.1; 35, n.3; 14, nos.32, n.1; 36, n.10; 15, no.29, nn.1, 5, 6; 16, introd.; 17, introd.
- Akko/Acco (Acre, Ake)
9, no.66; 13, no.36
- Akoris (Hkr; Egyptian king)
9, introd.; nos.52; 54; 60; 61; 63; 64(i); fig.9.4
- Alabanda
 (1) (Carian)
7, no.27
 (2) (Phrygian)
13, no.42
- Alarodian(s) (Armenia)
7, no.57, n.2; 11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Albanians (group in Caucasus)
17, fig.17.14
- Alcibiades (Greek general)
8, nos.31; 33; 9, no.10; 12, no.46(i); 15, no.16
- Alcmeonid(s) (Athenian family)
6, nos.29; 56
- Aleppo (Khalab)
10, fig.10.7
- Aleuadae (Thessalian family)
7, nos.9; 15
- Alexander
 (1) (I of Macedon)
6, nos.19; 24; 7, nos.15, n.2; 38; 51; 53; 13, no.42
 (2) (III of Macedon, the Great)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 3, nos.8, n.3; 24, n.1; 29, n.1; 4, no.4, n.3; 6, no.16, n.3; 7, introd.; no.65; 9, introd.; nos.8, n.6; 10, n.1; 35, n.5; 49, n.3; 75, n.7; 77, n.7; 78, n.7; 10, introd.; nos.2; 3, nn.1, 7; 4(ii); 6, nn.3, 4; 7; 8(i); 9–12; 13, n.1; 14, n.2; 15–19; 20(ii), (iii); 21–29; 30(i), (iii)–(v); 31; 32; 33, nn.4, 6; 34–37; 38, nn.15, 16; 39, nn.4, 9; 40; 41, n.4; figs.10.1; 10.5; 10.6; 10.7; 11, introd.; nos.11; 15, n.7; 16, n.11; 19, n.6; 21(v); 22, n.11; 30, nn.4, 7, 8; 53, n.4; 65, nn.1, 2; 66; 67; fig.11.31; 12, nos.2; 15(i); 17; 35; 39; 43; 44(ii); 13, introd.; nos.2(iv); 6, nn.1, 3; 44, nn.6, 9; 14, nos.7(ii); 8, n.1; 15; 18, n.1; 15, nos.8, n.9; 23, n.1; 16, introd.; nos.41, n.4; 42, n.1; 58, n.1; 61, nn.1, 2; 17, introd.; nos.1; 2; 3(i); 5; 11; 14; 15; 17; 24; 36(ii); 41; 43**
 (3) (IV, son of Alexander (2))
10, no.4(ii); 15, no.15, n.8; 17, no.36, n.10
 (4) (sacrificer, error for Aristander?)
17, no.36(ii)
- Alexander historians
ch.1; 14, introd.; 16, no.58, n.1; 17, no.3, n.1
- Alexander Romance
9, no.77, n.7
- Alexandria
 (1) (-Egypt)
8, no.7, n.4; fig.10.7
 (2) (-Caucasus)
fig.10.7
- Alilat (Arabian goddess)
11, no.35
- Alogune (Babylonian concubine)
8, no.19
- Altai (mountains, Siberia)
17, fig.17.5
- Alus (Halus, Achaea)
7, no.28
- Alvand, *see* Elvend

- Alyattes (Lydian king)
2, no.15; 3, no.17
- Amaseia (mod. Amasya, Pontus)
11, no.36, n.1
- Amasis
(1) (king of Egypt)
3, no.13; 4, introd.; nos.3; 4; 6; 7(i); 8; 9(i); 11; 12, n.6; 14; 15, n.3; 17; 8, no.3, n.4; 11, no.25, n.19; 14, nos.10, n.8; 17, n.2
(2) (Persian general)
6, no.4
- Amathus (Cyprus)
6, nos.36; 37; 9, no.51
- Amazon(s)
6, no.10, n.1
- Ame/astris
(1) (w. Xerxes I)
6, no.38, n.1; 7, nos.4; 92 (i); 8, nos.9; 10; 15; 11, nos.25; 64; 13, no.30
(2) (Artaxerxes II's sister)
8, introd.; no.21; 12, nos.33; 38(ii)
(3) (d. Artaxerxes II)
13, no.31(iv)
(4) (Darius III's niece)
10, introd.
(5) *see* Ammashish
- Ammashish (= Ame/astris?)
16, no.44
- Ammon, Ammonian(s) (Egypt)
4, no.10(i)
- Amoraïos (king of Derbicae)
3, no.35
- Amorges
(1) (king of the Sacae)
3, nos.8; 18; 35
(2) (Persian general)
6, no.38
(3) (s. of Pissuthnes)
8, introd.; nos.24(i); 26; 28
- Amotashtart of Sidon (m. Eshmunazar II)
13, no.45
- Ampe (Gulf coast)
6, no.44
- Ampelus (Macedon)
7, no.24
- Amphoterus (Macedonian commander)
10, no.20(iii)
- Amrit, *see* Marathus
- Amun(-Re)
4, no.10, nn.3, 10; 10, no.38; 14, no.17
- Amurru (North Syria)
3, nos.21; 23
- Amyntas
(1) (king of Macedon)
6, nos.19; 24; 13, no.42
(2) (of Asia, s. Bubares)
13, no.42
(3) (Macedonian fugitive, s. Antiochus)
10, introd.; nos.6, n.2; 16; 20(i); 36, n.3; 38, n.16
(4) (Macedonian commander)
10, no.6, n.2
(5) (companion of Alexander (2))
10, no.9
(5) (author of *Itinerary*)
11, no.30(iv)
- Amyrtaeus (Imn-yr-dys; Ἰμνρty)
(1) (king of Egypt, 526/5, ap. Ctesias)
4, no.9(ii)
(2) (delta kinglet)
4, no.9(i); 8, introd.; nos.7; 9, n.2; 11
(3) (dyn. XXVIII)
4, no.9, n.7; 8, no.34, n.7; 9, introd.; nos.16, n.2; 57; 59–60; fig.9.4
- Amytis
(1) (Cyaxares' daughter(?))
2, no.18(i)
(2) (Astyages' daughter)
3, nos.8; 10; 35, n.6; 5, no.5; 7, no.4, n.5; 12, no.13
(3) (Xerxes I's daughter)
7, nos.4; 7; 92, n.3; 8, nos.10; 15; 12, no.12(iii); 13, no.30
(4) (error for Amestris (2))
8, no.9
- Amyzon (Caria)
6, no.38, n.3; 10, introd.; 17, no.36(iii)
- Anacreon of Teos
4, no.16
- Anahita (Anaitis, Iranian goddess)
9, nos.22; 71; 73, n.6; 11, introd.; nos.14, n.4; 36, n.3; 37; 59; 60; 63, n.3; figs.11.40; 11.49
- Anamis (river, S.Iran)
17, no.43
- Anaphas (Onophas(?), Darius I's helper)
6, no.7, n.1
- Anaphes (s. Otanes (2))
11, no.25
- Anat (mod. Ana)
2, no.10; 15, no.6, n.2
- Anatolia(n) (*see also* Asia Minor, Turkey)
Introduction; **2, introd.; 3, no.13; 6, no.35, n.4; 7, no.77, n.2; 8, no.34, nn.4, 5; 9, no.9, n.2; 11, nos.13(i), nn.13, 15; 25, nn.37, 47; 54; 12, no.36, n.2; 13, no.36, n.1; 15, no.3, n.4; 16, no.60, n.9; 17, introd.**

- Anaxagoras (Cypriot dynast, c.400)
9, no.49
- Anaximander (Ionian philosopher)
6, no.33, n.2
- Andakash (GN? Fars)
13, no.25
- Andocides (Attic orator)
8, no.24, nn.1, 2, 4
- And(r)ia (Babylonian concubine)
8, no.19
- andrias*
7, no.8, n.3; 17, no.36, n.4
- Andromachus (Macedonian governor, Syria)
10, nos.18, n.2; 25; 17, no.11
- Andromeda (Greek heroine)
3, no.33, n.2; 11, no.25, n.7
- Androphagi (Scythian tribe)
6, no.10
- Andros, Andrian(s) (Aegean island)
6, no.31; 7, nos.42; 50
- Angares (singer)
13, no.11(ii)
- Ankarakkan (Fars)
16, no.4
- Ankhet (m. Somtutefnakht)
10, no.38
- Anshan, Anshanite(s) (Anzanra, mod. Tal-i Malyan)
3, introd.; nos.1; 2, n.2; 3; 6; 21; 22(ii); 34, n.5; 5, no.1; 10, no.30, n.2
- Ansukka (secretary, Fars)
16, no.50(i)
- Antalcidas (Spartan ambassador)
9, nos.44; 47; 10, no.12; 13, nos.17; 31, n.12
- Antandrus (Aegean island)
6, no.20
- Anthylla (Egyptian town)
14, no.42(i)
- Antibelus, s. Mazaeus
10, no.35
- Anticythera (island)
9, no.43, n.2
- Antigone (Greek heroine)
5, no.16, n.3
- Antigonus (Monophthalmus/One-Eyed, Alexander's general & 'successor')
9, no.77, n.2; 10, no.4(ii); 20(ii), (iii); fig.10.7; 11, nos.12, n.11; 15, n.7; 30(iii); 14, no.7, n.1; 15, introd.; no.23, n.1; 16, no.61, nn.1, 3; 17, introd.; no.3(ii)
- Antiochus
(1) (I)
3, no.25, n.1; 7, no.65, n.2; 10, no.4(ii)
- (2) (II)
10, no.4(ii)
- (3) (III)
11, no.15, nn.1, 7; 14, no.41
- (4) (IV)
4, introd, n.6
- (5) (of Arcadia)
11, no.30(ii)
- Antipater
(1) (Macedonian commander)
10, no.14, n.2; 16, no.61
- (2) (of Orgeus)
14, no.25
- Antony & Cleopatra
3, no.32, n.1
- Anu (Mesopotamian god)
3, no.23
- Anubis (Egyptian god)
17, fig.17.11
- Anudaru(?) (in Egypt)
8, no.34, n.7
- Anunitu (Babylonian goddess)
10, no.2
- Anzamannaka (Fars, rel. to Anshan?)
16, nos.42, n.2; 54
- Aornos (stronghold, Central Asia)
10, fig.10.7
- apadana (columned hall(?))
7, no.85, n.1; fig.7.6; 9, no.22; 11, introd; 1, n.1; 13(i), n.6; 14; 37; fig.11.32; 12, introd.; fig.12.1(a)
- Apame
(1) (d. Gobryas? = Irdabama?)
5, no.14, n.1; 12, no.29, n.7
- (2) (d. Artaxerxes II)
10, no.7, n.2; 13, nos.31(iv); 35, n.2; 44, n.5
- Apamea (Celaenae)
7, no.77, n.2
- Aparytae (Hindu Kush)
14, no.2
- Aphetae (Thessaly)
7, nos.28; 32
- Aphneis (m. Ada II)
10, no.11, n.3
- Aphrodite (Greek goddess)
11, introd.; nos.35; 36; 59
- Apia (Hellespontine Phrygia)
9, no.39
- Apis (Epaphos, manifestation of Ptah)
4, nos.12, nn.1, 2, 6; 13; 18; fig.4.3; 5, nos.3, n.2; 4; 9, nos.77, n.9; 79(ii)
- Apollo (Greek god)
3, nos.12, n.1; 15, n.2; 16; 17; 19; 6, no.54(ii); 7, no.78; 8, no.12; 9,

- no.63; 10, introd.**, n.11; **17, nos.16**, n.2; **33**, n.23
- Apollodotus (archon Lycia)
17, no.33
- Apollonia (Troad)
6, no.9; 16, no.71
- Apollonides of Cos (doctor)
12, no.12(iii); 13, no.30
- Apollophanes (Pharnabazus' xenos)
12, no.48(ii)
- Appishtapdan (Fars)
11, no.21(ii); 12, no.40(iii); 13, no.26(iii); 16, no.23(i)
- Apries (Aprias, Egyptian king)
4, introd.; nos.3; 4; 6; 9, no.69, n.7
- Apsinthian(s) (Thracian group)
7, no.66
- Arab(s), Arabia(n)
2, no.16; 3, nos.21, n.19; **23**, nn.14, 21; **4, introd.; no.7(i)–(ii); 5, no.1; 7, no.88; 9, nos.52; 69; 10, nos.22–24; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 16; 25; 35; fig.11.24; 12, no.42; 14, no.2; 15, introd.; nos.1(vii); 5; 17, introd., app.; no.42**
- Arachosia, Arachosian(s)
Introduction; **5, app.; no.1; 7, no.88; 10, no.35; fig.10.7; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 15, no.1(ii); 16, introd.; nos.9; 58**, n.1; **17, no.39; fig.17.14**
- Arad (Negev)
14, no.36, n.3; **15, no.15**, nn.1, 7
- Aradus, *see* Arv/wad
- Arakadri (mountain, Fars)
5, no.1
- Arakha, son of Haldita (rebel 522/1)
5, no.1
- Aramaic
ch.1; 3, no.27, n.1; **4, nos.10**, n.7; **14**, n.5; **5, no.1**, nn.1, 50, 54, 56, 58, 84, 89, 95, 100, 102, 114, 116; **6, no.8**, n.1; **7, introd.; no.31**, n.6; **8, nos.8**, n.3; **18**, n.4; **23**, n.3; **34**, n.7; **9, nos.57**, n.5; **59**, nn.1–4; **fig.9.8; 10, nos.2**, n.4; **12**, n.7; **20**, n.2; **11, no.35**, n.3; **12, no.29**, nn.11, 12; **13, nos.5**, n.6; **13**, nn.1, 3; **25**, n.10; **14, introd.; nos.10**, n.13; **12**, n.1; **13**, n.6; **44**, n.8; **fig.14.1; 15, nos.15**, nn.1, 8; **27**, n.10; **29**, nn.5, 8, 11; **30**, nn.3, 5; **32**, nn.3, 4; **16, introd.; nos.13**, n.2; **14; 29**, n.2; **31; 34**, n.7; **54; 60(ii); 66**, n.9; **figs.16.3; 16.7; 17, introd.; nos.17**, n.5; **30**, nn.1, 8; **33**, n.1; **34**, n.4; **figs.17.2; 17.7**
- Araxes (river)
(1) (mod. Aras, Armenia)
Introduction;
(2) (Jaxartes, mod. Syr Darya)
3, no.34; 4, no.22; 5, no.12; 6, introd.
(3) (mod. Pulvar, Fars)
10, no.30(iii); 16, no.41(ii)
- Arbaces
(1) (founder of Median dynasty)
2, nos.16; 17; 3, no.32
(2) (Harbezza, administrative official in Fars)
12, no.40(ii)
(3) (Harbakka, fem. form; supervisor in Hidali storehouse)
16, no.38
- Arbail(u), *see* Arbela
- Arbarios (Arbareme, Persian commander)
8, introd.; no.20
- Arbela (mod. Erbil)
ch.1; 3, no.1; 5, no.1; 10, nos.26; 28; 15, no.4; fig.15.3
- Arbianes (Median king, ap. Ctesias)
2, no.17
- Arbupales (gs. Artaxerxes II)
10, no.8(iii)
- Arcadia, Arcadian(s)
6, no.33; 7, no.36; 8, no.17; 9, nos.17; 38
- Arcesilaus (member of Cyrenean dynasty)
6, no.4
- Archedice (d. Hippias)
6, no.29
- Ardericca (Elam)
6, no.57; 14, no.16
- Ardumanish (s. Vahauka, Darius I's helper)
5, no.1
- Areia, Areian(s)
5, no.1; 7, nos.29, n.5; **88; 10, no.35**, n.10; **fig.10.7; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13(ii)(b); 16; 25; 14, no.2; 15, introd.; no.1(iv); 17, no.7**, n.1; **fig.17.14**
- Areopagus (Athens)
7, no.40
- Ares (Greek god)
17, no.10
- Argilus (Bisaltia)
7, no.22
- Argos, Argive(s)
5, no.18, n.4; **6, nos.33; 37; 44**, n.3; **7, introd.; nos.16**, n.3; **54; 83; 8, no.16; 9, nos.44; 75; 77**
- Argoste (m. Cyrus II, ap. Ctesias)
3, no.32

- Ariabignes (Persian admiral)
7, no.43, n.9
- Ariaces (Persian commander)
17, fig.17.14
- Ariaeus (Persian noble)
9, nos.25; 38; 40; 13, no.7
- Ariana, *see* Iran/Iranian(s)
- Ariaramna/Ariaramnes
(1) (Darius I's great-grandfather)
5, no.1
(2) (satrap of Cappadocia)
6, no.7
(3) (Darius I's eldest son, according to Justin)
7, no.3
(4) (s. Bagadates (3))
17, no.36(iii)
- Ariarathes of Cappadocia
10, no.20, n.2
- Ariarma (Mt. Ariaramnes?)
2, no.1(ii), n.4
- Ariaspes (s. Artaxerxes II)
9, no.72
- Aridolis (tyrant of Alabanda(1))
7, no.27
- arika
5, no.1, nn.9, 14; 11, no.10, n.5
- Ariobarzanes
(1) (? s. of Pharnabazus (2))
8, no.32; 9, no.47; 13, no.36; 17, no.15, n.3; 36(ii)
(2) (satrap of Fars)
10, nos.29(i), (ii); 17, fig.17.14
- Ari(o)mandes (s. Gobryas (1))
7, no.73, n.2
- Ariomardus
(1) (Darius I's son)
7, no.2, n.5; 11, no.25
(2) (s. Artabanus (1))
11, no.25
- Aristagoras
(1) of Cyme
6, no.32; 7, no.27, n.3
(2) of Miletus
6, introd.; nos.18; 31–34; 36; 39; 40; 43; 44; 45, n.1; 15, no.3
- Aristides (Athenian general)
8, no.18
- Aristion (author of *Chronicle*)
6, no.42
- Aristippus (friend of Cyrus (3))
9, no.7
- Aristobulus of Cassandreia
3, no.28
- Aristocyprus, s. Philocyprus
6, no.37
- Aristonicus (tyrant Methymna)
10, no.25
- Aristophanes
(1) (comic poet)
9, no.61, n.3
(2) (Athenian soldier)
13, no.24
- Aristophilides (king of Tarentum)
6, no.1
- Aristotle
(1) (Greek philosopher)
7, no.73, n.2
(2) (pseudo-Aristotle)
12, no.3, n.1; 14, no.1, n.1
- Ariyawrata (Persian official)
8, no.8
- Arizanti (Median tribe)
2, no.13
- Arkesimas/Arkazuma (Lycian god)
17, no.33
- Armantidata (boat captain)
17, no.34
- Armapiya (captain on estate of Arshama (2))
16, no.60(iii)
- Armavir Blur (Armenia)
16, introd., n.13
- Armenia, Armenians
Introduction; **ch.1; 3, nos.20, n.5; 28, n.5; 35, n.5; 5, introd.; no.1; 6, no.33; 7, no.88; 8, no.20; 9, introd.; nos.25, n.5; 44, n.2; 52, nn.4, 5; 57, n.4; 10, nos.5; 20, n.12; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13(ii), n.6; 16; 22; 25; 57; 12, no.48, nn.1, 2; 13, nos.16(i); 30; 31, n.7; 32(i); 36; 14, introd.; nos.2; 15; 29, n.3; 15, no.3; 16, introd. n.13; 17, introd.; nos.6, n.1; 12(i); 22, n.1; fig.17.14**
- Arna (Lycian Xanthus)
17, no.33
- Arpates (s. Tiribazus)
9, no.72; 13, no.31(ii)
- Arrapha/u (east Iraq)
2, no.10
- Arrhidaeus (Macedonian commander)
11, no.67
- Arrian of Nicomedia
ch.1; 3, no.29; fig.3.8; 10, nos.8, n.9; 10, n.3; 11, n.3; 12, nn.4, 9, 16; 13, n.1; 18, n.1; 22, n.1; 23, nn.1, 2; 27, n.1; 29, nn.1, 4; 30, n.14; 31, n.2; 34, n.5; 35, nn.1, 2, 10; 36, n.3; 37, n.4; 40, n.8; 12, no.4, n.4; 13, nos.2, n.1; 6, n.3; 14, no.18, n.1; 15, introd.;

- no.5**, nn.1, 3, 4; **17, nos.2**, nn.5, 15;
40, n.1; **43**, n.4
Anabasis of Alexander, **ch.1**; **3, no.29**, n.1;
7, no.65, n.2; **10, introd.**, n.1
Indica, **ch.1**; **17, no.1**, n.2
- Arsaces (Parthian ruler)
14, no.41
- Arsamanes (s. Darius I)
11, no.25
- Arsames, *see* Arshama
- Arsanes (f. Darius III)
10, no.3
- Arses/Arsaces (Arshu/Arshaku)
(1) *see* Artaxerxes II
(2) *see* Artaxerxes IV
- Arshada (Arachosia)
5, no.1
- Arshama (Arsham, Arshamu, Arsames, Arxanes)
(1) (gf. Darius I & f. Parnaka (1))
5, nos.1; **12**; **7, no.1**; **9, nos.22**,
n.1; **73**; **11, nos.13(i)**, (ii) (a); **12**,
no.29, n.2; **13, no.2(v)**; **16, no.11**,
n.1; **fig.13(b)**
(2) (satrap of Egypt)
ch.1; **8, nos.9**, n.9; **20**; **34**; **13, no.13**,
n.3; **14, nos.35**; **36**, n.2; **37**; **44**; **15**,
nos.4; **19**, n.2; **16, introd.**;
nos.60(iii); **64**; **65**; **66**, nn.6, 9;
69; **70**; **17, introd.**; **nos.30**, n.8;
31; **32**
(3) (s. Artaxerxes II)
9, no.72
(4) (satrap of Cilicia)
10, no.8(i)
(5) (s. Darius I & Artystone)
11, no.25
- Arsidaeus (s. Datames (1))
13, no.36
- Arsites
(1) (Darius II's brother)
8, introd.; **nos.19**; **22**
(2) (governor Hellespontine Phrygia)
10, nos.8(i), (iii); **9**, n.1; **17, no.44**
- aršta-
5, no.1, n.111
- arta
7, no.88, n.9; **11, introd.**; **no.25**, n.7;
13, no.8, n.1
- Artab/panus (Rtabanush, Irdabanush)
(1) (b. Darius I)
6, introd.; **no.8**; **7, nos.41**; **92**, n.1; **11**,
no.25; **12**, no.16, n.1; **13, no.23(ii)**;
15, no.1, n.18
(2) (Xerxes I's assassin, s. Artasyras)
7, introd.; **nos.4**; **92**; **fig.7.7**; **8, no.2**,
n.1; **13, no.30**
(3) (satrap of Bactria)
8, no.2
(4) (Artaxerxes I's brother?)
8, no.2, n.1
(5) (Artaxerxes I's chiliarch)
11, no.29, n.1
(6) (in Persepolis)
16, no.4
- Artab/pata/es (Rtapata-, Irdabada)
(1) (ap. Xenophon, Cyrus II's commander)
11, no.22
(2) (f. Pharnazathres)
11, no.25
(3) (spearbearer)
15, no.12(i)
(4) (sceptrebearer of Cyrus (3))
13, no.22(iii)
- Artabazus
(1) (s. Pharnaces/Parnaka (1))
7, nos.49(ii); **53**, n.3; **58**; **60**; **81**; **8**,
nos.6; **13**; **16**, n.4; **11, no.25**; **12**,
no.29, n.2
(2) (s. Pharnabazus (2))
10, nos.7, n.2; **12**; **33**; **35**; **13, introd.**;
nos.35; **44**
(3) (f. Tritantaechmes (2))
14, no.27
(4) (*see* Irdumasda)
- Artace (Hellespont)
6, no.47
- Artachaeus (Rtakhaya-, Irdakaya)
(1) (s. Artaeus(2); builder of Athos canal; f.
Artañntes & Oropastes)
7, nos.11; **23**; **52**; **11, no.25**
(2) (high functionary, Persepolis)
16, no.40
- Artaeus
(1) (Median king)
2, no.17
(2) (f. Artachaeus & Azanes)
11, no.25
- Artagerses (Cadusian leader)
11, nos.32; **33(i)**
- Artaioi (= Persians)
11, no.25
- Artames (Rtama-, Artam)
(1) (f. Ariyawrata)
8, no.8
(2) (f. Djedherbes)
17, no.38
- Artanes (b. Darius I)
5, no.14, n.3; **7, no.31**; **13, no.2(v)**
- Artapher/renes
(1) (Ataphernes; Darius I's helper)
5, nos.2; **10**

- (2) (b. Darius I & governor of Lydia)
6, introd.; nos.20, n.1; 30–32; 34; 35; 38; 40; 46; 49; 51, n.7; 7, no.3
- (3) (son of (2), general)
6, introd.; nos.51; 57; 11, no.25
- (4) (Persian messenger)
8, no.18
- (5) (Persian commander in 396)
9, no.34
- Artarios (Artareme, satrap of Babylonia)
8, nos.10; 20, n.2; 17, no.26, n.1
- Artashata, *see* Darius III
- Artasyras
 (1) (Cambyses & Darius I's courtier)
4, no.2; 5, nos.5; 10; 6, no.60; 7, no.4; 8, no.22, n.3
- (2) (Artoxares?)
8, no.22
- (3) ('king's eye')
12, no.18
- Artasyrus (f. Orontes (2))
13, no.32 (iii)
- artava-
7, no.88, n.11
- Artavahya/Artahaya ('chancellor')
14, nos.35; 37; 16, nos.64; 65
- Artavant (Persian noble)
8, no.34
- Artavardiya (Persian commander)
5, app.; no.1
- Arta/oxerxes (Artakhshaca, Artahshatsu)
 (1) I (Makrocheir/Long Arm)
ch.1; 5, no.1, n.5; 7, introd.; nos.4; 7, n.5; 74, n.2; 83; 90, n.2; 91; 92; 8, introd.; nos.1–10; 13; 18; 19, 20, nn.4, 6, 14; 22, n.2; 23; 24, n.1; 26; fig.8.1; 9, nos.4; 22; 57; 71, n.1; 73; 11, nos.19(ii)–(iv); 29, n.1; figs.11.15; 11.30; 12, nos.12 (iii); 45(i); 13, no.30; 14, nos.10, n.1; 13, nn.6, 9; 28; 36; 43; 15, nos.19, n.1; 25; 16, introd.; nos.35, n.1; 60(ii); 17, nos.13; 36(i)
- (2) II (Ars(ac)es, Arsikas; Arshu/Arshaku; Mnemon)
ch.1; 7, no.82, n.1; 8, introd.; nos.1, n.4; 19; 21; 9, introd.; nos.1; 2; 3, nn.2, 3; 5; 6; 10; 14; 16, n.2; 19, n.2; 21; 22; 25, n.7; 38; 47; 49; 51; 52; 57, n.5; 62, n.4; 66; 67, nn.1, 2; 68, n.1; 71–73; 74, n.1; 75, n.7; 10, nos.3; 7, n.2; 8(iii); 12; 11, introd.; nos.4, n.1; 14; 16, n.1; 19(iii), (iv); 21(vi); 26(ii); 32, n.1; 33(i); 34; 37; 54, n.1; 59; 61; 63, nn.1, 2; figs.11.5; 11.8; 11.9; 12, introd.; nos.11; 19; 24, n.2; 33; 38; 45(ii); 13, nos.17; 20, n.7; 22(ii); 29(ii); 31; 32(ii), (iii); 35, n.2; 36; 37; 39, n.1; 44, n.5; 14, nos.13, n.5; 26; 43; 15, nos.2, n.1; 25; 17, no.36(i)
- (3) III (Ochus (2), Um/wakush, Uw/masu (2), Vahush)
2, no.17, n.2; 4, no.11, n.1; 8, no.8, n.2; 9, introd.; nos.3, n.1; 22, n.1; 69, n.7; 72–76; 77, nn.7–9; 79(ii); 80, n.2; fig.9.8; 10, introd.; nos.1–3; 5; 7, n.2; 18, n.10; 24, n.3; 31; 38, nn.10, 11; 11, introd.; nos.4, n.1; 11, n.9; 16, n.1; 27, n.1; 37, n.4; fig.11.5; 13, no.44; 14, nos.13, n.5; 43; 15, nos.15(ii); 25
- (4) IV (Arses, Arshu)
9, nos.74, n.4; 77, n.8; 10, introd.; nos.1–3; 4, n.4; 31, n.3; 17, no.33
- Artayctes (Persian governor)
7, no.66; 11, no.25
- Artayctus (Xerxes' brother-in-law)
13, no.12
- Artayntes
 (1) (s. Artachaees (1))
7, nos.52; 61; 80
- (2) (s. Ithamitres)
7, no.52, n.4; 11, no.25
- Artembares
 (1) (Median noble)
3, no.31
- (2) (Cyrus' patron)
3, no.32
- Artemelis (governor of Xanthus)
17, no.33
- Artemis (Greek goddess)
6, nos.8; 54, n.2; 7, nos.65; 78(ii); 8, no.29; 10, no.36; 11, introd.; no.59, nn.5, 6; 17, nos.33; 36(iii)
- Artemisia (Carian queen)
7, no.44; 12, no.21, n.2
- Artemisium (Cape, Greece)
7, nos.25; 27; 32–34; 35, n.1; 39; 42; 61, n.10; 13, no.28, n.2
- Artescus (Thracian river)
6, no.9
- Artibarzanes (Darius II's courtier)
8, no.21
- Artim (royal wetnurse)
12, no.36
- Artobazanes (b. Xerxes (I))
6, no.59, n.5; 7, no.2
- Artochmes (Rtatakhma-; Ird/tatakma)
 (1) (Darius I's son-in-law)
11, no.25

- (2) (high functionary, Fars)
16, nos.19; 20; 43; 44
- Artontes (f. Bagaesus)
5, no.15
- Artostes (s. Darius II)
8, no.21
- Arto/axares (Artahsharu, Darius II's supporter)
8, introd.; nos.10; 20; 21; 22, nn.3, 7;
12, no.14; 13, no.30
- Artozostre (d. Darius I)
6, no.49; 12, no.32, nn.4, 7
- Artybius, *see* Artyphios
- Artycas (Median king, ap. Ctesias)
2, no.17
- Artynes (Median king, ap. Ctesias)
2, no.17
- Artyphios (Rdifya-; Artybius; Irtuppiya)
(1) (Persian general, Cyprus)
6, no.37
(2) (s. Artabanus (1))
11, no.25
(3) (s. Megabyzus)
8, nos.10; 22
(4) (manager of grain supplies, Fars)
16, nos.2; 28; 33; 38; 55(ii)
- Artystone (Irtashduna, w. Darius I)
ch.1; 5, nos.1, n.43; 14; 7, no.2, n.5;
11, no.25; 12, nos.29(i); 37(ii);
fig.12.4; 16, introd.; nos.50(i); 51
- Arukku (s. Kurash (1))
3, no.2
- Arv/wad (Aradus) (Phoenician city)
10, introd.; nos.18; 21; fig.10.7
- Aryan(s)
5, no.1; 7, no.88; 11, introd.; nos.12;
16; 17, introd.; no.7, n.2
- Aryandes (satrap of Egypt)
4, no.9, n.5; 5, nos.15, n.3; 17; 6, no.4
'Aryandic'
5, no.17
- Aryenis (d. Alyattes)
2, no.15
- Arzuhina (east Iraq)
15, no.4; fig.15.3
- Asander (satrap Caria)
10, introd.; no.13; 17, no.36(iii)
- Ashi (Iranian goddess)
11, no.39, n.4
- Ashur (Assyria)
2, introd.; no.10; 3, nos.2; 21; 15,
no.12, n.6
- Ashurbanipal (Assyrian king)
Introduction; **2, introd.; nos.5; 10,**
n.15; 16, n.1; 18, n.1; 3, nos.2; 21;
11, figs.11.17; 11.18; 11.24; 11.51;
12, nos.25, n.2; 42, n.7; 17, fig.17.8
- Ashur-etil-ilani (Assyrian king)
2, no.10, n.15
- Ashur-nasir-pal II (Assyrian king)
6, fig.6.3; 12, nos.25, n.2; 39, n.1
- Ashur-uballit (Assyrian king)
2, no.10
- Asia, Asian
2, nos.14–17; 3, nos.7; 14; 28–30; 32;
33, n.2; 5, nos.4; 12; 6, nos.1; 3; 5; 12;
18; 19; 25; 31; 33; 34; 38; 49; 54(ii);
57; 59; 7, nos.12; 47; 49(ii); 60; 64;
65; 66, n.2; 70; 78(i); 92(ii); 8,
introd.; nos.6; 7; 13; 16; 31, n.4; 9,
nos.14; 28; 29; 35; 44; 47; 51;
63; 75; 77; 80; 10, nos.6; 20(iii); 27,
n.8; 34; 38; 11, nos.15; 19(v); 25; 27;
58; 65; 66(i); 12, no.44(ii); 13,
nos.31(iii); 33; 44; 14, nos.2; 27; 40;
41; 16, nos.41(ii); 62
- Asia Minor ('Lower'), *see also* Anatolia, Turkey
ch.1; 3, no.28, n.6; fig.3.6; 6, nos.41,
n.1; 49, n.5; 7, introd.; nos.74; 82;
fig.7.2; 8, introd.; nos.2, n.2; 11, n.1;
13, n.3; 26, n.1; 9, introd.; nos.1, n.4;
11, n.5; 29, n.1; 34, nn.1, 8; 35, n.5;
39, nn.1, 29; 42, n.3; 44, nn.1, 6; 46,
n.3; 47, n.2; 49, n.1; 52, nn.5, 6; 62,
n.3; 63, no.7; 69, n.3; 72, n.1; 10,
introd.; nos.6, n.4; 9, n.8; 11; 12,
n.11; 18, n.5; 21, n.7; 36, n.6; 37, n.1;
11, introd.; nos.25, n.37; 59, n.6;
fig.11.34; 13, nos.32, n.3; 40, nn.2–4;
14, introd.; nos.2, n.10; 31, n.5; 15,
no.18, n.2; 17, introd.; no.5, n.1
- Asidates (Persian landholder, Mysia)
16, no.71
- Asmodeus (demon)
5, no.7, n.3
- Asopus (river)
(1) (near Thermopylae)
7, no.30
(2) (Boeotia)
7, nos.56; 57, n.1
- Aspadates (courtier of Cambyses II)
4, no.2
- Aspamitres (courtier of Xerxes (1))
7, no.92(i)
- Aspandas (= Astyages, ap. Ctesias)
2, no.17
- Aspasia (concubine of Cyrus (3))
12, no.24
- Aspathines (Aspacana; Persian noble)
5, no.9; 11, fig.11.14; 12, introd.;
no.5, n.5; 13, introd.
- Aspendus, Aspendian(s) (Pamphylia)
9, nos.46, n.3; 61; fig.9.2; 10, introd.;

- no.37; 13, no.36; 14, no.29, n.3; 17, no.5, n.1**
- Aspis (governor in Cataonia)
13, no.36
- Assus (Aeolia)
11, no.20(iv)
- Assyria, Assyrian(s)
Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.1(i); 4; 7–12; 14; 16; 17; 18, n.1; 3, introd.; nos.2; 6, n.4; 20, n.5; 21, nn.19, 21, 23; 23, n.6; 28; figs.3.6; 3.7; 4, nos.2, n.2; 7, n.3; 14; 5, app.; nos.1; 13, n.2.4; 6, nos.7, n.2; 8; 37, n.6; 44, n.9; 7, introd., n.4; no.88; fig.7.3; 8, nos.1, n.3; 18; 10, no.26, n.7; 11, introd.; nos.4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 21, nn.13, 14; 24, nn.3, 5; 25; 27, n.3; 30, n.3; 34, n.6; 35; 67, n.12; figs.11.24; 11.27; 11.36; 11.39(a); 11.45; 12, nos.3, n.2; 25, n.2; 35, n.2; fig.12.1(b); 14, nos.2; 27; 15, introd.; no.12, n.6; 16, nos.30; 59; 62, n.2; 71; 17, introd., app.; nos.2, n.6; 43**
- Astarte (Ashtart) (Canaanite goddess)
9, no.50, n.1; 13, no.45
- Astibaras (Median king, ap. Ctesias)
2, no.17; 3, no.32
- astronomical diaries, Babylonian
2, introd.; 9, introd.; nos.55, n.1; 66, n.1; 67, n.1; 68, n.1; 74, n.3; 10, introd.; no.27, n.1
- Astyages (Ishtum/wegu; Rshtavaiga-; Irishtimanka(?))
2, nos.14; 15; 17; 18(i); 19; 3, introd.; nos.1; 6–10; 13; 30–33; 35, n.6; 4, no.9, n.8; 5, nos.4; 5, n.3; 13, n.4; 7, no.4, n.5; 11, no.49, n.2; 12, nos.7, n.1; 13; 13, nos.3, n.3; 11(ii)
- Astyochus (Spartan general)
17, no.20
- Aswan (Syene)
Introduction; **ch.1; 4, no.10, nn.4, 6; 14, nos.14; 30; 36; 15, introd.; nos.27; 29; 30; 31, n.1; 17, no.32**
- Atarneus (west of Pergamum)
3, no.20; 6, nos.40; 46; 13, no.44, n.4
- Atek (Fars)
16, no.38
- ateleia (free of tribute)
3, no.35, n.5
- Athamas (Greek legendary figure)
7, no.28
- Athena (Greek goddess)
3, no.20; 6, no.42; 7, nos.2; 19; 8, no.29, n.5; 11, introd.; nos.59, n.5; 63; 17, no.36(ii)
- Athenaeus (author of *Deipnosophistae*)
ch.1; 4, no.6, n.2; 11, nos.20, nn.7, 9; 30, n.10; 58, n.2; 12, nos.27, n.1; 39, nn.2, 18; 42, n.1; 44, n.4; 45, n.5
- Athenagoras (Samian messenger)
7, no.61
- Athens, Athenian(s)
ch.1; 2, no.13; 3, no.16, n.3; 5, no.2, n.1; 6, introd.; nos.12; 21; 29; 30; 34; 35, n.7; 36; 37, nn.1, 4; 44; 50, nn.2, 3; 51; 53; 55; 56; 59; 7, introd.; nos.9; 10, n.1; 13; 14; 16; 32; 33; 38–43; 47; 50–53; 54, nn.1, 2; 55; 57; 59, n.1; 61–70; 73; 74, n.2; 75; 78(ii); 79; 81; 83; 92, n.5; 8, introd.; nos.6; 7; 9; 10, n.5; 11–14; 16; 17, n.1; 18; 24(ii); 25–33; 9, introd.; nos.8; 29; 31; 41; 43; 44; 46; 47; 48, nn.1, 2; 51, n.6; 62; 64(i); 65, n.4; 66; 69; 75; 10, nos.8, n.5; 12, n.1; 11, no.20(iii); 13, introd.; nos.9, n.3; 12, n.4; 17, n.1; 20(ii); 24, n.1; 40, n.4; 42; 44, n.9; 15, introd.; nos.6, n.6; 11; 17; 24; 16, introd.; 17, nos.13, n.1; 45, n.2
- Athoos (Darius II's courtier)
8, no.21
- Athos (N. Greece)
6, nos.21; 51; 7, nos.11; 23, n.3; 24; 46, n.1; 52, n.3; 11, no.25, n.2.4; 16, no.62
- Atizyes (Persian killed at Granicus)
10, no.8, n.9
- Atossa
(1) (d. Cyrus II)
4, no.20, n.1; 5, nos.7; 14; 6, no.1, n.1; 7, introd.; nos.2; 4, n.5; 8, no.14, n.3; 11, no.25
(2) (d. & w. Artaxerxes II)
9, no.72; 12, no.38(i)
- Atro/adates (Atrdata-; Haturdada)
(1) (f. Cyrus (2), ap. Ctesias)
3, no.32
(2) (official in Fars)
15, nos.1, n.12; 22(i)
- Atropates (Persian commander)
17, fig.17.14
- atrubattiš (fire chief)
11, no.51, n.1
- Attalids (hellenistic dynasty)
13, no.32, n.5
- Attalus (Philip II's general)
10, no.6
- Attic, Attica
6, nos.34, n.2; 55; 7, nos.25; 39; 40; 53–55; 61; 63, n.3; 78, n.5; 8, nos.6; 17; 24, n.1; 9, introd.; no.61, n.1;

- fig.9.1; 11, no.20(iii); 15, no.6, n.7**
 Attiginus of Thebes
17, no.18, n.1
 Atum (Egyptian god)
4, no.11; fig.4.3; 11, no.2
 Augustus
11, no.36, n.1; 17, no.6, n.2
 Aulis (Boeotia)
9, no.35, n.5
 Auramazda (Ahuramazda; Oromasdes)
5, introd.; nos.1; 6, n.5; 7, introd.; nos.1; 84–86; 87(i); 88; 8, introd.; nos.5; 23; 9, nos.22; 71; 73; 11, introd.; nos.1–3; 6–8; 10; 12; 13; 14, n.4; 16; 17; 22, n.6; 35, n.2; 37–41; 43, n.2; 54; 55, n.2; figs.11.40; 11.45; 12, no.4; 17, no.36, n.5
 authorisation, written official *see* *halmi*
 Autiyara (Armenia)
5, no.1
 Autoboisakes (Darius II's nephew)
9, no.4
 Autophradates
 (1) (satrap Lydia; commander in Cyprus)
9, no.51, n.6; 13, no.36
 (2) (Persian commander, Aegean 334)
10, nos.12; 14; 18
 Avesta(n)
5, no.1, n.5; 11, introd., n.5; 59, n.6
 Axios (river, Macedon)
6, no.18, n.2; 7, no.24
 ayadana-
5, no.1, n.26
 Ayn Manawir (Kharga oasis)
ch.1; 8, no.6, n.2; 9, no.58, n.5; 14, fig.14.2
 Azanes (b. Artachaees (1))
11, no.25
 Azemilcus/°Azzimilk (°ZMLK) of Tyre
10, nos.18; 19, n.7
 Azerbaijan
 Introduction
 Baal
 (1) Baal °Oz
9, no.50
 (2) Baal of Sidon
13, no.45
 Baalrom (f. Milkyaton of Kition)
9, no.50
 Baalshillem of Sidon
 (1) I
13, no.45, n.1
 (2) II
45, n.1
- Baba Jan
fig.2.1
 Babylon
ch.1; 2, nos.10; 11; 16; 18(ii); 3, introd.; nos.1; 6; 11; 20; 21; 22, nn.1, 4; 23–25; 26, n.1; 27; 28; 34, n.1; 37, n.1; fig.3.4; 5, nos.1; 5; fig.5.4; 6, no.5; 7, nos.7; 8; 65; 8, no.10; 9, nos.18; 24; 68, n.4; 69, n.6; 71, n.1; 75–77; 10, introd.; nos.2, n.2; 14, n.3; 26; 27; 29; 38, n.15; 40; 41, n.3; figs.10.6; 10.7; 11, nos.2; 13; 22, n.18; 25; 52, n.2; 55, n.1; 59; 65, n.1; 66(i); 12, introd.; nos.5, n.4; 34, n.1; 36; 38(i); fig.12.10; 14, nos.2; 11; 13, n.1; 22(i); 24; 35; 15, introd.; nos.1, n.1; 5; 6; 11; 16, no.70; 17, no.2, n.13
 Babylon and Beyond-the-River, province of
16, no.60(i)
 Babylonia, Babylonian(s)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.10, n.18; nos.14–16; 18, n.1; 3, introd.; nos.1; 2, n.2; 13; 21, n.1; 24, nn.3, 7, 8; 25; 26, nn.1, 3; 27, n.1; 28; 29; 34, n.5; 4, nos.3, n.1; 7, n.6; 9, nn.3, 5, 8; 5, introd.; app.; nos.1; 4, nn.11, 12, 14; 5, nn.8, 9, 10; 14, n.1; 18; fig.5.4; 6, introd.; nos.5, n.1; 33, n.2; 44, n.6; 59, n.6; 60, n.2; 7, introd.; nos.6, n.1; 7; 8, n.1; 9, n.2; 24, n.3; 31, n.6; 65, n.1; 78, n.4; 88; 90, n.1; 92, n.9; 8, introd.; nos.10, n.7; 19; 20, nn.3, 4, 10–12; 18; 21, n.4; 22, n.7; 34, n.1; 36, n.3; 9, introd.; nos.1, nn.1, 3; 20, nn.1, 4; 25, n.5; 50, n.9; 56, n.1; 59, n.4; 68, nn.2, 8; 71, n.1; 72, n.5; 74, n.3; 75, n.8; 76, n.3; 10, introd.; nos.2; 3, n.5; 4, nn.6, 8, 10; 5, n.4; 12, n.7; 26, n.9; 27; 28, n.2; 35; 40; 41, nn.3, 4; 11, introd.; 1, nn.2, 5; 4; 7; 12; 13(i), (ii), nn.6–8; 16; 17, n.8; 25, n.12; 52; 59, n.6; figs.11.11; 11.23; 12, introd.; nos.20, n.1; 29, n.7; 36, nn.1, 3; 43, n.1; 44(i); 46, n.9; 13, introd.; nos.13, n.3; 23(iii); 14, introd.; nos.2; 9, n.7; 10, nn.7, 48, 50; 13, nn.5, 7, 9, 14; 16, n.2; 21, nn.2, 3; 27; 31, n.7; 32, n.1; 34(ii); 40, n.4; 43, n.1; 44, n.8; fig. 14.1; 15, introd.; nos.4, nn.2, 3; 5; 11, n.3; 27, n.5; 32, n.4; 33, nn.1, 4, 5, 6, 10; 16, introd.; nos.13, 14, n.3; 18, n.6; 60, n.2; 61, n.3; 66, nn.6, 11; 68, n.1; 71, n.6; 17, introd.; nos.1; 17; 25, n.3; 31, n.3; 32, n.22; fig.17.14**

- Babylonian Chronicle(s)
2, introd.; 3, introd.; 9, introd.; nos.74, n.3; 75, nn.1, 4; 76, n.1; 10, no.33, n.4; 17, fig.17.2
- Baccabasus, *see* Megabyzus
- Bacchylides (lyric poet)
3, introd.; 17, n.1; 6, no.35, n.7
- Bactra (mod. Balkh)
ch.1; 15, no.1 (viii)
- Bactria, Bactrian(s)
ch.1; 2, no.16; 3, nos.8; 9, n.1; 20; 35; 5, nos.1; 5; 6, introd.; nos.4; 43; 7, introd.; nos.45; 78, n.2; 88; 92(ii); 8, no.2; 9, introd.; 10, nos.28; 33–35; fig.10.7; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 25; 59; fig.11.23; 13, no.32(iii); 14, introd.; nos.2; 19; 15, introd.; no.2; 16, introd.; no.39(iii); 17, introd.; nos.7; 16, nn.3, 4; figs.17.5; 17.14
- Badakhshan (north-east Afghanistan)
11, no.13(i), n.12
- Badis (Carmania)
17, no.43
- Badres
 (1) (Persian admiral)
6, no.4
 (2) (s. Hystanes)
11, no.25
- Bagabuxsha, s. Datavahya, *see* Megabyzus
- Bagadates (Megadates)
 (1) *see* Bakadada (1)
 (2) *see* Bakadada (2)
 (3) (Persian in Amyzon)
17, no.36(iii)
- Bagaeus (= Bagiya/Bagaya(?), s. Artontes)
5, no.15; 7, no.52; 11, no.25; 12, no.29(iii)
- Bagafarna (judge, Egypt)
14, no.36
- Bagapaios (s. Artaxerxes I)
8, no.19
- Bagapates (Bakabad; Bagapata)
 (1) (= Bakabad(d)a(?); courtier of Cambyses II & Darius I)
4, no.2; 5, nos.5; 10; 6, no.60; 11, no.68(ii); 12, no.18, n.3
 (2) (official, Fars)
16, no.5
 (3) (treasurer, Persepolis)
16, no.35(i)
 (4) (judge of Parnaka (1))
17, no.26
- Bagasrava/i (Bagasarū, ‘chancellor’)
15, no.4; 16, nos.60(iii); 64
- Baghdad
 Introduction; **3, no.28, n.4**
- Bagistanes (Babylonian noble)
10, no.35
- Bagoas (Bagavahya; Bagohi)
 (1) (courtier/chiliarch of Artaxerxes III, IV & Darius III)
9, no.77; 10, introd.; nos.3; 4, nn.3, 4; 12, no.7, n.2
 (2) (eunuch of Darius III & Alexander III)
12, no.15(i); 13, no.6, n.3
 (3) (governor of Judah)
17, no.32
- Bagohi, *see* Bagoas (3)
- Bagophanes (Persian commander of Babylon citadel)
10, no.40(i)
- Bagorazos (courtier of Artaxerxes I)
8, nos.19; 20
- Bahrain
11, no.25, n.19
- baji- (‘tribute’, ‘(king’s) share’, ‘portion’; bazikara = tax handler)
5, no.1, n.8; 11, nos.7, n.2; 12; 16; 14, nos.2, n.28; 37, n.5; 16, nos.3; 49; 53(i)
- Bakabad(d)a, *see* Bagapates
- Bakabadush
 (1) (functionary, Fars)
16, no.26(ii)
 (2) (tax collector Fars)
15, no.1(ii)
 (3) (‘élite guide’)
16, no.36(i)
- Bakabana (Bagapana, Megapanus)
 (1) (‘priest’)
11, no.39
 (2) (satrap of Susa(?))
14, no.34(ii); 15, no.1(i), (iv), (vii); 16, no.36(i)
 (3) (functionary, Fars)
16, no.26(i)
- Bakadada (Bagadata, Megadates)
 (1) (‘chief of workers’, Fars)
16, no.13
 (2) (official, Egypt)
17, no.32
 (3) *see* Bagadates
- Bakadushda (Megadostes, official in Fars)
16, no.26(iv), (v)
- Bakamira (Bagavira, grain supplier, Fars)
11, no.39
- Bakaparna, *see* Megaphernes
- Bakapukhsha, *see* Megabyz/xus
- Bakawish (official in Fars)
16, no.39(iv)
- Bakurran (district, Fars)
16, no.48

- Balacrus (Macedonian governor, Cilicia?)
10, no.20(iii)
- Balawat (N. Iraq)
10, fig.10.3; 11, no.11, n.8; 12, no.3, n.2
- Balikh (Baliḥu, tributary Euphrates)
2, no.10
- Baluchistan, *see* Gedrosia
- Bampur (Baluchistan)
17, no.42, n.3
- Ba'na (of Sidon)
13, no.45, n.1
- bandaka-
5, no.1, nn.7, 48; 13, introd.; no.34, n.4
- Banit (Syrian goddess)
15, no.29
- Baradates (Persian in Lydia)
17, no.36(i)
- Baradkama (treasurer Shiraz, then Persepolis)
16, nos.18; 24; 25; 40
- Barashba (Fars)
16, no.46
- Barca, Barcaeans(s)
(1) (in Libya)
3, no.5, n.2; 5, no.17, n.1; 6, introd., nos.4; 43, n.5; 9, no.61; 14, no.2
(2) Barca/e, Barcanian(s) (in Central Asia)
3, nos.8; 10; 35; 6, no.4
- Bardiya
3, no.35, n.3; 4, introd.; nos.12, n.2; 20, n.2; 5, introd.; app.; nos.1; 2, nn.1, 4, 5, 7; 3, n.1, 5; 4, nn.7, 11–14; 5, nn.2, 3, 6; 6, n.3; 7, nn.1–3; 11, n.2; 15, n.3; 6, nos.49, n.4; 60, nn.3, 4; 7, nos.2, nn.4, 5; 23, n.2; 11, introd.; no.68, n.12; 13, nos.6, n.2; 30, n.1; 14, no.2, n.5
- Barene (Media)
3, no.19
- Barishsha ('the Persian', official in Fars)
16, nos.21; 27
- Barisses (conspirator)
5, no.10
- Barnish (nr. Persepolis)
16, no.7
- Barsaentes ('satrap' in Arachosia/Drangiana)
10, no.35; 17, fig.17.14
- Barsine (d. Artabazus (2))
13, no.44, n.9
- barsom
11, figs.11.42; 11.43; 17, fig.17.10
- B/Partatua (Protothyas, Scythian chief)
2, nos.12; 14
- Baryaxes (claimant to Persian throne, 324)
11, no.22, n.11
- Bashiyan (Fars)
16, fig.16.5
- Basileus Kaunios, *see* King of Caunus
- Bassaces (s. Artabanus(1))
11, no.25
- Bastet (Egyptian goddess)
9, no.77, n.6
- Batis (governor of Gaza)
10, no.23
- Battiadae (ruling family, Cyrene)
6, no.4
- batugara (= batiake?)
8, no.4, n.5; 12, no.44, n.5
- Behbehan, *see* Hidali
- Behistun *see* Bisitun
- Bel(us) (-Marduk)
2, no.16; 3, nos.1; 2; 6, n.2; 21; 23; 33, n.2; 5, no.1, n.1; 7, nos.7, n.2; 8; 9, no.68, n.4; 10, no.40, n.8
- Belesys
(1) (Babylonian seer)
2, no.16
(2) (Babylonian dignitary & governor of Syria in 401, *see* Belshunu)
(3) (governor of Syria, 340s)
9, no.75
- Belitanas (= Bel-Marduk?)
7, no.7
- Belouris (Artaxerxes II's secretary)
13, no.20(ii)
- bel pihati (regional governor)
15, no.26
- Bel-shar-usur (Belshazzar)
3, no.23, n.14
- Bel-shimanni (Babylonian rebel, 484)
7, no.7, n.4
- Belshunu (governor of Beyond-the-River)
8, no.19, n.2; 9, no.75, n.7; 12, no.46(iii); 15, no.8, n.5
- benefactor(s) of the king
6, nos.2; 43; 7, no.81, n.8; 13, no.18(ii); 17, no.13, n.2
- Berenice (mod. Benghazi), *see* Euesperides
- Beroe (= Barene?)
3, no.19, n.1
- Berosus (author of *Babyloniaca*, alt. *Chaldaica*)
2, introd.; no.18, nn.1, 2, 4, 5; 3, no.23, n.10; 25, nn.1, 6; 34, nn.5, 6; 5, no.18, n.1; 11, nos.36, n.3; 59
- Bessitme (mod. Basht? (Elymais))
12, nos.32(i); 40(v); 16, no.12(i)
- Bessus ('Artaxerxes V')
10, introd.; nos.33–35; fig.10.7; 12, no.15, n.1

- Beyond-the-River (Ebir Nari)
8, no.10, n.3; **10, no.17**, n.2; **11, nos.13(i)**, n.9; **25**, n.52; **59**, n.6; **14, nos.2**, n.1; **24(ii)**; **28**, n.1; **36**, n.8; **15, no.19**; **17, introd., app.**
- Bez/shiyamata (Nashirma; Paishiyauvada, Fars)
5, no.1 (& n.18)
- Biga (Hellespontine Phrygia)
10, no.26, n.2
- Bikni (Mt. Demavend? Mt. Elvend?)
2, no.4
- Bisaltēs, s. Apollōphanēs
6, no.46
- Bisaltia (Thrace)
7, no.22
- Bisitun (Bisotun; Behistun)
 Introduction; **ch.1**; **2, introd.; nos.3, introd.; nos.35**, n.3; **5, introd.; nos.1**, nn.5, 25, 42, 116, 122; **6**, n.2; **7**, n.3; **figs.5.2–5.4**; **6, no.5**, n.2; **7, introd.; no.88**, n.6; **11, introd.; no.4**, n.2; **13, introd.; 15, introd.; fig.15.2**; **17, introd.; no.3**, n.3
- Bisthanēs (s. Artaxerxes III)
10, no.31
- Bistonians (Thracian group)
6, no.28
- Bit (all in Babylonia)
 – Abi-ram
16, no.67, n.1
 – Enlil
14, no.9
 – Sahiran
12, no.36
 – Sura
14, no.13, n.1
- Bithynia, Bithynian(s)
7, no.64, n.1; **9, no.11**, n.5; **14, no.2**
- bitu
 (1) (household, estate)
5, no.1, n.29; **16, nos.50**, n.1; **66**, n.12
 (2) (bit kussi, ‘domain of the throne’)
14, no.42, n.2
 (3) (bit paššuri, ‘domain of the table’)
14, no.42, n.2
 (4) (rab bitu = major domo)
16, nos.67, n.3; **68**
- Black Cloaks (Melanchlainēs, Scythian tribe)
6, no.10
- Black Sea (Euxine, Pontus)
ch.1; **3, nos.13**; **30**; **5, no.1**, n.122; **6, nos.8**; **9**; **40**; **46**; **47**; **58**; **7, nos.12**; **20**; **74**, n.2; **8, no.13**, n.5; **9, no.39**, nn.12, 14; **10, no.20**, n.2; **11, nos.15**; **25**; **29**, n.5; **14, no.2**; **15, no.7**, nn.1, 2
- Bodashtart (of Sidon)
13, no.45, n.1
- bodyguard, royal, *see* spear/lance-bearer(s)
- Boeotia, Boeotian(s)
7, nos.14; **38**; **39**; **42**; **45**; **57**; **9, nos.44**; **47**, n.7; **17, no.17**
- Boges (governor of Eion)
7, no.70
- Boiotios (Spartan ambassador)
8, no.32
- Borazjan (Fars)
17, no.46, n.2
- Borsippa
3, nos.1; **22**, n.1; **25**; **5, no.14**, n.1; **6, no.59**, n.6; **7, no.7**, n.4; **14, nos.13**, n.13; **20(i)**
- Bosporus
 (1) (Thracian)
6, nos.8; **9**; **13**; **8, no.30**, n.6
 (2) (Cimmerian)
11, no.15, n.2
- Bottiaea, Bottiaean(s) (Macedon)
7, no.49(ii)
- bow land (bit qašti / (giš)ban)
14, nos.9; **20**; **31**, n.5; **16, nos.66(ii)**; **67**
- Boxus (Pukhsha, abbr. Bagabukhsha, Megabyxus)
 (1) (apportioner, Persepolis)
16, no.28
 (2) (Persian, hellenistic period)
17, no.45
- Branchidae
3, no.20; **6, nos.32**; **44**, n.4; **7, no.78(ii)**; **17, no.16**
- brand, branding (‘royal mark’), *see* mark, marking
- Brasidas (Spartan general)
9, no.29, n.2
- Brauron, Brauronian (Attica)
7, no.78(ii)
- BR BYT’, *see* ‘son of the house’
- Brygi (Thracian group)
6, no.21
- Bubares (s. Megabazus (1))
6, nos.19; **24**; **7, no.11**; **13, no.42**
- Bubastis (Per-Bastet, Egypt)
4, no.11, n.3; **9, no.77**
- Budii (Median tribe)
2, no.13
- Budini (Scythian tribe)
6, nos.10; **12**
- Bulgaria
6, no.9, n.6

- Bupares (Persian commander)
17, fig.17.14
- Busae (Median tribe)
2, no.13
- Bushire (Gulf)
17, no.46, n.1
- Buto (Egypt)
4, no.15, n.4; 5, no.4
- Byblos
(1) (in Egypt)
8, no.9
(2) (in Lebanon)
10, introd.; nos.18; 21; fig.10.7
- BYT^a (estate)
16, nos.50, n.1; 65, n.3; 17, no.33, n.19
- Byzantium, Byzantine(s)
6, nos.8; 20; 36; 40; 46; 47; 7, introd.; nos.60; 67; 69; 74, n.2; 81; 8, nos.13, n.5; 14; 30; 31, n.1; 32; 9, no.80, n.1
- Cabalees/ians (Lycian frontier)
11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Caballa (Armenia)
14, no.15
- Cabiri (Egyptian cult)
4, no.19
- Cadusia, Cadusian(s)
2, no.17; 3, no.35, n.5; 8, introd.; no.37; 9, introd.; no.67, n.2; 10, nos.5; 31; 11, nos.21, n.15; 22; 32, n.1; 34; 13, nos.31(ii); 36; 17, introd.; no.1; fig.17.14
- Caicus (river, Mysia)
6, no.46
- Cairo
11, no.2, n.7
- Calamisa (Samos)
7, no.61
- Cal(l)as (Macedonian commander)
10, nos.7; 9, n.1; 20(iii)
- Callias
(1) (s. Hipponicus)
7, nos.74, n.2; 83; 8, nos.11, n.3; 13
(2) (Spartan soldier)
17, no.37
- Callicratidas (Spartan general)
12, no.47(ii)
- Callipolis (S. Turkey)
10, no.13
- Callisthenes (of Olynthus)
7, nos.73, n.2; 74, n.2
- Cambyses (Kabujiya, Kambuziya)
(1) (I)
2, no.15; 3, nos.13; 21; 22(i), (ii); 29; 30; 33; 5, nos.1, n.4; 7; 19(ii)
- (2) (II)
Introduction; 3, introd.; nos.1; 21; 23, n.23; 29; 34; 36, n.4; 4, introd.; nos.1–23; fig.4.3; 5, introd.; nos.1; 2, n.6; 3–9; 11, n.2; 14; 15; 17; 6, introd.; nos.2; 4; 6, n.1; 13, n.2; 59; 60, nn.3, 4; 8, nos.3, n.4; 7, n.2; 20, n.9; 22, n.3; 9, nos.57; 66, n.6; 75, n.14; 77, n.9; 10, introd.; no.24, n.1; 11, introd.; nos.13(i), n.16; 45, n.3; 68(ii); 12, no.38, n.7; 13, nos.28, n.3; 31, n.11; 14, nos.2; 24; 15, nos.5; 14, n.3; 17, introd.; nos.25; 32
- camel(s)
2, nos.1(i); 2(iii); 4; 3, no.14; 4, no.7(ii); 5, no.1; 11, nos.24; 25; fig.11.23; 12, no.34; 14, no.42(ii); 15, introd.; no.5; 16, no.26(vi); 17, no.41
- Camisares (f. Datames (1))
13, no.36
- Can (Turkey)
17, fig.17.9
- Canaanite
13, no.45, n.2
- Canopus (Egyptian town)
14, no.42, n.1
- Cape Gelidonya (Turkey)
15, no.20, n.3
- Capherus (Euboea)
7, no.32
- Cappadocia, Cappadocian(s)
2, no.15; 3, no.13; 5, nos.1; 11, n.3; 6, nos.7; 33; 7, introd.; nos.17; 88; 8, no.32, n.8; 9, no.13; 10, nos.8(iii); 11, n.3; 20(ii); fig.10.7; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13(ii)(b); 16; 18; 25; 36, n.1; 13, nos.35; 36; 14, no.29; 15, nos.3; 10, n.1; 16, no.36(ii), (v); 17, fig.17.14
- Carae (Babylonia)
17, no.17
- Caranus (Alexander's commander)
17, no.11
- Carchemish
6, no.35, n.4; 12, no.25, n.2; 15, no.8, nn.4, 5
- Cardia
6, nos.47; 48; 7, nos.46, n.1; 66
- Carduchian(s) (Armenia)
13, no.32(i); 17, introd.; no.6
- Caria, Carian(s)
3, no.20; 6, nos.3, n.1; 36–38; 45; 7, introd.; nos.18; 27; 44, n.1; 71; 80, n.4; 88; 8, introd., n.3; 15, n.4; 26; 28, n.2; 9, nos.8, n.4; 9, n.2; 32, n.1;

- 34; 41, n.3; 44, n.5; 51; 52; 58, n.2;
75; 10, nos.11; 13, nn.2, 5; 20, n.2;
11, nos.4; 12; 13(i), (ii)(a); 16; 25;
33(i); 12, no.20, n.2; 13, introd.;
nos.29(ii); 36; 14, nos.2; 10, n.31; 12,
n.2; 20, n.10; 44, n.3; 15, introd.; no.6,
n.8; 16, no.39(ii); 17, introd., app.;
nos.17, n.1; 33; 36, n.12; fig.17.14
- Carmania, Carmanian(s) (mod. Kirman), *see also*
Germanii
Introduction; 3, introd.; nos.25; 35;
fig.10.7; 11, nos.13(i), (ii)(a); 20(v);
45, n.3; 12, nos.29, n.13; 37(ii); 39;
14, nos.18; 19, n.3; 15, introd.;
no.1, n.1; 17, nos.10; 42, n.3;
43; 44
- Carmel, Mt. (Palestine)
13, no.45, n.12
- Caro-Memphite(s)
9, nos.8, n.4; 53, n.3
- Carthage, Carthaginian(s)
4, nos.7(iv); 10(i); 10, no.19
- Caryanda (Caria)
6, no.3, n.1
- Carystus, Carystian(s) (Euboea)
6, no.53; 7, nos.42; 50
- Casii (unknown)
11, no.25, n.68
- Casium (Mount, Sinai)
15, no.14
- Caspat/pyrus (Gandara)
6, no.3
- Caspian(s)
(1) (sea; region)
Introduction; 2, no.17, n.3; 3, nos.9,
n.1; 34; 7, no.92, n.6; 8, nos.19, n.9;
37, n.4; 9, no.67, n.2; 11, no.25; 13,
no.36; 14, no.2; 17, introd., app.;
no.1, n.7
(2) (Gates)
10, no.32; 15, no.10, n.4
- Caspiri (uncertain)
11, no.25, n.68
- Cassandane (m. Cambyses II)
4, nos.1; 4; 5; 5, no.5, n.3
- Casthanaea (W. Turkey)
7, nos.25; 26
- Castolus (Plain of, W. Turkey)
8, no.32; 9, no.1; 11, no.18
- Cataonia (Central Turkey)
13, no.36
- cataract(s)
4, no.10, nn.1, 4, 6, 11; 5, introd.; 15,
no.27, n.1; 17, no.34, n.5
- Caucasa (Chios)
6, no.31
- Caucasus (mountains)
14, no.2
- Caunus, Caunian(s) (Caria-Lycia)
3, no.20; 6, no.36; 8, introd.; nos.15;
29; 9, introd.; nos.34; 35, n.8; 10,
no.13; 13, nos.29, n.7; 39
- Cayster (river, Lydia)
6, no.35; 9, no.37
- Cecrops (mythical Athenian king)
7, no.40
- Celaenae (Greater Phrygia)
7, introd.; nos.17; 77; 9, no.38; 10,
fig.10.7; 11, no.21(iii); fig.11.34; 13,
no.29, n.1
- Celones (Babylonia)
17, no.17
- Central Asia
Introduction; ch.1; 2, no.16, nn.2, 6;
3, introd.; nos.8, n.4; 34, n.6; 5,
introd.; no.1, nn.82, 122; fig.5.1; 6,
introd.; no.43, n.4; 7, nos.88, n.5; 92,
n.8; 9, introd.; 10, introd.; 11,
introd.; nos.1, n.3; 4, n.2; 13(i), n.12;
15, n.1; 21, n.12; 25, nn.16, 22; 28,
n.3; 14, no.40, n.2; 15, introd.; 16,
no.18, n.1; 17, introd.; no.11, n.4
- century/ies (M^T; satukbam)
15, no.27; 16, nos.18; 37; 40
- Cephenes (= Persians)
11, no.25
- Cepheus (s. Belus)
3, no.33, n.2
- Chabrias (Athenian soldier)
9, nos.64(i); 69
- Chaeronea (Battle of)
10, no.6, n.1
- Chalcedon, Chalcedonian(s)
6, nos.8; 13; 20; 47; 8, nos.30, n.6; 31
- Chalcidice, Chalcidian(s)
7, no.49(ii); 8, no.16, n.3
- Chalcis, Chalcidian(s) (Euboea)
6, nos.34; 53; 54(ii); 7, no.25
- Chalcolithic period
15, no.15, n.1
- Chaldaean(s)
2, nos.16; 18(i); 5, no.18; 7, no.8; 10,
no.40(i); 11, no.25, n.14
- Chalyb/monian (wine)
11, no.20(iv)
- chamberlain ('garment-bearer'; *vacabara*,
ustarbaru)
11, figs.11.14; 11.29; no.30, n.7; 12,
introd.; no.16, n.1
'chancellor' (& scribe) (SPR) B^TL T^M; (*sepiru*) bel
ṭemi; (*sapr*) b^{el} ṭ^{em}
14, no.44; 16, no.60;

- Chaour (river, Khuzestan)
9, no.71, n.1; 11, no.13(i), n.7;
figs.11.9; 11.10
- Chares of Mytilene
11, no.30, n.7
- Charidemus (Greek advisor, Darius III)
13, no.34, n.4
- Charilaus (b. Maeandrius)
6, no.2
- chariot land (*bit narkabti*)
14, no.31, n.5
- Charitimides (Athenian admiral)
8, no.9
- Charon of Lampsacus
ch.1
- Cheirisophus (Spartan commander)
9, no.8; 17, no.12
- Chelidonian Islands
7, no.74
- Cherasmis (governor of Sestos)
11, no.25
- Chersonese
 (1) (Hellespontine)
6, nos.12; 15; 47; 48; 7, nos.11; 12;
66; 8, no.31; 9, nos.7; 34, n.8; 41, n.3;
80, n.1
 (2) (Carian)
9, nos.34; 41
- chiliarch, *see* **hazarapatīš*
- China, Chinese
12, nos.25, n.2; 26, n.2
- Chios, Chian(s)
3, no.20; 6, nos.31; 40; 43; 46; 47; 7,
nos.52; 69; 72; 8, nos.12, n.1; 26; 9,
no.45, n.5; 10, nos.6, n.4; 12; 14; 20,
n.12; 12, no.20
- Choaspes (Eulaeus, Ulai; mod. Karkheh-Karun)
6, no.33; 11, no.20(iv); 12, no.10; 15,
no.3; 17, no.41
- Chorasmia (Choramnna), Chorasmian(s)
3, no.35; 5, no.1; 7, nos.49, n.2; 88;
11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 25; 14,
nos.2; 40
- Chrysantas (Cyrus II's commander, ap.
 Xenophon)
11, no.22
- Cicantakhma (rebel 522/1)
5, app.; no.1
- Cicones (Thracian group)
6, no.28
- Cilicia, Cilician(s)
ch.1; 2, no.15; 6, nos.33; 37; 38;
43; 49; 51; 7, introd.; nos.43; 73; 80;
8, nos.6, n.10; 11; 13, n.2; 34; 9,
introd.; nos.8; 13, n.1; 14; 31; 34; 48;
52; 64, n.3; 75; 10, nos.8, n.11; 11,
n.5; 14, n.3; 16; 20, n.7; 26; fig.10.7;
11, no.25; 13, nos.22, n.1; 36; 14,
introd.; nos.2; 20, n.10; 15, introd.;
nos.3; 4; 10; 11; 16, nos.63; 70; 17,
introd.; fig.17.2
- Cilician Gates
9, no.14; 10, fig.10.7; 13, no.36; 15,
no.3, n.7
- Cimmeria, Cimmerian(s)
2, introd.; nos.6; 10, n.14; 12, n.3; 14;
6, no.5; 11, no.13(ii)(b)
- Cimmerian(s) = Scythian(s)
14, no.9
- Cimon (s. Miltiades)
7, introd.; nos.69–73; 74, n.1; 79,
n.1; 8, introd.; nos.11; 13, n.4
- Cindy (Caria)
6, no.38
- Cishpish, *see* Teispes
- Cissia, Cissian(s), Cissioi, Cossaea(ns)
6, nos.33; 57; 7, no.29; 10, fig.10.7;
11, no.25; 14, no.2; 15, no.3; 17,
introd.; nos.1; 3; fig.17.1
- Cithaeron (Mount)
7, no.57, n.1
- Clazomenae
6, no.38; 9, nos.45, n.5; 47; 63, n.7
- Clearchus (Spartan, s. Ramphias)
8, no.30; 9, nos.7; 8, n.3; 15–17;
23(ii); 26; 15, no.9; 17, no.12, n.1
- Cleisthenes (Athenian politician)
6, nos.29, n.3; 30; 56, n.5
- Cleitarchus (s. Deinon)
ch.1; 12, no.39, n.1
- Clemens of Alexandria
6, no.11, n.1; 11, no.59, nn.1, 2
- Cleomenes (Spartan king)
4, no.17, n.3; 6, nos.30; 33; 34; 51,
n.1; 15, no.3
- Cleopatra (w. Philip II)
10, no.6, n.2
- Cnidus, Cnidian(s)
9, introd.; nos.41; 43, n.4; 48, n.2;
49, n.2; 10, no.13, n.6
- Codomanus, *see* Darius III
- Codrus (mythical Athenian king)
6, no.34; 7, no.61
- Coēs, s. Erxander
6, introd.; nos.9; 20, n.3; 22; 32
- cognati
12, no.5, n.4
- Colchis, Colchian(s)
11, no.25; 12, nos.20, n.1; 25, n.2;
14, no.2; 17, fig.17.3
- Colon (Mesopotamia)
17, nos.3(ii); 17, n.4

- Coloniae (Aeolis)
7, no.81; 17, no.35
- Colophon, Colophonian(s) (Ionia)
8, no.17
- Colossae (Phrygia)
9, no.38; 11, no.21 (iii)
- Comania (Mysia)
16, no.71
- Combaphis
4, no.9, n.6
- Cometes (= Gaumata, in Justin)
5, no.6
- concubine(s)
5, no.10; 12, introd.; nos.15 (ii); 22–24; 26; 27, nn.2, 3; 28; 30; 33, n.3; 34; 43; 13, introd.; nos.2 (ii); 11, n.4; 45, n.4; 17, no.35
- Conon (Athenian admiral in Persian service)
9, introd.; nos.31; 33, n.2; 34; 39; 41–44; 49; 15, no.11
- Coresus (Ephesus region)
6, no.35
- Corinth, Corinthian(s)
7, nos.33; 61; 8, no.16; 9, nos.7; 44; 10, nos.6, n.1; 14, n.2
- Corsothe (= Qurashute? mid-Euphrates)
15, no.6
- Corupedium (Lydia)
11, no.58, n.2
- Corys (river, Sinai)
4, no.7 (ii)
- Cos
10, nos.11, n.4; 13
- Cosmartidene (Babylonian concubine)
8, no.19
- Cossaeon(s), *see* Cissia, Cissian(s)
- Cotta (Sardanapalus' ally)
2, no.16
- craftsmen, *see* marrip
- Cranaspes (s. Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium)
5, no.15
- Craterus (Alexander's general)
10, introd.; nos.20, n.10; 22; 17, no.2 (i)
- Crete, Cretan(s)
10, nos.14; 25, n.5; 12, nos.42, n.7; 45 (ii)
- Crimea
12, fig.12.2
- Critalla (Cappadocia)
7, no.17
- Croesus
2, no.15; 3 introd.; nos.1, n.5; 12–20; 25, n.6; 30; 34; fig.3.3; 4, nos.9 (i); 21; 22; 6, no.32; 11, no.50
- Croton (Italy)
6, no.1
- crown prince
11, nos.61; 62, n.3; 16, no.67
- Ctesias of Cnidus
ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.16; 17; 3, introd.; nos.4, n.3; 6, nn.8, 10; 8; 9, n.1; 10; 16, n.5; 18; 19; 20, n.5; 25, n.6; 32, n.1; 34, n.5; 36, n.1; 4, introd., n.1; nos.2, n.2; 6; 9, nn.4, 6, 7; 5, nos.5, nn.1, 2, 5, 9, 16; 7, n.7; 10, n.1; 13, n.4; 18, nn.1, 5, 7; 6, nos.7, n.1; 13, nn.1, 2; 58, nn.1, 2; 60, nn.1, 3, 4; 7, introd.; nos.4, nn.1, 2, 4, 5; 7; 78, nn.2–4; 92, nn.1–3, 7; 8, introd.; nos.2, n.1; 3, n.3; 9, nn.1, 4, 10; 10, nn.2, 5–7, 20, 11; 19, nn.2, 6; 20, nn.4, 6, 9, 12, 17; 21, nn.3, 6; 22, n.2; 25, n.2; 37, n.4; 9, introd.; nos.1, nn.1–3; 5, n.6; 14, n.3; 49; 11, introd.; nos.11, n.10; 32, n.2; 33, n.6; 58; 60, n.1; fig.11.40; 12, nos.12, n.2; 13, n.3; 38(i); 39, nn.1, 11, 16, 18; 45(ii); 13, nos.11, n.4; 30, nn.2, 3; 14, introd.; nos.4; 5, nn.1, 2; 6; 15, introd.; nos.2; 3, n.19; 17, introd., n.4; nos.16, n.3; 45
Indica, **ch.1; 11, no.58, n.1; 14, nos.5, nn.1, 2; 6, n.1**
On the Tributes of Asia, **11, no.20(v); 12, no.39, n.1**
Persica, **ch.1; 3, no.8, n.2; 15, no.2, n.1**
- Cunaxa (Battle of)
ch.1; 8, no.22, n.3; 9, introd.; nos.16, n.2; 23, n.1; 24, n.1; 25, n.1; 10, no.26, n.2; 11, nos.32, n.1; 33, n.5; 12, no.18, n.1; 13, nos.7, n.1; 22, n.6; 29, n.6; 32, n.2; 39, n.1; 15, no.8, n.11
- cup-bearer(s) (*battishmarnabarra; pad(d)arakas(?)*)
2, no.19(ii); 3, no.32; 12, no.7; 15, no.19, n.1
- Curium, Curian(s) (Cyprus)
6, no.37
- Cutha (Babylonia)
3, no.1
- Cyanaean Rocks (The Dark Rocks)
6, nos.8; 9; 7, no.74; 8, no.13
- Cyaxares (Uvakhshtra; Umakishtar)
2, introd.; nos.10; 14; 15; 3, nos.11; 13; 5, no.1; 6, no.5, n.3
- Cybele (goddess)
6, no.35, n.4; 15, no.18, n.3
- Cyclades, Cycladic
6, introd.; no.31; 9, introd.; 10, no.12
- Cyme, Cymaeon(s) (W. Turkey)

- 3, no.20; 6, nos.32; 38; 7, no.27; 9, nos.28; 52; 63, n.7
- Cyno (Cyrus II's foster-mother)
3, nos.30; 31
- Cyprus, Cypriot(s)
4, introd.; nos.3, n.1; 7(iv); 11, n.9; 6, introd.; nos.31; 33; 36; 37; 43; 44, n.1; 7, introd.; nos.27, n.4; 43; 66; 73; 81; 8, introd.; nos.6, n.10; 7; 11; 13; 9, introd.; nos.31; 33, n.2; 46; 47; 48, nn.2, 6; 49; 50, nn.1, 4, 6; 51; 52; 54–56; 61; 63; 75; 10, nos.16; 18; 21; 25, n.5; 11, no.25; 13, nos.24; 31, n.1; 32, n.2; 14, introd.; no.2; 16, no.63
- Cyrene, Cyrenean(s), Cyrenaica
4, nos.6; 8; 5, no.17, n.1; 6, introd.; nos.4; 17, n.2; 8, nos.6; 7; 9, no.61, n.2; 12, no.39, n.11; 14, no.2
- Cyrta (Gulf)
13, no.30
- Cyrus (Kurush; Kurash)
(1) (I)
3, nos.2, n.2; 3; 21; 30; 12, fig.12.5
(2) (II, the Great)
Introduction; ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.15; 17; 19; 3, introd.; nos.1; 5–16; 18–21; 22(i), (ii); 23; 24, nn.1; 6–8; 25; 26(iv); 27–37; figs.3.4; 3.5(a); 3.7; 3.8; 4, introd.; nos.1; 3–6; 7(iii); 9(i); 16; 20–22; 5, introd.; nos.1; 2; 4; 7; 9; 12; 13, n.4; 14; 15, nn.1, 3; 18, nn.5, 7; 19; 6, introd.; nos.2; 4; 6, n.1; 7, introd.; nos.2; 3; 4, n.5; 8; 20, n.6; 9, no.3, n.3; 10, no.30(iv); 11, introd.; nos.18; 20(i), (ii); 22; 23; 25; 49; 50; 52, n.1; 56; 57, n.3; 58, n.3; 63; 66, n.1; 68, n.11; 12, nos.1, n.4; 5, n.1; 6; 7, n.1; 12(i); 13; 16; 29, n.4; 39; 13, nos.3, nn.3, 4; 6; 11; 21; 23(i); 26(i); 27; 33; 36, n.1; 37; 14, nos.2; 22(i); 15, nos.3; 21(ii); 26; 17, no.25, n.3
(3) (the Younger)
7, nos.77, n.1; 82, n.1; 8, introd.; nos.19; 21; 32; 33; 37; 9, introd.; nos.1; 2; 3, n.3; 4–11; 12, n.3; 13–21; 23(i); 24; 25; 27; 28, nn.1–3; 29; 35; 38; 39, n.6; 49, n.1; 52, n.4; 53, n.3; 58, nn.1, 2; 62, n.2; fig.9.1(b); 11, introd.; nos.5; 11; 18; 21(iii); 22, n.5; 32; 33; 56; 63, n.2; 12, nos.18; 24; 38, n.2; 46(iii); 47; 13, nos.7, n.1; 15; 22; 29(ii); 34; 15, introd.; nos.6; 7, n.1; 8(i), (ii); 9, n.1; 10; 13, n.1; 16, nos.66(i), (iii); 71, n.1; 17, nos.4, n.4; 5, n.2; 21
- (4) (river)
13, no.37
- (5) (canal)
14, no.21(ii)
- Cyrus Cylinder
2, no.14, n.1; 3, introd.; nos.6, n.10; 22, n.3; 23, nn.1, 25, 27–29; 25, n.5; 26, n.3; 30, n.4
- Cyrus' tomb (Pasargadae)
3, nos.29; 36, n.1; figs.3.7; 3.8; 4, introd.; fig.10.7; 11, introd.; nos.56, n.3; 57, n.3
- Cythera (Greek island)
9, introd.; no.43; 10, no.12, n.3
- Cythnus (Greece)
7, no.42
- Cyzicus, Cyzicene(s)
6, no.47; 8, no.26; 9, nos.36; 39, n.21; 10, no.7
- Dadarshi (Darius I's general)
5, app.; no.1
- Dadicae (Central Asia)
11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Dagon (Canaanite grain god)
13, no.45, n.12
- Dahae (Central Asia)
7, no.88
- Dahan-i Gulaman
11, introd.; fig.11.40
- dahyu-
5, no.1, n.3; 11, no.1, n.2; 14, no.3, n.1
- Dai (Persian tribe)
3, no.5
- Daiku (Deiokes)
2, no.13, n.2
- Daiphernes (Persian, ap. Xenophon)
13, no.23
- daiva(s)
7, introd.; nos.41, n.3; 88
- Dai/yukka/u (Deiokes)
2, no.13, n.2
- Dakamanush (Fars)
16, no.1
- Dalaiah (s. Sinuballit/Sanballat)
17, no.32
- Damascus
ch.1; 10, introd.; nos.17; 18, n.9; fig.10.7; 11, nos.20, n.4; 59; 12, no.43; 15, no.4; fig.15.3
- Damaspia (w. Artaxerxes I)
8, no.19
- Dana (Cappadocia)
9, no.13

- Danaë
 (1) (Greek goddess)
 3, no.33, n.2
 (2) (d. of Acrisius)
 5, no.18, n.4
- Daniel, Book of
 12, introd., n.1
- Danube (Ister)
 6, introd.; nos.9; 10; 11, n.1; **12; 13;**
 15, n.1; **16; 17**, n.1; **20**, n.3; **22**, n.1;
 11, no.12, n.8
- Daphnae (Tahpanes, Egypt)
 14, no.10, n.1; **15, no.27**
- Dardani, Dardanian(s) (Thrace/Asia Minor)
 3, no.28
- Dardanus (Aeolis)
 6, no.38; 17, no.35
- Dardas (mod. Sajur?)
 12, no.46; 15, no.8, n.5
- daric(s)
 5, no.17, n.2; **8, no.28; 9, nos.7; 16;**
 11, no.26(ii); fig.11.35; 12, no.19;
 13, nos.29, n.2; **37**
- Daritae (Hyrkania?)
 14, no.2
- Darius (Darayawush; Dariam/wush)
 (1) I
 Introduction; **ch.1; 3, introd.; nos.4,**
 n.1; **7; 25**, n.5; **27**, nn.1, 2; **28**, n.12;
 34, n.4; **35**, n.3; **37; figs.3.5(a); 3.7; 4,**
 introd.; nos.8, n.3; **9**, n.5; **10**, n.1; **11;**
 12, n.2; **13**, n.1; **14; 16**, n.10; **23**, n.1;
 5, introd.; app.; nos.1, 2, n.6; **3**, nn.4,
 5; **4**, nn.11, 13, 14; **5**, n.10; **7**, nn.1–3;
 9; 10; 11, nn.1–3, 5; **12–17; 18**, n.7;
 6, introd.; nos.1–22; 23(i); 24; 25;
 29–32; 34; 36–42; 44–46; 47, n.2; **48,**
 n.1; **49; 50; 53; 57; 58**, n.2; **59; 60;**
 figs.6.1; 6.4; 7, introd.; nos.1–4; 6; 7,
 n.5; **8; 9; 10**, n.1; **13; 14; 17**, n.1; **21,**
 n.2; **24**, nn.3, 5; **29**, n.5; **31; 43**, n.9;
 49, n.2; **52**, nn.2, 6; **66**, nn.4, 5; **70;**
 78(ii); 81, n.4; **82**, nn.3, 4; **84–89;**
 fig.7.6; 8, nos.4; 5(i); 7, n.2; **14**, n.3;
 23(ii); 25, nn.2, 3; **28**, n.5; **9, nos.71,**
 nn.1, 2; **73; 77**, n.10; **78**, n.10; **10,**
 introd., n.5; **no.4**, nn.7, 8; **11, introd.;**
 nos.1–3; 4, nn.1, 3, 6; **7; 8; 10; 11,**
 nn.4, 9, 10; **12; 13; 16; 17; 18**, n.1;
 19(i); 25; 28; 30(i); 35, n.5; **37; 38;**
 59, n.6; **68**, nn.2, 6, 11; **figs.11.9;**
 11.10; 11.14; 11.15; 11.29; 11.34;
 11.37; 11.44; 12, introd.; nos.4, 5,
 n.5; **18**, n.3; **29**, nn.2, 4, 7, 13; **31,**
 n.2; **32**, nn.3, 4, 7, 10; **33**, n.2; **13,**
 introd.; nos.2(v); 3(i); 11, n.1; **13,**
 n.1; **23(ii); 25; 28(ii); 30**, n.1; **38; 43;**
 fig.13.5; 14, introd.; nos.2; 3; 17; 19,
 n.2; **20**, n.8; **31(iii); 32; 42(ii); 15,**
 nos.32; 33, n.6; **16, introd.; nos.11,**
 n.1; **22**, n.1; **26**, n.9; **51; figs.16.3(b);**
 16.4; 17, introd.; nos.7, n.1; **25; 30;**
 39, n.4; **fig.17.6**
 (2) II (Ochus (1); Um/wakush (1);
 Va(h)ush)
 2, no.17, n.2; **5, nos.1**, n.1; **5; 8,**
 introd.; nos.1, n.4; **10**, nn.6, 7; **19–**
 23; 25, n.2; **26; 32**, n.6; **33**, n.1; **34,**
 n.1; **35; 37**, n.1; **9, introd.; nos.1–4;**
 11, n.1; **17**, n.1; **22; 57; 71; 73; 74,**
 n.3; **fig.9.1(a); 11, nos.11**, n.9; **14;**
 19, n.4; **37; 56**, n.1; **59; 63; fig.11.15;**
 12, introd.; nos.11, n.1; **14; 33**, n.2;
 38(ii); 45(i); 13, introd.; no.30, n.8;
 14, nos.9; 31(ii); 15, no.32; 16,
 nos.66(ii); 69; 17, nos.31; 32
 (3) III (Artashata; Codomanus; Dara)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 3, no.8**, n.3; **8,**
 introd.; no.1, n.4; **9, no.8**, n.6; **10,**
 introd.; nos.3; 4(ii); 7; 8; 11; 12; 14,
 n.3; **15–21; 23**, n.5; **24; 26; 27**, nn.6,
 9, 11; **28; 31–35; 38**, nn.12, 15, 16;
 figs.10.1; 10.5; 10.7; 11, introd.; nos.
 19(v); 52, n.2; **55**, n.1; **66(i);**
 fig.11.31; 12, nos.2; 5, n.4; **7**, n.2; **15;**
 16, n.2; **17; 33**, n.3; **34; 35; 43; 46,**
 n.9; **13, introd.; 15, nos.22**, n.8; **32;**
 16, introd.; 17, introd.; nos.2; 15(ii);
 24; 40; 41; 44
 (4) (Dariaios, Xerxes I's crown-prince)
 7, introd.; nos.4; 92; 8, no.1, n.2; **11,**
 fig.11.29
 (5) (Artaxerxes II's crown-prince)
 10, no.8(iii); 11, nos.54; 61; 12,
 no.24; 13, no.31(v)
- Dark Rocks, The, *see* Cyanaean Rocks
- Dascylitis, Lake, *see* Manyas, Lake
- Dascylium
 ch.1; 4, no.16; 5, nos.7, n.3; **15; 6,**
 no.47; 7, no.81; fig.7.5; 9, no.39; 10,
 no.9, n.1; **11, figs.11.30; 11.42; 12,**
 nos.46(ii); fig.12.8; 15, introd., n.1;
 17, no.35, n.4; **fig.17.9**
- dasmophoros
 14, no.2, n.28
- data-
 5, no.1, n.10; **11, nos.12**, n.5; **16; 17,**
 nos.27; 33, n.22
- Datames
 (1) (Persian commander under Artaxerxes II)
 ch.1; 9, no.68, n.3; **10, no.12**, n.11;
 11, no.29(iii); 13, nos.35; 36; 44, n.5

- (2) (Persian admiral under Darius III)
10, no.12
- (3) (Cyrus II's commander, ap. Xenophon)
11, no.22
- Datis (Datiya(?))
6, introd.; nos.41; 42; 51; 53; 54; 57; 58; 11, no.25; 16, no.12, n.1
- Datukka (account holder, Fars)
16, nos.46(i); 51(i)
- Daurises
(1) (Darius I's son-in-law)
6, no.38
(2) (= Da'urisa, 'fire-fanner')
11, no.51
- dausam/dausiyam (dauca-)
11, no.39, n.3
- Dead Sea Scrolls
12, introd., n.1
- decree, *see* edict
- decury/ten (dasabam)
16, nos.37(ii); 40
- Deh Bozan
15, fig.15.2
- Deinon of Colophon(?)
ch.1; 3, no.10; 4, no.6; 6, no.16; 7, no.92, n.3; 9, nos.5, n.6; 72, n.1; 79, n.2; 11, nos.26, n.1; 31; 32, n.1; 33(i); 12, nos.8; 23; 24, n.1; 38(i); 39, n.1; 13, nos.11(ii); 37, n.1
- Deiokes (Dahiwukka, Teyauka)
(1) (Median king, ap. Herodotus)
2, nos.13–15; 11, no.15, n.3
(2) (Persepolitan official)
16, no.14
(3) (tax payer, Fars)
16, no.49
- Delian League
6, no.34, n.2; 7, no.68, n.1; 8, nos.12, n.1; 14, n.4; 16, n.3
- 'delivery man' (ullira)
16, introd.; nos.2; 10; 17; 23(i); 53(i)
- Delos, Delian(s)
3, no.17; 6, introd.; nos.53; 54; 7, nos.52; 61
- Delphi
3, nos.12; 16; 7, introd.; nos.37, n.2; 40, n.2; 78(i); 17, no.36(iii)
- Delta, Nile
4, nos.8, n.1; 9, n.3; 11, nn.1, 3; 15, nn.4, 5; 8, nos.6, nn.2, 11; 7, nn.3, 11, 12, 14; 9, nos.59, n.3; 65, n.2; 66, n.6; 77, n.2; 78, n.1; 10, no.16, n.4; 14, nos.10, n.61; 42, n.1; 15, nos.27, n.2; 28, n.4; fig.15.4
- Demaratus (Spartan king)
6, no.51, n.1; 7, nos.2; 82; 9, no.2; 13, introd.; nos.40, n.3; 41; 15, no.20
- Demavend (Mount)
2, no.4, n.5
- Demeter
7, nos.59; 61; 8, no.12
- Demetrius Poliorketes (s. Antigonus)
9, fig.9.3
- Democedes of Croton
4, no.16; 6, no.1; 12, no.12, n.2; 13, no.38
- Demosthenes (Attic orator)
9, no.44, n.8
- Demotic Chronicle
4, no.14, n.1; 9, nos.60, n.8; 79, n.1
- Demus (Athenian)
13, no.24
- Der (Babylonia)
3, no.21
- Derbicae (Central Asia)
3, nos.20, n.5; 35
- Dercylidas, Dercylidean (Spartan general)
9, nos.30; 32; 35; 39
- Dersaei (Thracian group)
6, no.28
- Derusiaei (Persian tribe)
3, no.5
- Deutero-Isaiah
3, introd.; nos.21, n.6; 23, nn.1, 31; 26, n.1
- dexia, dextra (right hand)
3, nos.35, n.8; 36, n.5; 9, nos.11, n.4; 25, n.3; 75, n.15; 12, no.48, n.5; 13, no.36; 17, no.37, n.5
- DGL/*degel* (detachment of soldiers)
14, no.36, n.3; 15, nos.15, n.4; 27, nn.4, 7
- Diadochi, Diadochic (Successors)
10, nos.2, n.2; 27, n.14
- Didyma, Didymeion (Apollo oracle at)
3, no.20, n.7; 6, no.44; 7, nos.4, n.3; 78, n.2; 17, no.16
- Dilbat (Babylonia)
14, nos.23; 43
- Dio Chrysostom
7, introd.; no.64, n.1
- Diodorus Siculus
ch.1; 2, no.16, n.3; 3, no.34, n.6; 4, no.10, n.10; 7, nos.43, nn.1, 2; 73, n.6; 74, n.2; 92, n.5; 8, introd.; nos.1, n.1; 2, n.1; 6, nn.1, 10; 11, n.3; 20, n.4; 34, n.7; 9, introd.; nos.8, nn.2, 5; 10, n.1; 34, n.4; 38, n.1; 50, n.8; 52, n.3; 53, n.1; 54, n.1; 56, nn.1, 3, 5; 58, nn.1, 3, 5; 63, nn.1, 5; 66, nn.8, 9;

- 69, nn.6, 7; 70, n.1; 74, n.1; 75, nn.1, 4, 8, 14, 16, 17, 19; 77, n.5; 80, n.1; 10, **introd.**; nos.3, nn.1, 10; 4, n.4; 5, n.1; 8, nn.4, 9; 30, n.14; 11, nos.11, nn.1, 10; 10; 13(i), n.16; 65, n.2; 13, nos.31, n.11; 32, n.4; 36, n.1; 44, n.2; 15, **introd.**; nos.5, n.7; 23, n.1; 17, nos.6, n.1; 17, n.1; 25, nn.1, 4; 36, n.7
- Diogenes (tyrant of Mytilene)
10, no.12
- Dionysius
(1) (of Miletus)
ch.1
(2) (of Heraclea-Pontus)
10, **introd.**
- Dionysus
6, no.8; 13, no.12; 14, no.2
- Diphridas (Spartan general)
9, no.44
- Diyala (river)
Introduction; 3, no.28; 9, no.21, n.3;
15, no.3
- Djedherbes (Perso-Egyptian)
17, no.38
- Djedsomtutefnakht (f. Somtutefnakht)
10, no.38
- Djedthothefankh
(1) (I)
10, no.39, n.1
(2) (II)
10, no.39, n.1
- Doberes (Thracian group)
6, no.27
- Dolonci (Thracian group)
6, no.15
- Dolopian(s) (Greece)
7, no.14
- Dor (Palestine)
13, no.45
- Dorginarti (Nubia)
4, no.10, n.1
- Doric, Dorian(s)
9, no.70, n.1; 11, no.25
- Dorieus (Spartan king)
6, no.33, n.1
- Doris, Dorian(s) (Greece)
7, nos.37; 42
- Doriscus (Thrace)
6, nos.25; 26; 7, **introd.**; nos.2, n.5; 21; 24; 46, n.1; 70; 11, no.25, n.1
- Dotus, s. Megasidrur
11, no.25
- Douch (Kharga oasis)
ch.1
- Drabescus (Thrace)
7, no.75
- Drangiana (Sarangia, Sarangian(s); Seistan)
Introduction; 5, no.1; 7, nos.73, n.5; 88; 10, no.35; fig.10.7; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13(ii)(b); 16; 25; fig.11.40; 12, no.38, n.10; 14, nos.2; 40; 17, no.8
- drauga-
5, **introd.**, n.1; no.1, nn.15, 32; 7, no.12, n.3; 11, **introd.**; nos.8, n.2; 17
- Droaphernes, s. Barakes (Persian official, Lydia)
17, no.36(i)
- Dropici (Persian tribe)
3, no.5
- Dubala (Babylonia)
5, no.1
- duksiš (royal lady/princess)
12, no.29, nn.4, 7, 14; 16, no.50(i)
- dumme (draft? copy?)
13, no.5; 16, nos.12; 13; 15; 18; 30; 38; 40; 42(ii); 43; 45
- Duris of Samos
11, no.58
- Dur-karashi/u (Babylonia)
3, no.1
- Dur Katlimmu (mod. Sheh Hammad)
15, no.6, n.2
- Dur Sharruke/in (mod. Khorsabad, Assyria)
2, no.2(ii)
- Dynastic Prophecy
3, no.25, n.6; 10, **introd.**
- Dynasty XXVI
4, nos.3, n.1; 11, n.1
- Dynasty XXVII
4, no.14, n.1
- Dynasty XXVIII
4, no.14, n.1
- Ea
(1) (Mesopotamian god)
15, no.12, n.6
(2) (-Mummu)
3, no.23
- Ea-bullitsu (Parysatis' steward)
16, no.66(ii)
- Eanna
3, no.23, n.23; 12, **introd.**, n.7; 14, no.24(ii); 15, no.26
- Early Bronze Age
15, no.15, n.1
- earth (in cult)
11, nos.35; 36
- earth and water
6, nos.10; 19; 30; 50; 51; 7, nos.13; 14; 16; 31; 17, no.23

- Ebabbar
14, nos.21, n.4; 22, n.3
- Ebir Nari, *see* Beyond-the-River
- Ecbatana, Ecbatanian(s)
 (1) (mod. Hamadan)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.1, n.1; 13; 16; 17; 3, introd.; nos.1; 8; 19; 20; 27, n.2; 30; 5, nos.1; 3, n.5; 4; 7, nos.7; 76; 78, n.7; 8, nos.4, n.1; 23, n.3; 9, nos.21(i), (ii); 22, n.4; 67, n.2; 10, introd.; nos.28; 31; fig.10.7; 11, introd.; nos.1, n.1; 14, nn.1, 2; 15; 21, n.11; 37, n.1; 59; 65, n.1; fig.11.13; 12, no.3; 14, no.2; 15, introd.; fig.15.2; 17, nos.1; 3, n.3**
 (2) (in Syria)
5, no.4
- Edfu (Egypt)
9, no.65, n.2
- edict(s) (royal), decree(s)
16, introd.; no.62, n.3; 17, introd.; nos.25, n.1; 28(ii)
- Edom, Edomite(s)
15, nos.15, n.1; 32, n.2
- Edoni, Edonian(s) (Thrace)
6, nos.22; 28; 39; 7, no.75
- Egibi archive
14, no.31, n.11
- Egypt, Egyptian(s)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, nos.10; 16, n.2; 3, introd.; nos.13; 17, n.1; 20; fig.3.7; 4, introd.; nos.1; 3–6; 7(i), (iii), (iv); 8; 9; 11; 12; 14; 15; 16, n.1; 17; 18; 19, n.3; 20, n.1; figs.4.1–3; 5, introd.; app.; nos.1; 3; 4; 5, n.1; 6, n.1; 15, n.3; 17; 6, introd.; nos.2; 3; 4; 6, n.1; 12; 43; 59; 7, introd.; nos.2; 6; 7, nn.1, 5; 9; 12; 24, n.6; 43; 81; 88; 91, n.2; 92, n.9; 8, introd.; nos.6–9; 11; 13, nn.2, 6; 15, n.3; 20; 34; 9, introd.; nos.8, n.4; 16, n.2; 23; 34; 47, n.7; 51, n.4; 52; 53, n.3; 54; 57; 58; 59, nn.3–5; 60, nn.6–8; 61–66; 69; 75; 77; 78(i); 79; fig.9.8; 10, introd.; nos.3, n.4; 6, n.4; 7, n.2; 8, n.8; 12, n.3; 16; 18, n.1; 23; 24; 38; 39; figs.10.2; 10.7; 11, nos.2; 4; 6; 7; 12; 13; 16; 21, n.14; 25; 27, n.1; 59, n.6; figs.11.6; 11.45; 12, no.12, n.2; 13, nos.17; 30, n.5; 36; 38; 44; 45; figs.13.5; 13.6; 14, introd.; nos.2; 10, 17; 19, n.2; 30, nn.2, 3, 6; 31, n.5; 35; 36, nn.3, 5, 6, 8; 37; 41, n.3; 42(i); 44; 15, introd.; nos.1(vi); 4; 5; 6, n.8; 14; 27, nn.1, 10, 13; 28; 29, nn.1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 12; 30, nn.2, 5, 7; 16, introd.; nos.18; 36(i); 40; 52, n.1; 59; 60, nn.3, 4, 10, 11; 61, n.3; 64; 65; 69, n.1; 70; 71, n.6; fig.16.7; 17, introd.; nos.2, n.5; 19; 25; 29, n.4; 30; 32; 34, nn.1, 5; 38, nn.1, 2; figs.17.8; 17.11**
 (Old Kingdom)
14, no.17, n.1
 (New Kingdom)
11, no.21, n.14
 (Second Intermediate Period/Hyksos)
fig.16.7
- Egyptian
 (1) (demotic)
ch.1; 4, no.14, nn.1, 4, 6; 9, nos.60, n.1; 65, n.6; fig.9.8; 14, nos.10, n.34; 35, n.10; 37; 44, n.8; 16, no.64, n.7; 17, introd.; nos.30, nn.1, 8; 38
 (2) (hieroglyphic)
4, no.15, n.1; 7, fig.7.4; 9, no.78, n.1; 10, no.38, n.1; 11, no.6, n.1; fig.11.2; 17, no.38
- Ehulhul (Harran)
3, nos.6; 23
- Eion (Thrace)
6, no.25; 7, nos.46, n.1; 47; 70; 8, no.18
- Ekron (Palestine)
6, no.4, n.8;
 (Padi of Ekron)
6, no.4, n.8
- Ekur (Nippur)
3, no.23
- Elaeus (Thracian Chersonese)
7, nos.11; 66
- Elam, Elamite(s), Elymais
 Introduction; **3, introd.; nos.1; 2; 24; figs.3.1; 3.2; 3.7; 3.8; 4, no.11; 5, introd.; app.; nos.1; 3, n.5; 6, nos.41, n.5; 57, n.2; 7, no.88; 10, no.28, n.2; 11, introd.; nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 21, n.3; 28; 30, n.3; 35, n.2; 40, n.4; 42, nn.1, 2; 43, n.2; 45, n.1; 53, n.4; 56, n.3; 60; figs.11.2; 11.25; 11.39(b); 12, no.32, n.5; fig.12.5; 14, introd.; nos.20, n.4; 23; 26, n.2; 34, n.9; 15, introd.; nos.1, nn.11, 15; 4, n.2; 23, nn.10, 11; 33, n.10; 16, introd.; nos.14, n.1; 22, n.2; 33, n.2; 36(ii); 38, nn.4, 5; 45, n.4; 51, n.5; 55, n.2; 56, nn.1, 3; 57, n.2; 58, n.3; 59, nn.1, 4; 17, nos.1; 2, n.15; 8, n.3; fig.17.1**
 Elamite (language)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 3, introd.; nos.3; 4; 5, no.1, nn.1, 18, 26, 28, 29; 19, n.1; 6, fig.6.4; 7, nos.1, n.1; 90, n.3;**

- fig.7.4; 11, nos.12, n.1; 13(i), n.1; 13(ii), n.1; 68, n.6; 12, nos.7, n.2; 29, n.11; 13, no.5, n.6; 16, introd.; nos.6, n.3; 15, n.5; 24, n.3; 26, n.8; 29, n.1; 32, n.1; 44, n.4; 17, introd.
- Elburz (mountains)
10, no.32, n.2; 14, no.41, n.5
- elephant(s)
10, no.26, n.2; 11, no.67; 17, introd.; nos.40; 41
- Elephantine (3bw, Egypt)
ch.1; 4, introd., n.6; no.10(i); 5, no.1, nn.1, 116; 8, no.23, n.3; 9, nos.57, n.5; 58, n.5; 59, n.1; 14, nos.14; 36, n.11; 44, n.1; 15, introd.; nos.27, nn.1, 11; 28; 31, n.1; 16, no.29, n.2; fig.16.7; 17, introd.; nos.30; 31, n.1; 32
- Eleusis, Eleusinian(s) (Attica)
7, nos.59, n.3; 61
- Elis, Elean(s) (Peloponnese)
7, no.58, n.7; 13, no.38
- El Kab (Egypt)
9, no.60, n.8
- Ellipi (Zagros)
2, nos.1(i); 2(iv); 3; fig.2.1
- Ellopia (Euboea)
7, no.34
- Elpinike (w. Callias)
8, no.13, n.4
- Elvend (Mount)
2, no.4, n.5; 7, introd.; no.87, n.1; 11, no.15, n.4
- Eniene(s) (Greece)
7, no.14
- E-ningidar-kalamma-summu (Babylon)
3, no.1
- Enlil (Mesopotamian god)
3, nos.6; 21; 23; 10, no.41
- Entimus of Gortyn
12, no.42, n.7
- Enuma Anu Enlil
3, no.23, n.22
- Enylus (*YYN*L) of Byblos
10, no.21
- Ephesus, Ephesian(s)
3, no.20, n.3; 6, no.35; 7, nos.44; 77, n.2; 8, nos.17, n.2; 18; 9, introd.; nos.8; 35; 37, n.2; 42, n.3; 44; 45, n.5; 10, nos.6, n.4; 10, n.1; 36; 12, nos.20; 21, n.2; 47(ii); 15, introd.; nos.2; 3
- Ephialtes, s. Eurydemus
7, nos.30; 31
- Ephippus of Olynthus
11, no.65, n.2
- Ephorus of Cyme
ch.1; 7, nos.43, n.1; 73, n.2; 9, introd., n.2; no.10; 15, no.16
- Epidauros (Peloponnese)
14, no.10, n.31
- Epilykos, s. Teisander
8, no.24(i)
- Epyaxa, w. Syennesis
9, no.13, n.1; 17, no.21, n.1
- Eratosthenes of Cyrene
15, no.5, n.4
- Erbina (Arbinas, Lycian dynast)
8, no.29, n.1
- Eresus (Lesbos)
10, no.25, n.4
- Eretria, Eretrian(s)
6, nos.21; 34; 35; 51; 53; 55; 57; 7, no.82
- Ergias (author of Histories)
6, no.42
- Ersilaus (Eurysilaus, tyrant of Eresus)
10, no.25
- Erythrae, Erythraean(s)
(1) (in Asia Minor)
6, no.43; 8, nos.12; 26; 9, nos.42, n.3; 45, n.5; 47, n.7
(2) (in Boeotia)
7, no.56
(3) Sea, see Red Sea
- Erythras (legendary king)
17, nos.44; 45
- Esangil (Esagila) (Babylon)
3, nos.1; 21; 22(i); 23; 24; 9, no.68; 10, nos.2; 27
- Esarhaddon (Assyrian king)
2, introd.; nos.4; 7(ii); 8; 9; 12; 4, no.7, n.3; 6, no.7, n.2
- Eshmun (Phoenician god)
13, no.45
- Eshmunazar of Sidon
(1) (I)
13, no.45
(2) (II, gs. (1))
13, introd.; no.45; fig.13.6
- Eshnunna (Babylonia)
3, no.21
- estate(s), see also ulhi, irmatam, oikos, bitu, BYT^c
12, nos.29(ii); 38, n.5; 46, n.7; 14, no.42(ii); 15, no.4; 16, introd.; nos.65–67; 68, n.1; 70; 71, n.6; 17, no.33
- Esther
13, no.20, n.2
(Book of) ch.1; 12, introd., n.1; no.25, n.4; 17, introd.

- Etesian winds
9, no.66
- Ethiopia, Ethiopian(s) (see also Nubia; Kush)
4, no.10(i), (iii); 5, nos.3; 5, n.2; 9, no.77; 11, no.25; 14, no.2
- ethnos/e
5, no.1, n.3; 11, no.20, n.2; 14, no.3, n.1
- Eualcides (Eretrian general)
6, no.35
- Euboea
6, nos.31; 53; 7, nos.25; 27; 32; 34, n.1; 9, no.35, n.5; 10, no.12, n.3; 14, no.2; 17, introd., app.
- Eudemos (Lindika)
6, no.42
- Euelthon, gf. Gorgus (Cyprus)
6, no.36
- Euesperides (Ptol. Berenice; mod. Benghazi)
6, no.4
- Eulaeus (Ulai), see Choaspes
- Eumenes (Alexander's secretary)
11, no.30, nn.4, 5; 15, no.9, n.2; 16, no.61; 17, no.3, n.2
- 'eunuch(s)' (ša reši; saris)
2, nos.1, n.2; 16; 3, nos.10; 31; 32; 4, nos.2; 7, n.1; 5; nos.5; 7, n.3; 9; 6, nos.47; 60, n.4; 7, nos.78(i); 92(i), (ii); 8, nos.20; 21; 9, nos.72; 77, n.8; 10, introd.; nos.3; 4(i); 23; 11, nos.20(iii); 33(ii); 68, n.11; 12, introd.; nos.13–21; 34; 42; 13, nos.6, n.3; 22(ii); 30; 37; 39
- Euphorbos, s. Alkimachos (Eretrian)
6, no.53
- Euphrantides (seer)
13, no.12
- Euphrates
 Introduction; **2, nos.10; 16; 3, nos.1; 28; 5, no.1; 6, no.35, n.4; 9, introd.; nos.16; 18, n.1; 19, n.1; 20; 68, nn.2, 3; 10, nos.15; 26; fig.10.7; 11, no.66(i); 14, introd.; nos.11; 16, n.2; 22, n.2; 15, introd.; nos.3; 4, n.5; 6; 8(ii); 11; 17, n.1; 16, no.64, n.2**
- Euripus (strait)
7, nos.25; 32; 33; 42
- Europe, European(s)
2, no.14; 5, no.12; 6, introd.; nos.8, n.3; 9; 12; 13; 17; 21; 47; 7, introd.; nos.9; 12; 40; 8, nos.30, n.6; 31, n.2; 11, no.53; 14, no.2
- Eurybiades (Spartan fleet commander)
7, nos.32; 43
- Eurymedon (river)
7, introd.; nos.67, n.3; 72, n.3; 73; 75, n.1; 79, n.1; 82, n.3; 8, introd., n.2; no.13, n.5; 11, no.25, n.28
- Eurysthenes (Demaratid)
7, no.82
- Eusebius of Caesarea (260–339 AD)
2, no.18, n.2; 9, no.57, nn.1, 4
- Euxine, see Black Sea
- Evagoras
 (1) (I, ruler of Salamis)
9, introd.; nos.31; 46; 48; 49; 50, nn.1, 8, 10; 51–54; 55, n.2; 56; 61; 63, n.1; 13, nos.24, n.1; 31(iii)
 (2) (II, claimant to Salamis throne)
9, no.75
- express service, see pirradaziš
- Ezida (Borsippa)
3, no.22(i)
- Ezra
ch.1; 8, introd.
 (Book of)
ch.1; 3, introd.; no.27, n.1; 10, introd., n.11; 11, no.35, n.5; 14, no.16, n.3; 16, no.60, n.7; 17, introd.
- Fahliyun (Fars)
16, introd., n.12; 41, n.3
- Fall of Nineveh Chronicle
2, introd.
- Fars (see also Parsa/u, Persia, Persis)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; 3, introd.; no.21, n.15; fig.3.1; 5, introd.; no.1, nn.1, 18, 19, 43, 85, 88; 8, introd.; 10, introd.; nos.8, n.2; 28, n.2; 30, nn.1, 2; 31, n.1; fig.10.7; 11, introd.; no.45, n.3; 12, no.29, n.11; 13, introd.; nos.6, n.1; 25, n.4; 14, introd.; nos.2, n.28; 13, n.8; 32, n.1; 44, n.8; 15, introd.; no.23, n.1; 16, introd.; nos.3, n.1; 41, nn.4, 7; 52, n.1; 17, introd.; nos.2, n.15; 8, n.3; 14, n.1; 15, n.2; 46, n.1**
- Fayum
14, no.2, n.12; 17, fig.17.6
- fire (in cult)
11, nos.6, n.5; 22; 35; 36; 44, n.5; 51, n.1; 52; 65; figs.11.14; 11.19; 11.41; 11.46; 11.48
- Fisheaters
4, no.10(i); 5, no.3
- fortress(es) (halmarris; BYRT*)
5, no.1; 6, introd.; no.25; 7, nos.21, n.1; 70; 8, no.34; 9, nos.34; 66; 10, fig.10.7; 11, nos.10; 12; 25, n.56; 13,

- no.36; 14, nos.14; 44; 15, no.19; 16, nos.35; 42(i), (ii); 17, nos.27; 32; 33
- Frada (rebel 522/1)
5, app.; no.1
- frataraka
(1) ('fratadara' temple)
11, no.17, n.1; fig.11.8
(2) (Persian official)
14, no.14, n.5; 17, no.32, n.6
- Fravartish
(1) (Phraortes, Median king)
2, introd.; 5, app.; no.1
(2) (rebel 522/1)
2, introd.; 5, app.; no.1
- Frontinus (1. century AD, author of *stratagemata*)
13, no.36, n.1
- Gablini (mid-Euphrates)
2, no.10
- Gadalama ('scribe-chancellor')
16, no.60(i)
- Gadatas
(1) (in a Roman inscription)
3, no.27, n.1; 7, no.81, n.9; 10, introd., n.11; no.22, n.15
(2) (ap. Xenophon, Cyrus II's official)
11, no.22; 12, no.6
- Gaeson (Mycal territory)
7, no.61
- Gambrion & Palaigambrion (Troad)
7, no.82
- Gandara, Gandaran(s)
Introduction; 5, no.1; 6, no.3, n.2; 7, no.88; 11, nos.4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 25; fig.11.23; 14, no.2
- Gandutava (mod. Gandamak?)
5, no.1
- Ganges
10, fig.10.7
- ganza-/gaza, ganzabara (kapnuški; kapnuškira; gazophylax; treasure; treasurer; treasury/storehouse/depot/workshop), see also 'house of the king'
6, no.16, n.3; 10, nos.9; 40; fig.10.7; 11, nos.11; 15, n.7; 30(iii); 12, introd.; no.37(ii); 13, nos.4, n.3; 36; 40, n.4; 14, introd.; nos.34, nn.4, 11; 35, n.9; 44; 16, introd.; nos.18, n.1; 19–21; 23–25; 26(i)–(v); 27; 35; 39, n.3; 43; 44; 49; 56; 17, introd.; no.27, n.4
- *garda-, GRD, gardu, see also *kurtas*, *šušanu*
16, introd.; nos.64; 65; 66, n.6; 70, n.6; 71, n.4
- garden(s), see *paradeisos*/i
- Gasga (Pontic Alps)
9, no.39, nn.12, 13
- Gate(way) of All Lands/Peoples (Persepolis)
7, fig.7.6; 11, fig.11.7; 12, no.4; fig.12.1; 16, no.27, n.1
- gathu-
11, nos.10, n.2; 16, n.11
- Gaubaruva, see Gobryas
- Gaugamela
10, introd.; nos.4, n.6; 20, n.12; 26, nn.2, 5; 27, n.8; 29, nn.2, 4; 35, n.4; 38, nn.15, 16; 40, n.3; figs.10.1; 10.7; 11, nos.52, n.2; 55, n.1; 12, nos.5, n.4; 34, n.1; 13, no.14, n.1; 14, no.42(ii); 16, no.58, n.1; 17, introd.; fig.17.14
- Gaulites (interpreter)
17, no.20
- Gaumata
5, introd.; app.; nos.1; 4, n.11; 5, n.10; 6, n.2; 9, n.7; 11, no.25, n.21
- Gaza (Palestine)
9, nos.52, n.10; 77, n.2; 10, introd.; nos.23; 24; fig.10.7; 15, nos.5, n.2; 14, n.1
- Gedrosia, Gedrosian(s), Gedroseni (mod. Baluchistan)
Introduction; 10, fig.10.7; 17, introd.; nos.39; 42, nn.1, 3
- Gelo (of Syracuse)
7, no.16, n.3
- Geloni (Scythian tribe)
6, nos.10; 12
- 'gentleman/men', 'free man (men)', see *šalur*/p
- Georgia
ch.1; 17, fig.17.3
- Gera(e)stus (Euboea)
7, no.32; 9, no.35; 10, no.12
- Gergis
(1) (s. Ariazus)
7, no.24
(2) (town in Aeolis)
17, no.35
- Germanii, see Carmania
- Gerostratus (GR⁵STRT) of Aradus
10, nos.18; 21
- Getae (Thracian group)
6, no.9
- Gherla, Romania
6, no.9, n.4
- Gigis (Parysatis' maid)
12, no.38(i)
- Gilgamesh (Mesopotamian hero)
5, no.18, n.5; 11, introd.
- Gilgamos (Gilgamesh)
5, no.18
- Gimarukkash (Fars)
16, no.15

- Gisat (Fars-Elam frontier)
16, no.2
- Glaucis (Greek mercenary commander)
10, no.33, n.3
- Glos, Glus (Caro-Memphite)
9, nos.8, n.4; 53; 58; 63; 15, no.6
- Gobares (governor of Pasargadae)
10, no.30, n.11
- Gobryas (Gaubaruva; Gubaru)
 (1) (s. Mardonius (Marduniya; Mardinia))
3, no.1; 5, nos.1; 4, n.11; 9; 10, n.1; 14, n.1; 6, nos.11; 12; 49, n.4; 7, nos.2; 3, n.2; 4, n.2; 9; 43, n.9; 11, fig.11.14; 12, nos.29, n.7; 32, n.7; 13, introd.
 (2) (s. Darius I & Artystone)
11, no.25
 (3) (in Persepolis archive)
11, no.42
 (4) (satrap of Babylonia and Beyond-the-River)
14, nos.21, n.3; 24(ii)
 (5) (PN generally)
16, no.12, n.6
 (6) (= abbr. Kaupiya(?), tax handler, Persepolis)
16, no.53(i)
- Godin Tepe (Zagros)
2, introd.; fig.2.1
- Gongylus, Gongylids
 (1) (of Eretria)
7, nos.81; 82; 13, no.40, n.3
 (2) (descendant of (1))
7, no.82; 10, no.7, n.5; 16, no.71
- Gordium
 Introduction; **8, no.32; 9, no.39; 10, fig.10.7; 15, introd., n.1**
- Gorgion (Gongylid)
7, no.82; 16, no.71
- Gorgo, d. Cleomenes
6, no.33
- Gorgus, s. Siromus (king of Salamis)
6, nos.36; 37
- 'Graeco-Persian'
11, no.58, n.3
- Graeco-Roman
6, introd.; no.35, n.4; 7, introd.; 9, introd.; nos.9, n.2; 68, n.2; 70, n.1; 10, introd.; 7, n.2; 9, n.9; 11, introd.; no.58, n.1; 12, introd.; 16, introd.
- Granicus
10, introd.; nos.8, nn.6, 10; 9, n.1; 12, nn.1, 2; 13, n.3; 26, n.1; 36, n.1; fig.10.7
- Granis (river, Fars)
17, no.46
- GRD', see *garda-
- 'Great Mother', see Matar
- Greece
4, nos.16; 19, n.3; 5, introd.; 6, introd.; nos.1; 23, n.5; 24-26; 33; 42; 50; 58; 7, introd.; nos.3, n.1; 4, n.2; 6; 7, n.5; 9; 10, nn.1, 3; 13; 14; 15, n.1; 16; 17, n.3; 24, n.1; 28; 33; 40, n.3; 42; 44, n.2; 46; 47, n.2; 49(i); 63, n.3; 64-66; 71; 76; 77; 81; 82; 92(iii); 8, introd.; no.6; 9, introd.; nos.17; 33; 35; 39, n.21; 47, n.7; 48; 62, n.1; 64(ii); 69, n.3; 70, n.2; 80, n.1; 10, introd.; nos.6, n.1; 12; 20, n.12; 25, n.5; fig.10.7; 12, no.1; 13, nos.23(ii), (iii); 29(i); 38; 40; 15, nos.14; 20; 24, n.1; 16, no.62, n.1; 17, nos.16; 37
- Greek(s) (Hellene(s); H.3w-nbw)
ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.15; 17; 3, nos.12; 13; 16; 29, n.9; 33, nn.1, 2; 4, nos.1; 3; 6, n.1; 8, n.3; 10(i); 11, n.9; 16; 18; 20; 5, nos.2, nn.1, 4; 3, n.5; 5, nn.7, 8; 7, n.3; 6, introd.; nos.1, nn.1, 3; 2; 4; 8; 11, n.3; 21; 22; 34; 35; 44, n.4; 46; 49-51; 56; 7, nos.7, n.1; 10, n.1; 13, n.1; 15, n.2; 16; 19, n.2; 22; 24; 25; 27-34; 36; 37, n.1; 39; 41, n.1; 43; 50-52; 53, nn.1, 3; 57-59; 60, n.3; 61; 64-67; 69, nn.1, 3; 70; 72; 74; 78(ii); 80, n.4; 81; 82, nn.1, 3, 4; 83, n.3; 8, introd.; 2, n.2; 7; 9-11; 13; 14, n.4; 18, n.3; 22; 25; 26; 28, n.5; 29, n.1; 33; 9, introd.; nos.1; 3, n.1; 6; 7; 9; 10, n.1; 12; 18; 20; 21(ii), (iii); 23(i); 25-29; 32; 35; 38; 39; 43, n.2; 44; 47; 48; 50, nn.3, 5; 51, n.4; 52; 64; 65, n.4; 66; 69; 70; 75; 77; figs.9.1; 9.2; 10, introd.; nos.6; 7; 8(i); 12; 18, n.9; 25, n.5; 27, n.16; 33; 34; 38; 39, nn.1, 2; fig.10.7; 11, nos.1, n.1; 4, n.2; 5, n.1; 9, n.1; 18; 21, n.5; 23, n.3; 25; 27; 29, n.2; 30, n.2; 33(ii); 35; 46; 48, n.1; 59, n.2; 64; 67, n.1; fig.11.31; 12, introd.; nos.1, n.4; 25, n.4; 26, n.1; 38(i); 39, nn.1, 2; 41; 43, nn.1, 4; 48, n.1; 13, introd.; nos.2, n.5; 7, n.1; 8, n.11; 12; 16, n.2; 18(ii); 20(ii); 31(iii); 32, n.5; 34, n.2; 36; 38; 40; 14, nos.4; 5; 8, n.2; 10, nn.6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 85; 12, n.1; 14, nn.5, 8; 25; 15, introd.; nos.3; 7, n.1; 8(iii), (iv); 9; 17, nn.6, 9; 18; 21(i); 16, introd.; nos.12, n.1; 13, n.4; 14, n.3; 26, n.3; 31, n.3; 41, n.4; 44, n.3;

- 66(i); 71, n.1; 17, introd.; nos.2(ii); 4, n.1; 6(ii); 12(ii); 15; 17; 18; 20, n.1; 21–23; 30, n.4; 33, nn.1, 2, 7, 10, 15, 22; 35; 36, n.6; 43; figs.17.7; 17.8**
 Gryneion (Aeolis)
7, no.82; 10, no.7
 Gubaru, *see* Gobryas
 guide(s), official/‘élite’ (b/parrišdama)
15, introd.; nos.1(i), (iii); 19, n.4; 16, no.36(i), (ii), (iv)
 Gulf, Persian (‘Red Sea’)
ch.1; 3, introd.; nos.21, n.19; 28, n.8; 5, introd.; no.3, n.6; 6, nos.3, n.3; 44, n.5; 7, no.52, n.2; 10, fig.10.7; 11, nos.2, n.16; 6, n.4; 25, n.60; 13, no.30, n.7; 14, no.2; 15, no.5; 16, no.41; 17, introd.; nos.1; 2, n.10; 43, n.2; 44; figs.17.13; 17.14
 Gumbati (Iberia)
17, fig.17.3
 Gutium, Gutī(an(s))
3, nos.1; 21; 10, nos.27; 41, n.4
 Guzanu (governor of Babylon)
14, no.11
 Gyes (Otys; Cotys), *see* Th(u)ys
 Gygaea (d. Amyntas (1))
6, nos.19; 24, n.2; 13, no.42
 Gyges (Lydian king)
4, no.16, n.8
 Gyndes, *see* Diyala
 Hadaran (Fars)
15, no.12(ii); 16, nos.10; 53(i); fig.16.5
 hadiš-
7, no.84, n.1; 8, no.23, n.2; 9, no.71; 11, no.13(i), n.6
 Hadrian
4, fig.4.2
 Haemus (river, Macedon)
6, no.24
 Halahhu (Assyria)
15, fig.15.3
 Haldi (Urartian god)
5, no.13, n.4
 Halibbash (Fars)
11, no.21(ii)
 Halicarnassus, Halicarnassian(s)
4, no.7(i); 7, no.80; fig.7.4; 10, introd.; nos.11; 13; 14; fig.10.7; 14, no.10, n.53
 Halisarna (Troad)
7, no.82
 Halkukaptarrish (district, Fars)
16, no.49
 halmi (miyatukkam/š; sealed document/authorisation)
6, no.41, n.3; 12, nos.29, n.12; 32; 40(ii), (vii); 13, nos.5; 13, n.5; 14, no.34(ii); 15, introd.; nos.1; 4, n.1; 12(i); 19, n.2; 22; 16, introd.; nos.9; 10; 11(ii); 12, n.1; 13; 16(i); 17; 23(i); 28; 30; 36(i)–(iv); 38; 39(iii); 43; 44; 17, nos.26; 42(ii)
 Halys (river)
2, introd.; no.14; 3, nos.7; 13; 6, no.35; 7, no.17; 11, no.25, n.38; 15, no.3
 Hama (anc. Hamath, Syria)
2, no.13, n.2
 Hamadan, *see* Ecbatana
 Haman (Persian courtier)
13, no.20(i)
 Hamaxitus (Aeolis)
17, no.35
 Hamban, Bit (Zagros)
2, no.1(i), (ii)
 Hana/i, Hanaean(s)
10, nos.27, n.7; 41
 Hananiah (Elephantine, cf. Porten 1968: 130)
17, no.31
 Handel, G.F., Serse
7, no.18, n.1
 ‘happiness’, *see* siyati-
 Harakurra (Shiraz region?)
16, no.39(iv)
 Hardarizzan (Fars)
16, no.44
 Harhar (Zagros)
2, introd.; no.2(i)
 (h)armamaxa(i/e)
8, no.20, n.5; 9, no.38; 11, nos.24, n.6; 67, n.4; 12, nos.28; 34
 Harmodius & Aristogiton (tyrannicides)
7, no.65
 Harmozia (Minab?)
17, no.43
 Harpagus
 (1) (Astyages’ courtier)
3, nos.7; 14; 20; 28; 30; 31
 (2) (Darius I’s commander)
6, no.46
 Harpalus (Macedonian minister)
17, no.2, n.13
 Harpocrates (Egyptian god)
14, no.17
 Harran (Upper Mesopotamia)
2, introd.; nos.10; 11, n.1; 3, nos.6, nn.3, 4, 6; 23, nn.6, 12; 24; 15, no.32

- Harrena (Ariyayana, cattle chief)
11, no.68(ii); 13, no.13; 16, nos.3; 49; 50(i); 53(ii)
- Harsaphes (Eg. Herishef, god)
10, no.38
- Harsiese (Egyptian god)
14, no.17
- Hathor (Egyptian goddess)
10, no.38, n.12
- haṭru/hadru
14, introd.; nos.9; 20(ii); 31(ii)
- Haturdada, *see* Atro/adates (2)
- Haturka (official at Bessitme)
16, no.12(i)
- haturmakša (? = atr-vaxša; 'guardian/fanner of fire')
11, no.51; 16, nos.1; 9; 17, no.27
- hauma- (haoma-)
11, nos.4, n.2; 36, n.8
- hayla/HYL⁷ (garrison)
14, nos.30, n.7; 36; 15, no.27, n.7
 RB HYL⁷ (garrison commander)
14, no.36, n.12; 17, no.29, n.4
- *hazarapatiš (azabarites; chiliarch)
8, no.20; 10, nos.3; 33, n.2; 11, no.29, n.1; figs.11.29; 11.30; 12, introd.; no.5, n.2
- Hebrew
3, no.27, n.1; 14, nos.10, n.14; 44, n.8; 15, no.15, nn.1, 5; 27, nn.1, 13; 29, nn.8, 11; 31, n.2; 17, no.29, n.5
- Hebrus (river)
6, nos.9, n.3; 25
- Hecataeus
 (1) (of Abdera)
17, no.25, n.1
 (2) (of Miletus)
6, nos.3, nn.1, 2; 32; 39, n.1
- Hecatomnus, Hecatomnid(s)
 (1) (in Ionian revolt)
6, no.38, n.2;
 (2) (in 4th century)
9, nos.44, n.5; 51; 52; 75, n.11; 10, no.11, n.3; 14, no.12; 17, no.33
 (3) (dynasty)
13, introd.; 14, no.12, n.2
- Hector
 (1) (Trojan hero)
7, no.66, n.10; 10, no.23, n.10
 (2) (s. Parmenion)
10, no.25, n.1
- Hegai (sarīs)
12, no.25
- Hegelochus (Alexander's fleet commander)
10, nos.12; 20(iii)
- Hegesistratus
 (1) (seer)
7, no.58
 (2) (Samian messenger)
7, no.61
 (3) (garrison commander, Miletus)
10, no.10
- Helicon (Mount)
3, no.20, n.3
- Helikos, b. Teritouchmes
12, no.38(ii)
- Heliopolis, Heliopolitan (Iunu)
11, no.2
- Helius (deified sun)
11, no.36
- Hellanicus of Lesbos
ch.1; 5, no.2, n.6
- hellenistic (period)
ch.1; 2, no.17, n.4; 4, no.14, n.6; 7, no.78, n.5; 9, nos.18, n.1; 75, n.25; 10, introd.; nos.4, n.7; 26, n.7; 18, n.1; 23, n.3; 29, n.1; fig.10.1; 11, figs.11.8; 11.28; 14, introd.; nos.1, nn.1, 9; 7, n.2; 15, introd.; 17, no.25, n.1
- Hellespont, Hellespontine(s)
 Introduction; **6, introd.; nos.9; 14, n.1; 17; 18; 21; 22; 31; 36; 38; 46; 47; 49; 51; 58; 7, introd.; nos.9; 12; 21; 40; 44; 46; 47; 50; 53; 61, n.9; 66; 70; 81; 8, introd.; nos.13, n.3; 16; 26; 30, nn.2, 4; 31; 9, nos.7; 36; 39; 10, no.7, n.8; 11, nos.25; 53; 14, no.2; 15, nos.7, n.2; 16, n.1**
- Hellespontine Phrygia
ch.1; 4, no.16, n.4; 5, no.15, n.2; 6, no.47, n.2; 7, introd.; no.81, n.5; fig.7.5; 8, nos.6, n.8; 25, n.4; 26, n.5; 30, n.5; 31, n.1; 32, n.11; 9, introd.; nos.10, n.3; 30, nn.2, 4; 36, nn.1, 3, 4; 37, n.1; 39, n.2; 41, n.2; 47, nn.4, 5; 62, n.4; 10, nos.7, nn.2, 7; 8(i); 9, n.1; 26, n.2; 11, fig.11.30; 12, nos.33, n.3; 46, n.5; 48, nn.3, 4; fig.12.8; 13, nos.31, n.14; 35, n.2; 36, nn.11, 12; 44, nn.1, 5; 15, no.16, n.1; 17, nos.35, n.1; 36(ii); 37, n.3; fig.17.9
- Hemag, Osiris of
4, nos.11; 12
- Hephaestion (Alexander's friend)
10, no.18, n.10; fig.10.7; 11, nos.19, n.6; 65, nn.1, 2; 66(ii)
- Hephaestus
4, no.19; 15, no.21(i)
- Hera
7, no.61

- Heraclea-Pontus (Black Sea)
10, introd.; 11, no.25, n.38; 15, no.7
- Heracleidae (Heracles' descendants)
9, no.10, n.1
- Heracleides
 (1) (of Cumae)
ch.1; 11, no.30, n.3; 12, introd., n.2; nos.27, n.1; 33, n.3; 39, n.1; 42
 (2) (of Mylasa)
6, no.38
 (3) (of Clazomenae)
8, no.24(i)
 (4) (of Pontus)
12, introd.
- Heracleopolis (Magna: Hwt-nn-nst, Hnes; mod. Ihnasya el-Medina)
9, no.60, nn.1, 8; 10, no.38
- Heracles
6, no.56; 7, no.29, n.2; 10, nos.18; 19; 38, n.2
- Heraclium (Attica)
7, no.43
- Heraeum (Samos)
4, no.16
- Herat
 Introduction; **11, no.25, n.21**
- Herippidas (Spartan ambassador)
9, nos.35; 40; 17, no.37
- Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus
13, no.44, n.4
- Hermione (Peloponnese)
7, no.81; 14, no.7(ii)
- Hermippus (of Atarneus)
6, no.40
- Hermopolis (mod. Tuna el-Gebel)
ch.1; 10, no.39; 15, no.29, n.1; 17, introd., n.2
- Hermotimus (eunuch)
12, nos.20; 21, n.2
- Hermus (river)
3, no.14; 6, no.35; 10, no.9
- Herod, king of Judah
3, no.32, n.1
- Herodas (of Syracuse)
9, no.33
- Herodotus
ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.13; 14, nn.2, 7, 10; 15, n.6; 3, introd.; nos.5, nn.1, 4; 6, n.10; 7; 8; 10; 13; 16, n.5; 17, n.1; 20, n.5; 28, nn.1-3, 5, 6, 11; 30, nn.3-4; 33, n.2; 34, n.5; 35, nn.3, 9; 36, n.1; 37, n.1; 4, introd.; nos.1, n.1; 3, n.1; 7, nn.1, 5; 9, nn.3, 5; 10, nn.1, 4, 5, 10; 12, n.1; 13, n.1; 14, n.11; 16, nn.3, 5; 17, nn.2, 3; 20, nn.1, 2; 23, n.2; 5, introd.; nos.1, nn.12, 114; 2, nn.4, 5, 7; 3, n.5; 4, nn.3, 7, 11, 12; 5, nn.1, 3, 4; 6, nn.1, 7; 9, nn.1, 5; 12, n.1; 13, n.1; 15, n.3; 16, n.2; 17, n.1; 6, introd.; nos.1, n.1; 2, nn.2, 6; 3, nn.1-3; 4, n.1; 5, nn.1, 3; 7, n.1; 8, nn.1, 2; 9, nn.4, 7; 10, nn.3, 6, 7; 11, nn.1, 3; 12, nn.4, 5; 13, nn.1, 2; 17, n.2; 18, n.1; 21, n.2; 28, n.1; 31, nn.1, 4; 32, nn.1, 3; 33, n.5; 34, nn.3, 4; 35, n.4; 37, nn.1, 3; 39, n.1; 44, n.7; 46, n.2; 47, n.2; 50, n.3; 51, nn.2, 5; 56, n.5; 58, n.1; 7, introd.; nos.1, n.4; 2, nn.1, 3, 5; 3, n.2; 7; 8, nn.1, 2; 9, nn.3, 8, 9; 10, n.1; 11, n.4; 17; 19, n.2; 22, nn.2, 3; 24, n.3; 25, n.2; 27, n.3; 29, n.5; 33, n.1; 35, n.2; 36, n.1; 37, n.1; 39, n.1; 40, nn.1, 3; 43, nn.1, 9; 44, nn.1, 3; 46, n.1; 47, n.3; 48, n.4; 53, n.3; 61, nn.1, 8; 62; 66, nn.7, 8, 13; 74, n.2; 78, n.2; 81, n.3; 82, nn.3, 6; 8, no.15, n.2; 9, nos.35, n.5; 39, n.10; 75, n.14; 10, nos.8, n.8; 17, n.3; 26, n.2; 11, introd.; nos.9, n.1; 19, n.2; 22, n.18; 25, nn.7, 9, 14, 19, 29, 35, 38, 42, 53, 60; 35, nn.3, 4; 36, nn.1, 3; 46, nn.2, 3; 49, n.2; 59, n.2; 12, nos.1, nn.3, 4; 12, n.4; 31, n.2; 32, n.4; 38, n.7; 41, nn.1, 2; 13, introd.; nos.2, n.4; 9, n.2; 29, n.4; 31, n.11; 38, n.1; 45, n.13; 14, introd.; nos.2, nn.1, 5, 6, 14, 16, 28, 30, 33; 16, n.3; 27, n.4; 39, n.1; 40, n.1; 15, introd.; nos.3, nn.1, 10, 13; 5, n.1; 11, n.3; 16, no.12, n.1; 17, nos.1, n.3; 16, n.3; 18, n.2; 40, n.2; 41, n.3
- Herophytus
 (1) (of Samos)
7, no.69
 (2) (of Ephesus)
10, no.36
- Hestia ('queen' of the Scythians)
6, no.10
- Hesychius of Alexandria (5. century AD, lexicographer)
14, no.1, n.5
- Hidali (mod. Behbahan? Fars-Elam border)
6, no.41; 16, introd., nn.12, 13; nos.33; 36(iii); 38; fig.16.6
- Hieramenes (Darius II's son-in-law?)
9, no.4
- Hieron
 (1) (tyrant of Syracuse)
3, no.17, n.1; 6, no.35, n.7

- (2) (archon of Lycia)
17, no.33
- Hieronymus
(1) (author of *Heliaka*)
6, no.42
(2) (of Cardia)
11, no.67, n.5; **15, no.23**, n.1
(3) (Athenian commander)
15, no.11
- Hindanu (mid-Euphrates)
2, no.10; 16, no.64, n.2
- Hindukka ('the Indian?')
(1) (see Hintamukka)
(2) (Indukka, female tax payer, Fars)
14, no.32, n.2
(3) (fortress guard, Fars)
16, no.42(i)
(4) (etira, Fars)
17, no.27
- Hindu Kush
10, fig.10.7; 14, no.2, n.14; **17, no.39**, n.1
- Hintamukka ('the little Indian', high level functionary, Fars)
11, no.68(i); 13, no.26(iii); 16, nos.12(ii), (iii); 18; 45
- Hinzan/pi (sculptor)
16, no.64
- Hipparchus (b. Hippias (1))
6, nos.29, n.2; **35**, n.7; **7, no.65**, n.1
- Hippias
(1) (Athenian tyrant)
6, introd.; nos.29; 34; 55
(2) (Agis III's aide)
10, no.14
- Hippocrates, Hippocratic
11, no.20, n.9; **12, nos.1**, n.4; **12**, n.6
- Hiran (Fars)
16, nos.4; 26(i); 49
- Hishema (Fars)
15, no.22(iii); 16, no.56
- Hishtianush (Fars)
17, no.27
- Hishtianush/Ishtianish (Fars)
16, nos.6; 42, n.2
- Histiaea
7, nos.34; 35; 42
- Histiaeus
(1) (of Miletus)
6, introd.; nos.12; 22; 23(i); 31; 32; 36; 37, n.1; **39; 40; 46; 49**, n.7; **15, no.20**, n.1; **17, no.13**, n.3;
(2) (of Termera)
6, no.32
- Hit (Iraq)
14, no.16, n.2
- Hitibel (high level functionary, Persepolis)
11, no.68(i); 16, no.45
- Hittite(s)
9, no.39, n.12; **10, no.26**, n.7; **13, no.29**, n.5; **17, introd.**
- hodos hamaxitos
10, no.30, n.1; **15, introd.; no.10(i)**
- Hollows, The
(1) (Chios)
6, no.46
(2) (Euboean)
32, n.4
- Homer, Homeric
7, no.61, n.11; **10, no.23**, n.10; **13, no.36**
- homositos/i, see *sundeipnos/i*
- homotrapezos/i (table companion(s))
13, nos.30; 15, n.2; **38**
- Hormuz, Straits of
17, nos.43, n.3; **44**, n.5
- horse(s), sacred and/or sacrificial
3, nos.28; 29; 11, nos.22; 47; 56, n.3; **57**, n.3
- horse-land (bit sisi)
14, nos.31, n.5; **38**
- Horus
4, nos.11; 13; fig.4.3; 8, no.8; 9, no.78(ii); 10, no.38; 11, no.2; 17, fig.17.6
'house of the king' (bit šarri; BYT MLK'), see also *ganza-*
9, no.68; 14, introd.; nos.9; 10; 14, n.4; **15, no.27**
- House of Life (attached to Egyptian temples)
4, no.11
- 'house of our lord'
17, no.32
- Hshatrapati (god)
17, no.33
- Hum/badeshu (Huvadaicaya), see *Matezzish*
- Humban (Elamite god)
11, nos.41; 43, n.2
- Hunar (Fars)
16, no.38
- Hundred (100) Column Hall (Persepolis)
8, no.5, n.2; **figs.11.16; 11.45**
- hunt(s), hunting
2, no.15; 5, no.3; 6, fig.6.4; 8, no.3, n.3; **11, introd.; nos.18; 21(iii), (v); fig.11.27; 12, introd.; nos.16; 33**, n.3; **49; figs.12.5; 12.8; 13, nos.8(ii); 30; 31(i), (iii); 36; 40**, n.1; **figs.13.1; 13.2; 14, no.27; 15, introd.; no.6; 16, introd.; 17, fig.17.9**
- Hushatma . . . ? (Fars)
12, no.40(iii)

- Huta . . . , s. Pagakanna
16, no.60(i)
- Hutana, s. Thukhra, *see* Otanes (1)
- Huvadaicaya (Hum/badeshu), *see* Matezzish
- Hydarnes (Vidarna, Ida/ernes, Miturna)
 (1) (Darius I's helper)
5, app.; nos.1; 9; 10; 7, no.29, n.5; 8, introd., n.5
 (2) (son of (1))
7, nos.29; 30; 45; 47; 11, no.25
 (3) (affiliation unknown)
8, no.29
 (4) (s. Mazaeus?)
10, no.20(iii)
 (5) (f.-in-law, Artaxerxes II)
12, no.33; 13, introd.
 (6) (high level functionary, Fars)
16, no.36(iv)
- Hydarnid(s)
8, introd.; no.25, n.3; 12, no.38, nn.2, 6, 8; 13, introd.
- Hydaspes (river)
10, fig.10.7
- Hyllus (river)
3, no.14
- Hymaees (Umayya)
 (1) (general, Ionian Revolt)
6, no.38
 (2) (Persepolis official)
13, no.26(iii)
 (3) (fast messenger)
15, no.22(ii)
- hyparch (hyparchos)
4, no.16, n.3; 6, no.47, n.2; 7, nos.27, n.3; 66, n.8; 9, nos.25, n.2; 44, n.8; 10, no.8(i), (iii); 13, no.28, n.2; 17, nos.36, n.3; 43
- Hyperanthes, s. Darius I & Phratagune
7, nos.2, n.5; 31
- Hyperborean(s) (Greek legendary beings)
3, no.17
- Hyrkania, Hyrcanian(s)
 Introduction; **3, nos.9; 35, n.1; 4, no.2; 5, app.; nos.1; 5, n.5; 6, introd.; 60, n.3; 7, no.92(ii); 8, no.19; 10, no.32; fig.10.7; 11, nos.22; 25; 12, no.15(i); 14, nos.2, nn.1, 18; 40; 16, no.71; 17, introd., app.; no.1; fig.17.14**
- Hyroiades (Mardian)
3, no.15
- Hysiae (region of Plataea)
7, no.56
- Hystanes (Ushtana/i/u/a)
 (1) (satrap of Babylon & Beyond-the-River?)
11, no.25
 (2) (administrative official, Persepolis)
12, no.40(vi), (viii); 16, no.42(ii)
 (3) (recipient of travel supplies)
15, no.1(vi)
 (4) (receives wine for horses)
16, no.9
 (5) (leader of a 'century', Fars)
16, no.37(ii)
- Hystaspes (Vishtaspa; Mishdashba)
 (1) (f. Darius I)
ch.1; 5, app.; nos.1; 9; 10; 12; 13; 6, nos.2; 8; 9; 30; 31; 7, nos.1; 8; 87(ii); 9, nos.22; 73; 11, nos.1; 2; 6; 7; 10; 12; 13(i), (ii); 16; 37; 38; 68(i); 12, no.32(ii); 13, no.2(v); 14, no.42(ii); 16, introd.; no.52; fig.16.3(b)
 (2) (b. Xerxes I & f. Pissuthnes?)
7, no.1, n.4; 8, no.14; 11, no.25
 (3) (Xerxes I's son)
7, nos.4; 92(ii); 8, no.2, n.1
 (4) (Hystaspas, Cyrus II's commander, ap. Xenophon)
11, no.22
- Hytenna (Lycia)
8, no.29
- Hytennians (Anatolia)
14, no.2
- Iasus (Caria)
8, no.28
- Iatragoras of Miletus
6, no.32
- Iatunmilk of Sidon
13, no.45, n.1
- Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur
10, no.30, n.2
- Icarus, Sea of
6, nos.51; 52
- Iconium (Phrygia)
9, no.12
- Ida, Mt.
10, no.7
- Idalion (Cyprus)
9, no.50
- Idanthysrus (Scythian king)
6, nos.6; 10
- Idernes, *see* Hydarnes
- Idrieus (Hecatomnid)
9, no.75; 10, no.11, n.3
- Idumaea
ch.1; 15, no.15, nn.1, 8
- Ienysus (Palestine)
15, no.14

- Ilium **6, no.38; 7, no.19; 10, no.7, n.8; 17, no.36, n.8; fig.17.9**
- ilku **14, introd.; nos.9, n.3; 20, n.2; 23, n.1; 37, n.10**
- Illyrium **9, no.80, n.1**
- Ilteri (Babylonian god) **3, no.23**
- Imanish (Ummanush > Ummanunu, name taken by Martiya 522/1) **5, no.1**
- Imbros (Aegean island) **6, nos.20; 48; 9, no.47**
- Imet (Tell Fara'un) **4, no.15**
- Imgur-Enlil (Babylon) **3, nos.21; 23**
- Immortals, The (Ten Thousand) **7, nos.20, n.1; 29; 45; 47, n.2; 11, nos.24, n.7; 25; 12, nos.5, n.2; 45(i)**
- Inaros (Egyptian dynast) **4, no.9(i); 7, nos.6; 24, n.6; 8, introd.; nos.6; 7; 9; 20, n.11; 34, n.7**
- India, Indian(s), Indus (Hidush)
Introduction; **ch.1; 3, nos.18, n.2; 35; 5, introd.; 6, introd.; no.3; 7, nos.45; 65, n.1; 88; 9, introd.; 10, fig.10.7; 11, introd.; nos.1; 2; 4; 7; 12; 13(i), (ii) (a); 16; 20, n.9; 25; 53, n.4; 58; 67; fig.11.23; 12, no.37, n.9; 13, no.6, n.1; 14, introd.; nos.2; 4; 5; 6; 19; 27; 32, n.2; 15, introd.; nos.1(i); 2; 16, introd.; no.58, n.1; 17, introd.; nos.1; 14, nn.1, 2; 39–41; fig.17.14**
- Indian Ocean ('Red Sea') **3, no.28, n.8; 6, introd.; no.44, n.5; 7, no.52, n.2**
- Indo-European **ch.1**
- Indo-Iranian **5, no.1, n.107**
- Indukka (= *hindukka?*), see Hintukka
- Indus, Indus Valley, see India
- inscribed (on persons), see mark, marking
- Intaphernes (Vindafarna), s. Bagabigna (Darius I's helper) **5, app.; nos.1; 2, n.5; 9; 16**
- interpreter(s), see also translation/translator **6, no.2; 15, no.6, n.8; 17, introd.; nos.11; 12; 21–24**
- Ion of Chios **7, nos.69; 82, n.3**
- Ionia, Ionian(s) (Iamanaia; Iamaniammu; Yauna)
ch.1; 2, no.15; 3, nos.13; 20; 4, nos.1; 3; 16; 5, nos.1; 2; 15; 6, introd.; nos.3; 9; 10; 12; 15, n.2; 18, n.3; 21, n.2; 22, n.1; 31–40; 41, n.1; 42, n.4; 43; 44; 46; 47; 49; 51; 53; 7, introd.; nos.9, nn.2, 3; 11, n.1; 24, n.1; 27, n.3; 44, n.2; 52; 61; 63, n.3; 88; 8, nos.12, n.1; 14, n.2; 17, n.1; 26; 9, nos.7; 8, n.4; 18; 45; 47; 51, n.5; 55; 58; 10, nos.8(i); 27; 11, nos.4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 25; 48; 13, nos.36; 43; 14, nos.2; 10; 15, no.3, n.1; 16, no.40; 17, introd., app.
- Iphicrates (Athenian soldier) **9, nos.64(i); 66**
- Ipsus, Battle of **10, no.20, n.3**
- Iran, Iranian(s)
Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.2, n.5; 4, n.4; 3, introd.; nos.4, n.2; 21, n.21; 24, n.6; 25, n.6; 35, n.9; 36, n.1; 4, introd.; 5, introd.; nos.1, nn.5, 30, 44, 68; 70, 75, 115; 13, n.4; 18, n.7; fig.5.1; 7, nos.12, n.3; 78, n.4; 88, n.8; 8, nos.19, n.7; 34, n.4; 9, introd.; nos.1, n.5; 4, n.5; 21, n.4; 10, introd.; nos.5, n.3; 28, n.1; 35, n.11; fig.10.5; 11, introd.; nos.2, n.16; 12, n.3; 3(i), nn.12, 13; 14; 20, n.9; 21, n.4; 25, n.29; 30, n.4; 35, nn.2, 4, 6; 36, nn.2–5; 39, n.4; 43, n.1; 44, n.5; 59, nn.5, 6; figs.11.40; 11.42; 12, nos.29, n.5; 36, nn.1, 3; 37, n.3; 40, nn.1, 7; 44, n.10; 13, nos.25, n.4; 26, nn.4, 8; 14, introd.; nos.9, n.9; 10, nn.7, 71; 13, n.7; 20, n.7; 34, n.4; 35, n.4; 36, nn.6, 10; 40, n.2; 41, nn.1, 3; 43, n.1; fig.14.2; 15, nos.1, nn.5, 6, 13, 14, 17; 4, nn.7, 14; 12, n.1; 22, n.3; 27, n.13; 33, n.7; 16, introd.; nos.4, n.1; 10, nn.18, 21; 13, n.4; 16, n.2; 19, nn.2, 6; 22, n.2; 25, n.1; 26, nn.3, 6, 7, 10; 29, n.3; 35, n.3; 37, n.3; 38, n.5; 39, nn.5, 8; 40, n.5; 42, nn.4, 5, 7; 45, nn.1, 3; 46, n.5; 47, n.5; 48, n.3; 49, nn.6–8; 50, nn.3, 5, 7; 51, nn.2, 5; 53, n.2; 60, nn.1, 11; 61, n.3; 64, n.7; 70, n.3; 17, introd.; nos.7; 11, n.4; 12, nn.3, 5; 29, n.3; 30, n.7; 32, nn.6, 12, 14, 19; 33, n.23; 34, nn.1, 2, 5; 36, nn.2, 5, 13; 38, n.1; 42, n.1; 44, nn.2, 5; figs.17.4; 17.8**

- Iraq
Introduction; **ch.1; 5, no.1**, n.74
- Irdabadush (police officer, da'ubattiš, *tayupati-)
16, no.42(iv)
- Irdabama
12, nos.29(ii); 37(i); fig.12.5; 16, introd.; 50, n.1
- Irdabanush, *see* Artab/panus (1)
- Irdumasda (Artabazus, 'satrap')
17, no.42(i)
- irmatam ('domain')
5, no.1, n.101; **16, introd.; nos.47–49; 50**, n.1
- Iron Age
15, no.15, n.1
- Irshena ('chief of workers')
12, no.40(iii); 13, no.5; 16, nos.10; 30; 32; 33; 38; 39(iii); 53(i)
- Irtashduna, *see* Artystone
- Irtima (Artimas, in receipt of animal hides, Fars)
16, no.26(ii), (iii)
- Isagoras (Cleomenes' *xenos*)
6, no.30, n.1
- Isaiah, *see* Deutero-Isaiah
- Iseum (Netjeru/Ntrw; Hebyt; mod. Behbet el-Hagar)
9, no.78(i)
- Ishtar
3, no.1; 10, no.2, n.5; **11, introd.; nos.36**, n.3; **59**, n.5; **60; fig.11.49; 14, no.24(ii); 15, nos.26**, n.2; **29**, n.2
- Ishtar, Bit (Zagros)
2, nos.1(ii); 2(iii)
- Ishtin (w. Bakiya)
12, no.29(iii)
- Isidore of Charax (early 1. century AD, Parthian subject)
11, no.59, n.6; **fig.11.40**
- Isis
8, no.8; 9, no.78(i); 10, no.38, n.1; **14, no.17; 17, fig.17.11**
- Ismenias (Theban general)
11, no.29(ii)
- Isocrates (orator)
9, introd.; nos.48, nn.1, 2, 5, 6; **53**, n.4; **61**, n.1; **62**, n.1; **13, introd.; no.36**, n.13
- Israel, Israelite(s)
Introduction; **3, no.26(iv); 15, introd.**
- Issedonae (Central Asian group)
3, no.34
- Issus
(1) (Battle of)
10, introd.; nos.11, n.5; **12**, n.10; **14; 16; 17**, n.2; **18**, n.9; **20(i), (ii); 21; 24; 38**, nn.15, 16; **figs.10.1, 10.2; 10.7; 11, no.19**, n.6; **12, nos.2**, n.1; **35**, n.1
- (2) (place)
9, no.8; 15, no.10(ii)
- Ister, *see* Danube
- Isthmus of Corinth, Isthmian
7, introd.; nos.25; 27; 29; 39; 43; 51, n.5; **54; 55; 9, no.43; 10, no.20**, n.4
- Italy
6, introd.; nos.1; 44, n.7; **9, no.47**, n.3
- Itamenes
(1) (Persian commander, early 420s)
8, no.17
(2) (Persian commander/estate owner, Mysia 400 – identical with (1)?)
8, no.17, n.3; **16, no.71**
- Ithamitres, f. Artayntes (2)
7, nos.52; 61
- Itti-Marduk-balatu, descendant of Egibi
14, no.38(iii)
- Ivritz
11, no.25, n.37
- Izabates (Cambyses' eunuch)
4, no.2; 5, nos.5; 8
- Izal(l)a (Tur Abdin)
2, no.10; 5, no.1
- Jaxartes, *see also* Araxes (mod. Syr Darya)
Introduction; **3, no.34**, n.2
- Jerome
9, no.57, nn.1, 4
- Jerusalem
ch.1; 3, introd.; 21, n.21; **26(iv); 27; 7, no.89**, n.2; **14, no.28**, n.1; **15, no.19**, n.1; **16, no.60(ii); 17, introd.; no.32**, n.23
- Jew(s), Jewish
ch.1; 3, introd.; 7, no.89; 9, no.59, n.1; **12, introd.; 14, no.28; 17, introd.; no.32**
- Jezirah
15, introd.
- Joppa (Jaffa)
13, no.45
- Jordan
Introduction; **15, introd.**
- Josephus
ch.1; 7, introd.; no.89, n.1; **8, no.1**, n.3; **10, no.23**, n.2
- Judah, Judaeans, *see also* Yehud
ch.1; 3, introd.; no.26, n.1; **7, no.89**, n.1; **15, nos.15**, n.1; **19; 16, introd.; 17, no.32**

- judge(s) (**databara*/u, *dadabarra*, *day*/iianu;
provincial/attached to high level individuals)
14, nos.9; 13(ii); 36; 16, introd;
no.66(ii); 17, nos.26; 28
- Jupiter
11, no.55
- Justin
ch.1; 3, nos.19, n.1; **20**, n.5; **25**, n.6;
30, n.4; **5, nos.6**, nn.1, 3, 4; **13**, n.1; **6,**
nos.13, n.1; **19**, n.1; **7, no.81**, n.9; **10,**
introd.; nos.5, nn.1, 2, 6; **6**, n.2; **8,**
n.9; 13, no.3, n.5
- Kabah-i Zardusht
11, no.63, n.3; **figs.11.15; 11.48;**
11.50
- Kabret
11, no.6, n.1; **fig.11.6**
- Kabul (city and river (Cophen))
Introduction; **5, no.1**, n.99; **10,**
fig.10.7; 11, fig.11.23; 14, no.2, n.14;
17, no.39, n.1
- Kalhu, *see* Nimrud
- Kamenush (mod. Guwayn, Fars)
16, no.1
- Kamezza (high level functionary, Persepolis)
11, no.68; 13, no.26(iii); 16,
nos.42(ii); 45
- Kampa(n)da (Media)
5, no.1
- Kandahar
Introduction; **5, no.1**, nn. 96, 97;
10, no.35, n.4; **15, no.1(iii); 16,**
nos.58, n.1; **59**, n.1; **17, no.39**,
n.2
- Kandalanu (ruler in Babylonia)
2, no.18, n.1
- Kandaÿda (Lycia)
14, no.12
- kandys
3, no.29, n.5; **11, nos.22**, n.5; **34**, n.4;
13, no.31, n.2; **15, no.5**, n.11
- Kapishkani (Arachosia, mod. Kandahar?)
5, no.1
- Kapsi, Bit (Zagros)
2, nos.1(ii); 2(iii)
- kara-
5, no.1, n.13; **8, no.32**, n.8
- Karaburun (Lycia)
12, no.42, n.7
- Karakushan (Fars)
13, no.13
- Karalla (Tang-i Var)
2, introd.
- Karashna ('law officer?')
16, no.42(iii)
- Kara Su (= Carsus river)
15, no.10(ii)
- Kardakes/Cardaces
13, nos.8(ii); 36
- Karikmasdan (Shiraz area)
16, no.39(ii)
- Karkheh, *see* Choaspes
- Karkish
(1) ('chief of workers')
13, no.13; 16, nos.9; 11(i), (ii); 24;
34; 49; 53(ii)
(2) ('satrap')
17, no.42(ii)
- Karnak
9, no.60, nn.6, 7
- Karun (river, Khuzestan)
11, no.20, n.5; **17, no.2**
- Kashtaritu of Karkashshi
2, introd.; nos.6–8
- Kayseri (Turkey)
17, fig.17.10
- Kazakhstan
Introduction
- kbnwt-vessels
4, no.11
- Kenzasirma (accountant)
14, nos.35; 37; 16, no.64
- Keos (Cyclades)
3, no.17, n.1
- Keret/Kirta, Epic of
13, no.45, n.10
- Kerkenes Dağ (central Turkey)
2, introd.
- Kermanshah
Introduction; **2, introd.; no.1**,
n.1
- Khababash
9, no.77, n.9; **10, nos.6**, n.4; **24**, n.3;
38, nn.9, 10, 11
- Khabur (tributary Euphrates)
15, no.6
- Kharga oasis
Introduction; **ch.1; 4, no.10**, n.1; **9,**
no.65, n.2; **14, introd.; no.41**, n.3;
fig.14.2
- Kheriga (Gergis) (Lycian dynast)
8, no.29, n.1
- Khnum (Egyptian god)
14, no.14; 17, introd.; nos.30;
32
- Khorasan
3, no.35, n.4
- Khorsabad (anc. Dur Sharrukin)
2, fig.2.2
- Khshathrita (rebel 522/1)
2, introd.; 5, no.1

- Khuzestan
11, no.20, n.5; **14, no.16**, n.2; **16, introd.**; **no.41**, n.1
- Khyber pass
10, fig.10.7
- kidaris, *see also* tiara
8, no.20, n.13; **11, nos.22**, n.11; **28**
- Kinet Höyük (S. Turkey)
9, no.8, n.6
- ‘king’s eye(s)’ & ‘ears’
12, nos.3, n.3; **18; 13, no.27**
- King of Caunus (Basileus Kaunios/Khantavati of Khbide/Kandawas God of Kaunos, Lycian god)
8, no.29; 17, no.33
- Kios (Mysia)
6, no.38; 8, no.32; 9, no.39
- Kirman, *see* Carmania
- Kirshu (Pirindu)
17, fig.17.2
- Kishesim/Kishassu (Zagros)
2, introd.; **nos.2(i); 6; fig.2.2**
- Kition (Cyprus)
8, no.11; 9, introd.; **nos.48**, n.2; **50; 51; 53; 58**, n.4; **63**, n.2; **fig.9.3; 14, introd.**
- Kopet Dağ (mountains)
 Introduction
- Koptos (Egypt)
8, no.8; 14, no.17
- Kore (Greek goddess)
7, no.61, n.6
- Kubaba/Kybebe, Cybele
6, no.35; 7, no.63, n.2
- Kuganaka (= Kuknaka?, Fars)
5, no.1; 16, no.51, n.3
- Kuh-i Rahmat
11, fig.11.8
- Kuknaka (= Kuganaka?)
16, no.51(ii)
- Kunduru (Media)
5, no.1
- Kurash, *see also* Cyrus
 (1) (of Parsumash)
3, no.2
 (2) (Kur(a)ash, in Susa archive)
3, no.4, n.2
- kurbasia, *see also* mitra
11, no.22, n.11
- kurdabattīš (*grda-pati-, gardupatu; chief of workers)
13, no.5, n.1
- Kurdumish (high level functionary, Persepolis)
16, no.42(ii)
- Kurdushum (Elymais?)
12, no.32(i)
- Kurka (Fars)
16, no.42, n.2
- Kurpun (Fars)
16, no.9
- Kurra (Fars)
16, no.32
- kurtāš (*garda-, gardu, GRD?)
12, no.37, n.3; **13, no.4**, n.5; **16, introd.**; **nos.4**, n.2; **6**, n.3; **28**, n.2; **49**, n.7; **64**, n.5
- Kush, Kushite(s)
4, no.10, n.4; **9, introd.**; **no.77**, n.7; **11, no.1**
- Kutkush (Fars)
16, no.47(ii)
- Kybebe, *see* Kubaba
- Labashi-Marduk (Laborosaordochos)
3, no.25
- Labraunda (Caria)
6, no.38
- Labynetus (Babylonian king)
2, no.15; 3, nos.13; 28
- Labyxos (Tanyoxarkes’ eunuch)
5, no.5
- Lacedaemon, Lacedaemonian(s), *see* Spartan(s)
- Lachish
9, no.27, n.4
- Laconia, Laconian(s), *see* Sparta
- Lade (W. Turkey)
6, nos.43; 47, n.1; **49**, n.7
- Lahiru (Babylonia)
15, no.4; fig.15.3
- Lampon (Samian messenger)
7, no.61
- Lamponium (Troad)
6, no.20
- Lampsacus, Lampsacene(s) (Troad)
6, nos.29; 38; 13, no.40
- lan
11, nos.43; 44; 45; 51
- Laodicea-ad-Lycum (Phrygia)
9, no.38, n.4
- Laomedon (Athenian)
7, no.69
- Larissa (Thessaly)
7, no.9, n.6
- Larsa (Babylonia)
10, no.41, n.3
- Lasonians (Lycian frontier)
11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Late Babylonian
12, no.5, n.2; **14, no.21**, n.3
- Late Bronze Age
7, no.57, n.8; **11, no.25**, n.4; **15, no.20**, n.3

- Late Period (Egypt)
4, nos.12, n.1; **14**, n.1; **9, no.78**, n.4;
10, no.38, n.5
- Latin
ch.1; **9, no.57**, n.1
- law, *see data-*
- Lebanon
 Introduction; **10, nos.21**, n.9; **22**;
11, no.13(i), (ii); **14, no.10**,
 n.48
- Lebedus (W. Turkey)
9, no.45, n.5
- Lectum (mountains, Troad)
7, no.66
- Lemnos (Aegean island)
6, nos.14; **20**; **8, no.14**; **9, no.47**; **13**,
no.43, n.1
- Leonidas (Spartan king)
7, nos.29–31; **33**; **64**; **8, no.6**, n.12
- Leontiades (Theban commander)
7, no.31
- Leontocephalae (Phrygia)
9, no.39; **15, no.18**
- Leotychides (Spartan admiral)
7, nos.52; **61**; **66**
- Lesbos
3, no.20; **6, nos.9**; **20**; **40**; **43**; **46**; **47**;
8, nos.17, n.1; **26**; **10, nos.6**, n.4; **12**;
25, n.4; **13, no.12**, nn.1, 4
- lesonis (mr-šn)
10, no.39, n.2; **17, no.30**
- Leto (Lato; Lycian-Greek goddess)
3, no.17; **17, no.33**; **fig.17.7**
- Letopolis (?Wn-khm; Khem, Egypt)
4, no.14, n.7; **11, no.2**
- Leuce (W. Turkey)
9, no.63
- Leucosyrians ('White Syrians') *see* Syrian(s) =
 Cappadocian(s)
- Leuctra (Battle of)
11, no.29(ii); **13, no.17**
- Levant, Levantine
 Introduction; **ch.1**; **4, introd.**; **no.7**,
 n.6; **8, introd.**; **9, introd.**; **nos.51**, n.3;
69, nn.6, 7; **10, nos.18**, nn.1, 2; **19**,
 n.2; **12, no.25**, n.2; **13, nos.30**, n.5;
45, n.11; **14, introd.**; **nos.2**, n.1; **10**,
 nn.27, 37, 49, 85
- libar/p (élite servant(s))
11, no.68, n.6; **16, introd.**
- Liblut ('scribe-chancellor')
16, no.60(i)
- Libya, Libyan(s)
 Introduction; **4, nos.6**, n.1; **8**; **10(i)**; **6**,
introd.; **nos.3**; **4**; **17**, n.2; **7, no.88**; **8**,
nos.6; **7**; **9**; **9, no.59**, n.3; **10, no.12**,
 n.3; **11, nos.2**; **4**; **16**; **25**; **14, no.2**; **17**,
introd., **app.**
- Liduma (Elymais?)
12, no.32(i); **16, no.38**
- Ligyans (unknown)
11, no.25
- Lindian Temple Chronicle:
6, no.42, n.1
- Lindos, Lindian(s) (Rhodes)
6, no.42
- Locris, Locrian(s) (Greece)
7, nos.14; **42**
- Loryma (Caria)
9, no.40
- Luxor (Ofi)
15, nos.29, nn.1, 6; **30**
- Lycaonia, Lycaonian(s)
9, no.12; **10, no.20(iii)**; **17, no.4**
- Lycaretus, b. Maeandrius
6, nos.2; **14**
- Lyceas of Naucratis
4, no.6
- Lycia, Lycian(s)
3, no.20; **7, nos.43**; **71**; **72**, n.1; **8**,
introd.; **nos.13**, n.5; **15**, n.4; **25**, n.3;
28, nn.4, 5; **29**, nn.1, 4–8; **fig.8.4**; **9**,
nos.4, n.6; **61**, n.6; **10, nos.11**, n.5;
12; **21**; **fig.10.7**; **11, no.25**; **12**,
nos.42, n.7; **44(ii)**; **13, introd.**; **14**,
nos.2; **10**, n.4; **12**, nn.1, 2; **16, nos.28**;
41, n.4; **17, introd.**; **nos.11**; **15**; **33**;
fig.17.7
- Lycidas (Athenian councillor)
7, no.53
- Lycomedes (garrison commander in Mytilene)
10, no.12
- Lycon (Athenian mercenary commander)
8, no.25
- Lycus (river)
9, no.38, n.4
- Lydia, Lydian(s)
 Introduction; **ch.1**; **2, introd.**; **nos.14**;
15; **3, introd.**; **nos.8**, n.4; **12**; **13**, n.1;
14–17; **20**; **34**; **4, introd.**; **nos.3**, n.1;
9, n.8; **16**; **5, nos.1**; **2**; **15**; **6, introd.**;
nos.33; **35**; **47**; **50**, n.2; **7, nos.18**; **63**,
 n.3; **69**; **88**; **8, nos.13**, n.3; **32**, n.8; **9**,
introd.; **nos.1**, n.7; **2**; **9**, n.2; **11**, n.5;
39; **51**, n.6; **fig.9.2**; **10, nos.8(i), (iii)**;
9; **13**, n.3; **20(ii)**; **11, nos.1**, n.1; **7**;
13(i); **18**; **25**; **30**, n.1; **50**, n.2;
fig.11.23; **12, nos.46**, n.1; **47**, n.2; **13**,
nos.29(i); **36**; **14, introd.**; **nos.2**; **10**,
 nn.34, 76; **19**, nn.2, 3; **15, introd.**;
nos.3; **6**; **8(i)**; **17, introd.**, **app.**;
no.36(i)

- Lysander (Spartan general)
8, nos.33, nn.1, 2; **37; 9, nos.35; 36;**
12, no.47(i)
- Lysimachus
 (1) (Alexander III's tutor)
10, no.22, n.7
 (2) (Alexander's general)
11, no.21, n.13
- Lysippus (sculptor)
12, no.45, n.2
- Macedon, Macedonian(s)
 Introduction; **4, no.14**, n.1; **5, introd.;**
6, introd.; **nos.18**, n.2; **19; 21; 24; 25;**
7, introd.; **nos.38; 46; 49(ii); 51; 60;**
9, introd.; **nos.77**, n.7; **78**, n.7; **80**,
 n.2; **10, introd.;** **nos.3**, n.9; **6**, nn.1, 2,
 4; **7; 8(i); 9**, n.8; **10**, nn.2, 3; **11; 12;**
14, n.2; **16; 18**, n.13; **19**, n.5; **20**, nn.5,
 7, 11, 12; **21–23; 25**, nn.4, 5; **26; 27**,
 nn.7, 12; **29**, n.1; **30(ii), (v); 33; 36**,
 nn.1, 3, 6; **37; 39**, nn.1, 9; **41**, nn.2, 4;
figs.10.1; 10.7; 11, nos.30, n.4; **67;**
12, no.2, n.2; **13, introd.;** **nos.2**, n.1;
6, n.3; **14; 42; 44**, n.7; **15, nos.12(iv);**
23, n.1; **16, no.61**, n.2; **17, nos.2(ii);**
3(i); 11, n.1; **14; 36**, nn.10, 11; **44**
- Maceta (mod. Ras Musandam, UAE)
17, no.43
- Macrones (Black Sea region)
7, no.66, n.9; **11, no.25; 14, no.2**
- Madyes (Scythian chief)
2, no.14
- Madytus (Thracian Chersonese)
7, nos.12; 66
- Maeander, Maeandrian plain
3, no.20; 6, no.38; 7, no.77; 8, no.14,
 n.2; **9, nos.44; 45; 11, no.21(iii); 15,**
no.8(i)
- Maeandrius, s. Maeandrius (ruler of Samos)
4, no.16; 6, nos.2; 14
- Maeotis (Cimmerian Bosporus)
11, no.15
- Magnesia, Magnesian(s)
 (1) (in Greece)
7, nos.25; 27
 (2) (-on-the-Maeander)
3, no.20; 4, no.16; 10, introd,
 n.11; **no.10**, n.1; **13, no.40; 14,**
no.2
- Magnetes (Greece)
7, no.14
- magophonia (*bagayadiš?*)
5, no.9, n.7
- magus/i (*makuš*)
2, no.13; 3, nos.7; 29–31; 5, introd.;
nos.1; 4–10; 14–16; 6, nos.2; 7, n.1;
11; 7, nos.10; 19; 10, no.40(i); 11,
introd.; **nos.22; 35; 36; 43**, n.2;
45–50; 52; 59; 12, no.12, n.2; **13,**
introd.; **nos.1(ii); 8**, nn.1, 2,
 9
- Maietis, Lake of (Sea of Azov)
6, nos.10; 12
- Maka
5, no.1; 7, no.88; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12;
13(ii), nn.4, 8; **25**, n.31; **17, no.42**,
 n.1
- Makkash (= Maka)
17, no.42(i)
- Makran
11, no.2, n.16; **17, no.42**, n.1
- Malatya
17, introd., app.
- Malea, Cape (Peloponnese)
10, no.12
- Malis, Malian(s) (Greece)
7, nos.28–30; 42
- Maliya (Lycian goddess)
8, no.29
- Mallians (India)
17, no.14
- Mallus (Cilicia)
10, no.21
- Manawir, *see* Ayn Manawir
- Mandane
 (1) (d. Astyages)
3, nos.30; 32, n.4; **33**
 (2) (sister of Xerxes (1))
11, no.25, n.56
- mandattu, *see* MNDT⁷
- Mandrocles
 (1) (of Samos)
6, no.8
 (2) (of Magnesia)
13, no.36
- Manetho
9, nos.57, nn.1, 5; **58**, n.5; **59**, n.3; **60**,
 nn.1, 9
- Mania, w. Zenis
17, no.35
- Mannaea(n)
2, nos.2(i), (iv); 6; 8; 10
- Mannuki (judge)
14, no.36
- Mannunda (high functionary, Persepolis)
16, no.11
- Mantine(i)a (Battle of)
9, nos.69, n.3; **70**, n.1
- Manyas, Lake (= Lake Dascylitis)
9, no.39
- Maracanda, *see* Samarkand

- Maraphii/an(s) (Persian tribe)
3, no.5; 5, no.2, n.6; 6, no.4; 13, no.5
- Maraphis
5, no.2
- Maratamkash (Fars)
13, no.26(ii)
- Marathon
6, introd.; nos.12, n.4; 15, n.1; 41, nn.1, 2; 42, n.2; 54, n.4; 55; 56; 58; 59; 7, nos.9, nn.3, 7; 54, n.2; 55, n.2; 64, n.2; 69, n.2; 11, no.25
- Marathus (Amrit)
10, no.18
- Maraza
 (1) (high functionary, Persepolis)
13, no.13; 16, nos.38; 50(i); 53(ii)
 (2) (fruit handler, Fars)
17, no.27
- Mardi(an)(s) (Persian tribe)
3, nos.5; 15; 32; 10, nos.17; 30(v); 17, no.1
- Mardonius (Marduniya, Mardinia)
 (1) (f. Gobryas)
5, no.1
 (2) (Darius I's helper, ap. Ctesias)
5, no.10
 (3) (s. Gobryas (1))
6, introd.; nos.21; 26; 42; 49; 51; 7, introd.; nos.4; 7; 9; 11, n.1; 24; 44–46; 47, n.2; 49(ii); 51–60; 62; 83, n.3; 12, nos.1; 32(i); 13, nos.16(ii); 42; 15, no.24
 (4) (another?)
7, no.9, n.2; 16, no.68
- Mardontes (s. Bagaeus)
7, nos.52; 61; 11, no.25; 12, no.29, n.13
- Marduk
2, nos.10, n.22; 11; 3, nos.6; 21; 26, n.3; 7, no.8, n.2; 10, nos.27, nn.3, 13; 41, n.3
- Marduk(k)a (high functionary, Persepolis)
16, no.18
- Marduk-nasir-apli, s. Itti-Marduk-balatu (Egibi archive)
14, nos.11; 31(iii)
- Mardus (Bardiya, Smerdis)
5, no.2
- Mares (Black Sea)
11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Margiana (Merv)
5, app.; no.1; 6, introd.
- Mariamme (Aradus territory)
10, no.18
- Mariandyni (Black Sea)
11, no.25; 14, no.2
- marika-
11, no.17, n.8
- Marion (Cyprus)
8, no.11, n.3
- mark, marking (branding, tattooing, inscribing)
7, nos.12, n.4; 31, n.6; 14, no.13; 15, no.33(ii); 16, no.65; 17, no.19
- marrip (craftsmen, artisans)
16, nos.9; 28
- Marsagetes (Scythian)
6, no.7
- Marsashkash(?) (Fars)
13, no.25(ii)
- Marsyas (river)
6, no.38; 7, no.77
- Martiya, s. Cincakhri (rebel 522/1)
5, app.; no.1; 16, no.51, n.3
- Maru (Media)
5, no.1
- Marv Dasht (plain)
10, no.30, n.2; 11, fig.11.7; 16, fig.16.5
- Masapata (Varfish's steward)
16, no.70
- Mascames, s. Megadostes
6, no.25; 7, no.70
- Mascas, *see* Khabur
- Masdayashna (apportioner, Fars)
16, nos.29; 46
- mašennu
9, no.68
- Mashad
 Introduction
- Masistes, b. Xerxes (1)
7, nos.1, n.4; 24; 80; 11, no.64
- Masistius, s. Siromitres
7, nos.57; 59, n.4; 11, nos.25; 66, n.3
- Maspaii (Persian tribe)
3, no.5
- Massages, s. Oarizes
11, no.25
- Massagetae (Central Asia)
3, nos.8, nn.4, 5; 34; 4, no.22; 5, no.12; 6, introd.
- Matalubash (= Talb/mish/Talmeshu)
15, no.4; fig.15.3
- Matannan (Fars)
16, no.51, n.1
- Matar (Phrygian 'Great Mother')
6, no.35, n.4; 7, no.63
- Matezzish (Huvadaiciya, Hum/badeshu)
5, no.1; 11, introd.; nos.10, n.3; 51; 14, no.34(i); 16, no.26(iii)
- mathišta
7, no.1, n.5

- Matieni (Zagros mountains/people)
3, no.28; 6, no.33; 11, no.25; 14, no.2; 15, no.3
- Mauaces (Persian commander)
17, fig.17.14
- Maudaces (Median king, ap. Ctesias)
2, no.17
- Mauryan(s)
16, no.58, n.1
- Mausolus
 (1) (f. of Pixodarus of Cindye)
6, no.38
 (2) (Carian dynast)
9, no.75, n.11
- Mawish
 (1) (Persepolis treasurer)
16, nos.19; 40
 (2) (f. Appishiyatish)
16, no.22
- Mazaces (satrap of Egypt)
10, nos.16, n.5; 24
- Mazaeus (satrap Cilicia/Syria/Babylon)
9, no.75; 10, introd.; nos.26; 29, n.2; 35; 40(i); fig.10.6; 17, fig.17.14
- Mazares (in Cyrus II's retinue)
3, no.20
- Mazenes (governor Oaracta)
17, no.14
- Meambria (Thrace)
6, no.9
- Medates (Darius III's cousin)
17, no.2(ii)
- Mede(s), Media(n)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.1–6; 8–11; 13–19; fig.2.2; 3, introd.; nos.1, n.8; 5–7; 9; 11; 13; 14; 20; 21, nn.9, 10, 15, 19; 23, n.6; 28; 30–33; 35, n.5; 4, no.9, n.8; 5, introd.; app.; nos.1; 2, n.2; 3, n.5; 4; 9; 11; 15; 6, nos.5; 10, n.1; 51; 56; 7, introd.; nos.20, n.4; 24, n.3; 29; 57, n.6; 64; 88; 8, introd.; nos.7; 37; 9, introd.; nos.1; 21(i); 27, n.1; 67, n.2; 10, introd.; nos.27, n.11; 28; 31; fig.10.7; 11, nos.2–4; 7; 12; 13; 15; 16; 22; 24, n.3; 25; 43, n.2; 57; 59; 12, introd.; nos.7, n.1; 13, n.2; 32(ii); 13, nos.3(ii); 23(iii); 14, nos.2; 22(ii); 29; 32; 44, n.8; 15, introd.; no.1, n.1; 16, nos.17; 66(i); 17, introd.; nos.1; 3(ii); 7; 10; 14; fig.17.14**
 'Mede(s)', 'Median' = Persian(s)
3, no.34; 6, nos.1; 36; 37; 43; 56; 7, nos.23; 29; 38; 45; 52; 67; 81; 8, nos.12; 35; 9, nos.50, n.4; 60; 65; 79(i)
- Medea
3, no.33, n.2; 11, no.25, n.9
- Median wall
9, no.20; 15, no.8, n.11
- medinah, MDYNT^r (sub-division of province)
14, nos.28, n.1; 36, n.8; 15, no.15, n.3
- Medinet Habu (Egypt)
9, no.60, n.8
- medism, medising
6, no.4, n.4; 7, nos.15; 16; 31; 37; 38; 8, no.17
- Mediterranean
3, no.21, n.19; 4, introd.; 6, no.3, n.3; 7, introd., n.1; 9, introd.; 11, nos.20, n.9; 25, n.48; 53, n.4; 15, no.11, n.3
- Medus
 (1) (eponymous Median ruler)
5, no.2
 (2) (River Kur, Fars)
16, no.41(ii)
- Megabates
 (1) (commander in Naxos)
6, nos.31; 32; 7, no.81
 (2) (s. Spithridates)
9, no.40
- Megabazus
 (1) (commander in Thrace)
6, introd.; nos.12; 14, n.1; 17–20; 22; 26; 27; 38, n.1; 47; 7, nos.11; 73, n.5; 11, no.25, n.28; 13, no.23(ii)
 (2) (commander in Egypt)
8, no.7
- Megabernes, s. Amytis (1)
3, nos.8; 35
- Megabyz/xus (Bagab/pukhsha)
 (1) (Darius I's helper)
5, nos.1; 9; 11, n.1
 (2) (son of Zopyrus)
7, nos.7; 24; 78(i); 92(i), (iii); 8, introd.; nos.3, n.3; 6 ('Megabazus'); 7; 9; 10; 13; 20, n.12; 22, n.2; 12, no.12, n.5; 13, nos.30; 31, n.13
 (3) (titikaš, Persepolis administration)
16, no.9
 (4) (high functionary, Fars)
16, no.43
- Megalopolis (Arcadia)
10, introd.; nos.14, n.2; 25, n.5
- Megapanus
 (1) (Persian commander, 480)
11, no.25
 (2) *see* Bakabana
- Megaphernes (Bagafarna, Bakaparna)
 (1) (royal scribe/secretary)
9, no.13

- (2) (wine handler, Fars)
16, no.1
- (3) (in receipt of a donkey, Fars)
17, no.27
- Megara (Megaris), Megarian(s) (Greece)
7, nos.43; 57, n.7; 8, no.26; 9, no.17
- Megillus (Spartan ambassador)
9, no.35
- Meidias, s.-in-law of Mania
17, no.35
- Meionians (Lycian frontier)
11, no.25
- melammu
11, no.22, n.14
- Melanthius (Athenian commander)
6, no.34
- Meles (legendary Lydian king)
3, no.15
- Meliboea (Greece)
7, no.26
- Melon (interpreter)
17, no.24
- Melos (Cycladic island)
9, no.43
- Melqart (Tyrian god)
9, no.50, n.1; 10, no.18, n.13
- Memnon
- (1) (Persian general, b. Mentor)
9, no.43, n.6; 10, nos.7; 8(i); 9, n.8; 11; 12; 33, n.1; 36; fig.10.7; 13, introd., no.44
 - (2) (Macedonian commander in Syria)
10, nos.18, n.2; 25
 - (3) (Legend of)
15, no.3
- Memphis, Memphite
ch.1; 4, introd.; nos.8; 9(i); 10(i); 11, nn.1, 17; 12; 14; 17–19; fig.4.3; 6, no.2; 7, no.57, n.8; 8, nos.6; 7; 9, n.9; 9, nos.8, n.4; 58, n.2; 59; 60; 66; 77; 10, no.16; 11, no.2, n.4; 13, fig.13.5; 14, introd.; nos.2; 10, nn.1, 13; 17; 30; 36, nn.1, 4; 15, nos.14; 27, n.10; 28; 29; 30, n.6; 16, introd., n.8; 17, fig.17.8
- Mendes, Mendesian (Egypt)
8, no.7; 9, introd.; nos.59, n.3; 65, n.2; 66; 69, n.7; 77, n.9; fig.9.4
- Menedemus (Macedonian commander)
17, no.11
- Menelaus (Greek hero)
13, no.36, n.9
- Menon
- (1) (commander in army of Cyrus (3))
9, no.26
 - (2) (of Cerdimmas, satrap of Coele-Syria)
10, no.18
 - (3) (Alexander III's general, identical with (2)?)
14, no.15
- Menostanes (Manushtanu, s. Artarios/Artareme)
8, introd.; nos.10; 20; 22
- Mentor of Rhodes
9, no.75; 10, nos.7, n.2; 12; 13, introd.; no.44
- Menuirdisu (s. Wahibre)
9, no.78(ii)
- Mergis (= Bardiya, ap. Justin)
5, no.6
- Meroë (Kush)
4, no.10(ii)
- Merv (Margiana)
Introduction; **5, no.1, n.81**
- Mesambria (Fars)
17, no.46
- Mesembrae (Black Sea)
6, no.47
- Mesopotamia(n) ('Between the Rivers')
Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.1, n.1; 13, n.4; 16, n.1; 3, nos.21, nn.14, 19; 22, n.4; 23, nn.6, 7, 9–11, 22, 26; 24, n.1; 26, n.3; 5, nos.1, nn.1, 2; 4, n.14; 5, n.4; 18, n.4; 7, introd., n.4; no.7, n.3; 8, no.20, n.4; 9, introd.; nos.19, n.1; 67, n.2; 68; 10, introd.; no.27, n.8; 11, introd.; nos.13(i), n.8; 22, n.14; 25, n.33; 35, n.3; 43, n.1; 59, nn.5, 6; fig.11.49; 12, no.43, n.5; 14, fig.14.2; 15, introd.; nos.6, nn.1, 4; 13, n.1; 17, n.1; 16, introd.; nos.26, n.10; 34, n.4; 17, nos.2, n.6; 3, n.3; 8, n.3; 43, n.2; fig.17.14**
- Mespila (N. Iraq), see Nineveh
- messenger, royal (*astandes*)
15, introd.; no.22, n.8
- Messenia, Messenian(s) (Peloponnese)
6, no.33
- Mesutire (Cambyses II's pharaonic name)
4, nos.11–13; fig.4.3
- Methymna (Lesbos)
10, no.25
- Metiochus, s. Miltiades
6, no.48; 13, no.43
- Meturnu (Babylonia)
3, no.21
- Meydancikkale
17, introd.; fig.17.2
- MHHSN (hold as a grant/in tenure)
14, no.36, n.4; 37, n.7; 44, n.4; 17, nos.32, n.22; 33, n.21

- Migdol (Egypt)
14, no.10, n.1; **15, no.28**
- Miletou Teichos (Hellespontine Phrygia)
9, no.39
- Miletus, Milesian(s)
3, no.20; **6, introd.**; **nos.12**; **15**, n.2;
18, n.3; **22**; **31–33**; **38–40**; **43–47**; **49**,
nn.1, 7; **7, introd.**; **nos.61**; **78(ii)**; **8**,
nos.14; **22**; **28**; **30**, n.2; **9, nos.7**; **17**,
n.1; **38**; **45**; **10, introd.**; **nos.10**; **11**;
20(iii); **17, introd.**, **app.**; **nos.16**;
20
- Milkyaton (ruler of Kition)
9, no.50; **fig.9.3**
- Miltiades (Athenian general & tyrant in
Hellespontine Chersonese)
6, nos.12; **15**; **48**; **58**; **7, nos.29**, n.5;
66, n.6; **69**, n.2; **13, introd.**; **no.43**
- Milyans (Lycia)
11, no.25; **14, no.2**
- Min (Egyptian god)
8, no.8; **14, no.17**
- Mindarus (Spartan general)
17, no.20
- Minos of Knossos (legendary king)
4, no.16
- Mirandu (= Urandush? Fars)
16, no.51(i)
- Mirayauda (apportioner, Fars)
16, no.42(iii), **(iv)**
- Mirinzana (functionary, Persepolis)
16, nos.9; **16(i)**; **17**
- Mishbashiyatish (Fars)
16, no.43
- Mishdushi (god)
11, no.39
- Mishebaka (*Visaibaga, 'All Gods')
11, no.40
- Mishparma ('chief of workers')
16, no.46
- Mishti/ukra(sh) (Fars)
12, no.37(ii)
- Mithra(s)
9, nos.22; **71**; **73**; **11, introd.**; **nos.14**;
22, n.8; **26(ii)**; **35–37**; **40**, n.3;
57, n.3; **58**; **fig.11.40**; **17, no.33**,
n.23
- Mithraka
(1) (Metraku, Zagros chieftain)
2, no.1(ii), n.4
(2) (SGN, Persepolis)
16, no.35
- Mithrakana (festival of Mithra)
11, no.57
- Mithraustes (Persian commander)
17, fig.17.14
- Mithrenes (garrison commander, Sardis)
10, introd.; **no.9**
- Mithridates
(1) ('eunuch' related to Artabanus (2))
7, no.92(ii); **12, no.16**, n.1
(2) (Darius III's son-in-law)
10, no.8(iii)
(3) (Persian noble under Artaxerxes II)
11, no.33(ii); **13**,
no.22(ii)
(4) (s. Ariobarzanes)
13, no.36
- Mithrobarzanes (Datames' f.-in-law)
13, nos.35, n.4; **36**
- Mithrobuzanes (hyparch Cappadocia)
10, no.8(iii)
- Mithropa(u)stes
(1) (s. Arsites(2))
10, no.20, n.2; **17, no.44**
(2) (Artaxerxes I's cousin)
13, no.41
- mitra, *see also* kurbasia
11, nos.22, n.11; **25**; **13, no.1**, n.4;
14, no.38, n.3 **fig.17.9**
- Mitrdates
(1) (Cyrus II's foster father)
3, nos.30; **31**
(2) (s. Oudiastes)
12, no.38(ii)
- Mit Rahina (Egypt)
17, fig.17.8
- Mitraios (Darius II's nephew)
9, no.4
- Mitrobates (governor in Dascylium)
4, no.16; **5, no.15**
- Mitrostes (b. Teritouchmes)
12, no.38(ii)
- Mizpah (Egypt)
8, no.34, n.10
- MNDT*, mandattu
14, nos.10, n.6; **30**, n.7; **32**, n.6; **35**,
n.8
- Mnesimachos inscription (hellenistic)
14, no.1, n.9
- Mnevis (sacred bull of Heliopolis, Egypt)
9, no.77, n.9
- Moeris, Lake (Egypt)
14, no.2
- Molois (river)
7, no.59, n.3
- Montu (Egyptian god)
11, no.2
- Mordecai (Esther's uncle)
13, nos.20(i); **23**, n.2
- Moschi (? = Mushki, Phrygians)
11, no.25; **14, no.2**

- Mossynoeci (Black Sea?)
7, no.66, n.9; **11, no.25**; **14, no.2**
- Murashu family/archive/documents
ch.1; **8, nos.10**, nn.7, 11; **12, no.38**,
 n.5; **14, introd.**; **nos.9**; **30(ii)**; **38**;
15, introd.; **16, no.66(ii)**; **17**,
fig.17.12
- Murychides (delegate of Mardonius (3))
7, no.53
- Musaeus, oracles of
7, no.9
- Musasir (Zagros)
5, no.13, n.4
- Mushki (Phrygians)
11, no.25, n.53
- mustering points
7, no.17 (Critalla); **8, no.32**; **9, no.1**;
11, no.18 (Plain of Castolus); **14**,
nos.24, n.7; **38** (Uruk)
- Mutrizash (Fars)
16, no.47(i)
- Muzriya ('the Egyptian')
16, no.52(i)
- Mycale (W. Turkey)
3, no.20, n.3; **7, introd.**; **nos.7**, n.4;
24, n.3; **61**; **66**; **67**, n.2; **76**; **78**, n.6;
80, n.1; **8, no.14**, n.4; **30**, n.2; **11**,
no.25
- Mycian(s) (= Maka?)
11, no.25; **14, no.2**
- Mykonos (island)
6, no.54(ii)
- Mylasa, Oliatus of
6, nos.32; **38**
- Mylitta (Ninlil, Muliltu, Mulissu, MLŠ)
11, nos.35; **36**, n.3
- Myndus, Myndian(s) (Caria)
6, no.31; **10, nos.11**, n.2; **13**
- Myous, Myesian(s) (Maeander Plain)
6, nos.32; **43**; **49**, n.1; **9, no.44**; **13**,
no.40
- Myrcinus (Thrace)
6, nos.22; **39**
- Myrina (Aeolis)
7, no.82
- Myron (Eulogy of Rhodes)
6, no.42
- Myrsus, s. Gyges
4, no.16; **6, no.38**
- Mysia, Mysian(s)
3, no.20; **6, nos.38**; **46**; **8, nos.17**, n.3;
32; **9, nos.11**; **28(ii)**; **39**; **11, nos.18**;
25; **14, no.2**; **16, no.71**; **17, introd.**;
nos.4; **35**
- Mytilene, Mytilenean(s) (Lesbos)
3, no.20; **4, nos.8**; **9(i)**; **6, nos.9**; **20**,
 n.3; **32**; **40**; **8, no.17**, n.1; **10, no.12**;
fig.10.7
- Nabarzanes (Darius III's chiliarch)
10, nos.33, n.2; **34**; **35**; **fig.10.7**; **12**,
no.15(i)
- Nabonidus (Nabuna'id, Nabonnedus,
 Babylonian king)
2, nos.10, n.22; **11**, n.1; **15**, n.6; **3**,
introd.; **nos.1**; **6**; **21**; **22**, n.3; **23**; **24**,
 nn.1–3, 7, 8; **25**; **28**, n.3; **34**, n.5; **4**,
nos.7, n.6; **9**, n.3; **5, no.1**
- Nabonidus Chronicle
3, nos.6, n.8; **23**, n.24; **25**, n.4; **4**,
no.1, n.2
- Nabopolassar (Nabu-apla-usur, Babylonian
 king)
2, introd.; **nos.10**; **11**; **18(i)**
- Nabu (Babylonian god)
3, nos.1; **2**; **21**
- Nadintabaira, s. of Ainaira, see Nidintu-Bel
- Nafaina
 (1) (judge, Egypt)
14, no.36
 (2) (s. Vidranga)
14, no.36, n.10; **17, no.32**
- Nakhthor (Nehtihor, steward of Arshama (2))
14, nos.35; **37**; **15, no.4**; **16, nos.64**;
65; **70**
- Nakka (Fars)
16, no.42, n.2
- Namakanush (Fars)
16, no.42, n.2
- Namri (Zagros)
2, no.1(i)
- Nanitin (high functionary, Persepolis)
11, no.68(ii); **16, no.38**
- Nannaia (Babylonian goddess), see also Ishtar
11, introd.; **no.59**, n.5; **14, no.24(ii)**
- Nannar (Babylonian god)
3, no.23
- Napata, Napatan(s) (Kush)
4, no.10, nn.1, 4, 11
- Napirisha (Elamite god)
11, no.42
- Napoleon
10, no.24, n.1
- Naqsh-i Rostam
ch.1; **6, no.60**, n.4; **11, introd.**; **nos.4**,
 n.1; **11**, nn.9, 10; **16**, n.1; **63**, n.3;
figs.11.14; **11.48**; **11.50**; **13**,
introd.
- Narez(z)a/e/ish (mod. Niriz(?))
4, introd.; **5, nos.8**, n.1; **14**, n.3; **11**,
nos.45; **68(ii)**; **14, introd.**; **16**,
introd.; **no.20**; **fig.16.5**

- Narishanka (= Naryasanga(?), Iranian god)
11, no.44
- Nashirma, *see* Bez/shiyamata
- Nasibina (mod. Nusaybin, Syria)
2, no.10
- Nastasen (Kushite king)
9, no.77, n.7
- N/Matakas (courtier of Xerxes (1))
7, nos.4; 78(i)
- Naucratis (Egypt)
9, no.65, n.2; 14, nos.10, n.1; 42, n.1
- Naxos (Aegean island)
6, introd.; 31; 51; 52; 54, n.1; 7, introd.; no.81, n.6
- Nearchus (commander & admiral of Alexander (2))
ch.1; 10, fig.10.7; 17, introd; nos.1; 3(ii); 10; 43; 44
- Near East
4, no.3, nn.2, 3; 7, no.57, n.8; 11, nos.25, nn.4, 67; 12, no.39, n.11; 15, no.20, n.3; 17, fig.17.8
- Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudurri-usur)
 (1) (II, Babylonian king)
ch.1; 2, nos.15, n.6; 18; 3, nos.21, n.21; 23; 27; 28, n.7; 9, nos.20, n.4; 69, nn.6, 7; 12, introd.; fig.12.10
 (2) (III, rebel 522/1)
5, no.1
 (3) (IV, rebel 522/1)
5, no.1
- Necho II (Egyptian king)
6, no.3, n.3; 11, no.6, n.4
- Nectanebo (Egyptian king)
 (1) (I, Nht-nb.f)
9, introd.; nos.61, n.4; 65; 66; 69, n.1; 78, n.4; fig.9.4
 (2) (II, Nht.Hrw-hbt)
9, nos.65; 69; 74, n.1; 75; 77; 78(i); fig.9.4; 10, nos.38, nn.9, 10; 39, n.1
- Negev
15, introd.; no.15, n.1
- Nehemiah
8, introd.; 14, no.28, n.3; 15, no.19, nn.1, 2
 (Book of) **ch.1; 15, no.19, n.1; 17, no.32, n.20**
- Neileus (s. Codrus)
6, no.34, n.2; 7, no.61
- Neith (Egyptian goddess)
4, no.11; 9, no.78(ii); 11, no.2
- Nekhtheneb (b. Somtutefnakht)
10, no.38
- Neo-Assyrian
 Introduction; **2, introd.; no.10, n.14;**
- 3, no.14; 5, nos.1, nn.38, 60; 5, n.8; 6, fig.6.3; 7, no.57, n.6; fig.7.3; 9, introd.; 10, fig.10.3; 11, no.35, n.3; figs.11.17; 11.18; 12, introd., n.4; nos.39, n.1; 44, n.1; 13, nos.23, n.8; 45, n.11; 14, no.10, n.14; 15, introd.; nos.6, n.2; 20, n.3; 17, introd.**
- Neo-Babylonian
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, nos.10, n.14; 16, n.13; 3, no.13, n.7; 9, introd.; 14, nos.11, n.5; 32, n.1; 15, introd., n.2; nos.8, n.4; 33, n.5; 16, no.60, n.3; 17, introd.**
- Neoptana (Gulf coast)
17, no.43
- Nepherites (Nephereus; N3y.fwrd; NF^cWRT, Egyptian king)
 (1) (I)
9, introd.; nos.34; 59; 60; 65, n.7; fig.9.4
 (2) (II)
9, no.60; fig.9.4
- Nephtys (Egyptian goddess)
17, fig.17.11
- Nepos, Cornelius
ch.1; 9, nos.64, n.4; 66, n.4; 10, no.12, n.11; 13, no.36, nn.1, 14
- Nereid(s) (nymphs)
11, no.48
- Nergal (Babylonian god)
10, no.27, n.4
- Neriglissar (Nergal-shar-usur, Babylonian king)
3, no.25, n.2
- Nesa, Nesaea, *see* Nisaya
- Nestus (river, Thrace)
7, no.48, n.2
- Neuri (Scythian tribe)
6, no.10
- New Year Festival (Babylon)
3, nos.1; 23; 24, n.5; 15, no.26, n.3
- New York Post Office
15, introd.
- Nicocles (s. Evagoras I)
9, nos.48, n.1; 75, n.13
- Nicolaus of Damascus
3, no.32, nn.1, 4; 5, nos.13, n.4; 18, n.5; 13, no.11, n.4
- Nicophemus (Athenian governor of Cythera)
9, no.43
- Nidin-Bel (Babylonian pretender?)
10, introd.; no.4
- Nidintu-Bel, s. of Kin-zer (Nadintabaira, rebel 522/1, identical with Nidin-Bel?)
5, app; no.1; 10, no.4, n.8
- Nile
 Introduction; **ch.1; 4, nos.8; 10, nn. 6,**

- 11, 12; **6, introd.; no.16; 8, no.6; 9, nos.66; 75; 10, no.16, n.4; 11, no.6; 14, nos.17, n.5; 36, n.11; 15, introd.**
- Nilopolis
4, no.14, n.8
- Nimrud (anc. Kalhu, Assyria)
6, fig.6.3; 10, fig.10.3; 11, no.67, n.12; 12, no.39, n.1; 15, no.20, n.3
- Nineveh
2, introd.; nos.2, n.3; 4; 5; 6, n.1; 10; 14; 16; 18, n.5; 3, nos.2; 21, n.20; 28; 7, fig.7.3; 9, no.27, n.1; 10, no.26; 11, no.67, n.12; figs.11.17; 11.18; 11.24; 11.51; 12, no.42, n.7; 14, no.27, n.5; 17, fig.17.8
- Nine Ways (Ennea Hodoi, Thrace)
7, no.75
- Ninos (legendary Assyrian king)
2, no.16; 15, no.2, n.1
- Ninurta (= Lugal-su.du? Babylonian god)
3, no.23, n.7
- Niphatas (Persian noble)
10, no.8(i), (iii)
- Nippur (Babylonian city)
ch.1; 3, no.23, n.11; 8, no.10, n.11; 10, no.41, n.3; 14, introd.; nos.9, n.8; 14, n.6; 16, no.66, n.10; 17, fig.17.12
- Nipsaei (Thracian group)
6, no.9
- Niriz
(1) (see also Narezzash)
4, introd.; 5, no.8, n.1
(2) (Lake of)
16, no.41, n.6
- Nisaya(n) (Media)
5, no.1; 7, nos.20, n.4; 57; 11, nos.24; 57; 14, no.29, n.3
- Nitetis, Neitetis, d. Apries
4, nos.3; 5; 6
- Nitocris, m. Labynetis
3, no.28, nn.3, 11
- Norondabates (Darius I's helper, ap. Ctesias)
5, no.10
- Notium (part of Colophon)
8, no.17
- Nubia, Nubian(s)
Introduction; **4, introd.; 10, nn. 1, 4, 5; 11, n.17; 18, n.2; fig.4.1; 5, no.3, n.3; 6, introd.; no.13, n.2; 7, no.88; 8, no.7, n.2; 9, no.77, n.7; 11, nos.1, n.4; 2; 4; 13(i), (ii)(a); 16; 25; 12, no.20, n.1; 14, no.2, nn.29, 32**
- Nukurran (district, Fars)
16, no.48
- Nymphs (Lyc. Eliyana)
17, no.33
- Nysa (in Nubia)
14, no.2
- Oaracta (mod. Qeshm, Gulf)
17, no.44
- Oarus (river, S. Russia)
6, no.10
- Oasis (city, Egypt)
4, no.10(i)
- Ochus
(1) see Darius II
(2) see Artaxerxes III
- Odomanti (Thracian group)
6, nos.23(ii); 27
- Odrysian(s) (Thracian group)
6, no.9; 8, no.16, n.2
- Oeobazus
(1) (f. Siromitres(?))
7, no.66; 11, no.25
(2) (another, reign of Darius I)
13, no.3(i)
- Oeta (mountains)
7, no.30
- Ofi, see Luxor
- Ogyris (island, Gulf)
17, no.44
- Oibara/es
(1) (Cyrus' aide)
3, nos.8; 10; 18; 19; 5, no.13, n.4
(2) (Darius I's groom)
5, no.13; 6 no.47, n.2
(3) (s. Megabazus, governor of Dascylium, identical with (2)?)
6, no.47
- oikos, see also estate
13, no.43, n.3; 14, no.42, n.3; 16, no.50, n.1
- Old Babylonian
15, no.5, n.5; 16, no.26, n.2
- Old Persian
ch.1; 3, introd.; 5, nos.1, nn.1, 29, 73, 97, 104; 107; 115, 118, 119; 9, n.7; 19, n.1; 6, no.9, n.4; fig.6.4; 7, nos.85, n.1; 86, n.1; 87, n.3; figs.7.1; 7.4; 7.5; 8, introd.; nos.4, n.1; 23, n.3; 25, n.3; fig.8.1; 9, nos.22, n.4; 73, n.1; fig.9.6; 10, no.30, n.10; 11, introd., n.3; nos.12, n.3; 13(i), n.1; 21, n.2; 45, n.1; 64, n.3; fig.11.30; 12, introd.; no.40, nn.9, 11; 13, introd.; no.5, n.6; 14, no.2, n.1; 16, introd.; nos.15, n.5; 36, nn.1, 10, 13; 47, n.6; 49, n.4; 51, n.2; 17, introd.
- Old Testament
ch.1; 3, introd.; no.21, n.21; 8, introd.; 17, introd.

- Olorus (Thracian ruler)
6, nos.12, n.4; 48
- Olympia
12, no.45(i)
- Olympics
7, no.36, n.1
- Olympus
(1) (Greece)
6, no.24
(2) (Mysia)
9, no.39
- Olynthus, Olynthian(s) (Greece)
7, nos.24; 49(ii)
- Oman/res (Persian commander)
10, no.8(iii)
- Onesicritus (Alexander III's steersman)
11, no.17, n.5; 14, no.18
- Onesilus (b. Gorgus of Salamis (1))
6, nos.36; 37
- Onomacritus (oracle interpreter)
7, no.9
- Onophas (Darius I's helper, ap. Ctesias)
5, no.10; 7, no.4
- Opis (Babylonia)
3, introd.; nos.1; 21, n.12; 28; 9, no.21(ii); 10, fig.10.7; 15, no.8, n.13; 16, no.66(i)
- Orchomenus (Boeotia)
7, no.38
- Oriscus (Persian commander)
8, no.9
- Oroites (satrap of Lydia)
3, no.20, n.10; 4, introd.; no.16; 5, no.15; 6, nos.2; 38, n.4; 7, no.52, n.2; 12, no.29, n.13; 13, no.38, n.3
- Oronta/es
(1) (traitor to Cyrus (3))
9, nos.11, nn.2, 3; 19; 25, n.5
(2) (governor in Armenia)
9, nos.25; 27; 52; 56; 10, no.5, n.5; 13, nos.31(iii), (iv); 32; 34, n.1; 35, n.1
(3) (Mt. Elvend)
11, no.15
(4) (s. of (2))
17, fig.17.14
- Orontobates
(1) (Ada II's Persian husband)
10, nos.11; 13; 20, n.2
(2) (Persian commander, identical with (1)?)
17, fig.17.14
- Oropastes (ps.-Smerdis, ap. Justin)
5, no.6
- Orthagoras (with Nearchus)
17, no.44
- Orthocorybantes (unknown)
14, no.2
- Orx/sines (of Pasargadae tribe)
3, no.5, n.3; 10, no.30, n.12; 13, introd.; no.6; 17, no.14, n.1; fig.17.14
- Oryx nome (Egypt)
10, no.38
- Osiris
4, nos.11; 13; 9, no.78(i); 14, no.17, n.5; 17, no.38
- Ostanes
(1) (b. Artaxerxes II)
10, no.3; 12, no.11; 13, no.20(ii)
(2) (Ostana, b. Anani, Judaeen notable)
17, no.32
- Otanes
(1) (Darius' helper)
4, no.1, n.1; 5, nos.1; 7; 9; 10, n.1; 11; 14; 6, nos.2; 7, n.1; 14, n.1; 49; 7, nos.4, n.4; 23, n.2; 8, no.29, n.4
(2) (s. Sisamnes)
4, no.23, n.1; 6, nos.20; 31, n.1; 38; 7, nos.4, n.4; 24, n.5; 11, nos.24; 25
(3) (official, Narezzish)
16, no.20
- Otaspes, s. Artachaees
11, no.25
- Ottoman
12, introd., n.4
- Otys (Cotys; Gyes), *see* Th(u)ys
- Oudiastes (associate of Teritouchmes)
12, no.38(ii)
- Ourania (deified heaven)
11, no.35
- Ousiris (Persian commander)
8, no.10
- Oxathres
(1) (s. Abulites (2))
10, no.29, n.2; 17, fig.17.14
(2) (b. Artaxerxes II)
12, no.11
- Oxendras, s. Darius II & Parysatis
8, no.21
- Oxus
(1) (river, mod. Amu Darya)
3, no.35, n.1; 11, fig.11.27
(2) ('Oxus Treasure')
11, no.21, n.13; figs.11.27; 11.33; 11.43; 13, fig.13.3
- Oxyartes, f. Roxane (2)
10, fig.10.7
- Oxyrhynchus historian/history
9, introd.; nos.38, n.1; 39, n.21
- Ozbaal (ruler in Kition, 449–425)
9, no.50, n.4

- Paches (Athenian commander)
8, no.17
- Pactolus (river)
3, nos.14, n.1; 17; 6, no.35; 14, no.19
- Pactyes (Lydian treasurer)
3, introd.; no.20
- Pactyic, Pactyica, Pactyan(s) (Gandara?)
6, no.3; 7, no.52, n.4; 11, no.25; 14, no.2; 17, no.9
- Padantes (Artaxerxes II's treasurer)
13, no.36
- Paeonia, Paeonian(s)
6, nos.8; 9; 22; 34, n.3; 7, introd.; nos.46, 49(i); 9, no.80, n.1; 10, no.10, n.2
- Paesus (Hellespont)
6, no.38
- Paeti (Thracian group)
6, no.28
- Pagasae (Thessaly)
7, no.27
- Paishiyauvada, *see* Bez/shiyamata
- Pakistan
Introduction; **17, introd.**
- Palace R (Pasargadae)
3, fig.3.7
- Palace S (Pasargadae)
3, fig.3.6; 17, no.46, n.2
- Palaescepsis (Troad)
13, no.40, n.4
- Palestine, Palestinian
ch.1; 4, no.8, n.1; 9, no.66, nn.3, 6, 9; 10, nos.18, n.1; 23; 11, no.25; 14, nos.2; 36, n.3; 44, n.8; 15, no.5; fig.15.5; 16, no.60, n.3
- Pallene (Chalcidice)
7, no.49(ii)
- Pamphylia, Pamphylian(s)
7, no.43; 9, nos.9, n.2; 61, n.6; 10, nos.11, n.5; 37, n.1; fig.10.7; 11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Panathenaia
8, no.12
- Pangaeus (Mount)
6, nos.23(ii); 27; 28; 7, no.22
- Panionium
3, no.20; 6, no.43; 8, no.14, n.2; 9, no.45, n.5
- Panionius of Chios
12, no.20
- Panopoea (Phocis)
7, no.38
- Panormus (Miletus territory)
3, no.20
- Panthialaei (Persian tribe)
3, no.5
- Pantimathi (Hyrcania?)
14, no.2
- Paphlagonia, Paphlagonian(s)
2, no.16; 8, no.20, n.12; 9, introd.; nos.39; 40; 10, no.20(ii), (iii); 11, nos.25; 58, n.3; 13, no.36; 14, no.2; 15, nos.7, n.1; 16; 17, introd.; no.37
- Paphos, Paphian(s)
6, no.37, n.5; 7, no.27; 9, no.50
- Papremis (Egypt)
16, no.70
- paqdu, *see* PQYD⁷
- paradeisos (partetaš; paradayada-/paridaida-(?))
3, no.29, n.2; 9, nos.37; 71; 75, n.6; 11, introd.; no.21(i), (iii); 12, introd.; no.46; 15, nos.8, n.5; 19, n.3; 16, introd.; nos.41(i); 43-47
- Paraetaceni (Paretaceni, Median tribe)
2, no.13; 10, nos.29, n.2; 31, n.1; 11, nos.25, n.31; 36, n.2; 17, nos.1; 10
- Parapotamia, Parapotamii (Phocis)
7, no.38
- parasang(s)
6, no.49
- parchment
12, no.29(ii); 16, introd.; nos.13; 26, n.2
- Parga (mod. Purg?)
5, no.1
- Paricanian(s) (? = Paraetaceni)
7, no.66, n.5; 11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Parium (Hellespont)
6, no.38
- Parmadan (Fars)
16, no.12(ii)
- Parmashba (Fars)
16, no.42, n.2
- Parmenion (Philip II's general)
10, nos.6; 7; 9, n.1; 10, n.1; 17; 25, n.1; 30(iv); 11, no.21, n.11; 12, nos.43; 44(i)
- Parmises
(1) (b. Amytis (1))
3, no.8
(2) (Darius II's commander)
8, no.25
- Parmizza (Fars)
13, no.25(ii)
- Parmys (Uparmiya)
ch.1; 5, no.14; 7, no.2, n.5
- Parnaka (Farnaka, Pharnaces)
(1) (Darius I's uncle)
7, nos.49, n.2; 81, n.4; 11, nos.25;

- 68(ii); 12, no.29(i); 13, nos.5; 13; 25, n.5; 26(ii); 15, nos.1(vi); 12(i); 16, introd.; nos.11; 12, n.1, 2; 14; 15; 17; 23(i); 30; 36(ii); 38; 48, n.1; 49; 50(i); 52(ii); 53(ii); fig.16.3; 17, no.26
- (2) (ggs. of (1))
8, no.16
- (3) (Darius III's brother-in-law)
10, no.8(iii)
- (4) (Cambyes II's official)
14, no.24(i)
- Parnu (governor in Egypt)
14, no.14
- Parnuma (= Parnu(?), apportioner)
16, no.59
- Paropamisadae, Paropamisus (Hindu Kush)
10, fig.10.7; 17, no.39
- Paros, Parian(s) (Aegean island)
6, no.31; 7, nos.42; 50
- Parsa/u, *see also* Fars
Introduction; 3, introd.; nos.1; 21, n.15
- Parsua, Parsuash, Parsumash
2, introd.; nos.1(i); 2(i), (iii); 3, no.2
- partetaš, *see* paradeisos
- Parthenion (Troad)
16, no.71
- Parthia, Parthian(s)
Introduction; ch.1; 2, no.17; 3, no.35; 5, app.; nos.1; 9, n.2; 6, introd.; 7, nos.49, n.2; 88; 11, nos.2; 4; 7; 12; 13(ii)(b); 16; 25; 36, n.2; fig.11.14; 14, nos.2; 40; 41, n.2; 17, nos.1; 10; fig.17.14
- Parysatis
ch.1; 8, nos.19; 20; 21, nn.3, 6; 22; 32, n.6; 9, nos.1; 2; 6; 38; 11, nos.33(ii); 56, n.1; 12, introd.; nos.14; 19; 38; 46, n.7; 13, no.29, n.10; 14, no.9; 16, no.66; 17, no.26, n.1
- Pasargadae (Batrakatash)
(1) (city)
ch.1; 3, introd.; nos.29; 36, n.1; figs.3.5–3.7; 4, introd.; 5, introd.; nos.1, n.18; 3, n.5; 19, n.1; 7, nos.57, n.8; 65; 9, no.5, n.1; 10, no.30(iv); 11, introd.; nos.13(i), n.15; 21, n.2; 35, n.1; 63; figs.11.19; 11.38; 11.48; 11.50; 12, introd.; 13, no.3(ii); 14, introd., n.1; 15, introd., n.2; no.12, n.6; 16, no.26(ii); fig.16.5
- (2) (tribe)
3, no.5; 5, no.19, n.1; 6, no.4; 13, introd.; no.6
- Pasion (Greek commander in army of Cyrus (3))
9, no.16
- Pasiphernes (Persian general)
9, no.38, n.7
- Pasitigris, *see* Karun
- Passover
17, no.31, nn.1, 3
- Pataeci (Phoenician deities)
4, no.19
- Patigarbana (Parthia)
5, no.1
- Patiramphe (chariot driver of Xerxes (1))
11, no.24
- Patischorean (Patishuvarish, Persian sub-group)
5, no.1, n.113; 11, fig.11.14
- Patizeithes (magus)
5, no.4
- Patroclus (Greek hero)
13, no.36
- Patron (Greek mercenary commander)
10, no.33
- Pattala (N. India)
10, fig.10.7
- Pausanias
(1) (Spartan general)
6, no.31, n.4; 7, introd.; nos.54; 55; 59; 67; 68; 81; 12, no.1
- (2) (Description of Greece)
7, nos.65, n.2; 78, n.7; 8, no.20, n.14; 9, no.42, n.3; 10, no.8, n.5; 12, no.45, n.2; 17, no.16, n.3
- Pausicae (Hyrcania?)
14, no.2
- Pausiris, s. Amyrtaeus (2)
4, no.9(i)
- Pavilion B (Pasargadae)
3, fig.3.5(b)
- Pazyryk
17, fig.17.5
- Pedasa/us, Pedasian(s) (Caria)
6, nos.38; 44; 12, no.20, n.2
- Pedubastis III (Egyptian rebel 521/0?)
5, no.17, n.1
- Peftuaneith
(1) (f. Udjahorresnet)
4, no.11; 9, no.78(ii)
- (2) (secretary of Pherendates (1))
17, no.30
- Peisander (Spartan admiral)
9, no.41
- Peithon (bodyguard of Alexander (2))
17, no.3(ii)
- Pelagon, s. Syrphax
10, no.36

- Pelekos (Caria)
 14, no.12, n.5
 Peleus, f. Achilles
 11, no.48
 Pelion (Rocks, 'Ovens', N. Greece)
 7, no.26
 Pelopidas (Theban general)
 11, no.29(ii)
 Peloponnese, Peloponnesian(s)
 6, no.33; 7, introd.; nos.29; 39; 45;
 51, n.5; **66; 67; 8, introd.; nos.7; 16,**
 n.1; **17; 26; 28; 30; 9, nos.7; 29; 31,**
 n.2; **34; 39; 43**, n.1; **10, introd.;**
 nos.12, n.3; **14; 11, no.25; 14, no.7,**
 n.6
 Pelusium, Pelusiac (Egypt)
 4, introd.; no.8; 9, nos.66; 77; 10,
 nos.16; 24
 Penthylus, s. Demonous (Paphos)
 7, no.27
 Pepy II (Egyptian king)
 4, no.11, n.17
 Perapis (Egypt)
 4, no.14
 Percote (Hellespont)
 6, no.38; 13, no.40, n.4
 Perdiccas (Alexander III's commander)
 10, no.22; fig.10.7
 Pergamum, Pergamene, Pergamenian(s)
 7, nos.19; 82; 13, no.32(iii)
 Pergamene Chronicle
 13, no.32, n.5
 Pergamus (Macedon)
 6, no.23(ii)
 Perge (Pamphylia)
 10, no.37
 Pericles
 6, nos.29, n.3; **56**, n.5; **8, nos.13**, n.6;
 31, n.1
 Perinthus, Perinthian(s) (Hellespont)
 6, nos.17; 25; 47; 9, no.80; 10, no.8,
 n.5
 Perrhaebia, Perrhaebian(s) (N. Greece)
 7, no.14; 15, no.12(iv)
 Persepolis (Parsa, Bairsha, Persai), Persepolitan
 ch.1; 3, no.29, n.8; **fig.3.5; 4, introd.;**
 5, nos.1, n.94; **3**, n.5; **7**, n.3; **6,**
 introd.; nos.3, n.4; **41; 60**, n.1;
 fig.6.2; 7, introd.; nos.1, n.1; **85**, n.1;
 91, n.3; **fig.7.6; 8, introd.; nos.4**, n.1;
 5, n.1; **fig.8.3; 9, no.22**, n.2; **figs.9.6;**
 9.7; 10, introd; nos.30(iii), (iv); 35;
 figs.10.4; 10.7; 11, introd.; nos.3, n.1;
 4, n.1; **10**, n.3; **11; 16**, n.1; **26(i); 43,**
 n.2; **51**, n.1; **68(i); figs.11.5; 11.7;**
 11.8; 11.11; 11.12; 11.14; 11.16;
 11.21–11.23; 11.25; 11.26; 11.30;
 11.32; 11.36; 11.44; 11.47; 11.50;
 12, introd.; nos.4, n.4; **29**, n.11;
 32(ii); 37, n.10; **39**, n.10; **40**, nn.4, 5;
 43, n.8; **44**, n.10; **figs.12.1; 12.3;**
 12.6; 12.9; 13, introd.; nos.4, n.3; **5;**
 13, n.4; **25**, nn.5, 7; **26(iii); 14,**
 introd.; nos.32, n.1; **34(ii); 15, nos.1,**
 n.1, 8; **22(ii); 33**, n.5; **16, introd.;**
 nos.4; 5, n.2; **6; 7**, n.3; **9; 10; 12**, nn.1,
 4; **13**, n.4; **14**, nn.1, 3; **15**, n.3; **17,**
 n.2; **18–21; 24**, n.2; **25**, n.1; **26**, nn.2,
 5; **27; 29–31; 33**, n.2; **35**, n.1; **36(iii);**
 39, n.3; **40; 41**, n.5; **42(ii), (iii); 44;**
 45; 46, n.2; **47**, n.4; **48**, n.3; **49**, n.3;
 51, nn.1, 3; **53(ii); 54**, n.1; **58,**
 nn.1–3; **59**, n.1; **60**, n.3; **61**, n.1; **62,**
 n.3; **figs.16.5; 16.6; 17, introd.; nos.8;**
 27, n.1; **42**, n.2; **figs.17.2; 17.5; 17.8;**
 17.11
 Persepolis Fortification texts, archive
 ch.1; 3, nos.2, n.2; **4**, n.1; **5**, n.2;
 fig.3.2; 4, introd.; 5, nos.1, nn.18, 43,
 90; **3**, n.4; **14**, n.2; **6, introd.; nos.41,**
 n.1; **51**, n.6; **7, no.4**, n.2; **11, introd.;**
 nos.20, n.10; **22**, n.4; **25**, nn.34, 52;
 35, nn.1, 2; **36**, n.3; **39**, n.4; **41**, n.3;
 43, n.2; **45**, n.1; **51**, n.1; **53**, n.4; **68,**
 n.1; **figs.11.30; 11.37; 11.39; 11.44;**
 11.47; 12, introd.; nos.5, n.2; **7**, n.2;
 29, n.12; **37**, n.8; **39**, nn.3, 9, 13, 14,
 17; **40**, nn.1, 6, 12, 15; **42**, nn.1, 11;
 fig.12.4; 13, nos.1, nn.2, 3; **4**, nn.4, 5;
 5, n.1; **13**, nn.1, 6; **25**, n.10; **fig.13.3;**
 14, nos.2, n.28; **32**, n.1; **37**, n.3; **15,**
 introd.; nos.4; 19, n.4; **33**, n.5; **16,**
 introd.; nos.22, n.1; **55**, n.1; **59,**
 nn.1–4; **68**, n.1; **figs.16.1; 16.4; 17,**
 introd.; nos.2, n.6; **8**, n.3
 Persepolis Treasury texts
 ch.1; 7, introd.; 12, no.40, n.15; **14,**
 nos.2, n.28; **32**, n.1; **16, introd.;**
 fig.16.4
 Perses, s. Perseus
 3, no.33, n.2
 Perseus (Greek hero)
 3, no.33; 11, no.25, n.7; **17, no.45**
 Persia, Persian(s)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, introd.; nos.14;**
 16; 17; 19(i); 3, introd.; nos.1; 5; 7;
 10; 12; 13–18; 19, n.2; **20; 21**, n.15;
 23, n.1; **25; 27**, n.1; **28–37; 4, introd.;**
 nos.2; 3; 5; 7(i), (iv); 8; 9(i); 10(i),
 (iii); 11, nn.1, 14, 15, 17, 18; **12**, n.2;
 13, n.1; **14**, n.1; **16; 17; 20**, n.1; **21;**
 22; 23, n.2; **5, introd.; app.; nos.1, 2,**

- nn.2, 3; 5, nn.1, 7; 7–9; 11–16; 18; 6, **introd.; nos.1**; 3, n.1; 4; 5, n.1; 6; 9–12; 13, n.2; 14; 15, n.1; 16–19; 21; 22, n.1; 24–26; 29–32; 34; 35; 37; 40; 41, n.1; 42–47; 50–53; 55; 56; 58–60; 7, **introd.; nos.2**, 4, nn.1, 2; 5, n.1; 7; 9–11; 16; 17, n.1; 19, n.2; 20, nn.2, 3; 22, n.2; 23; 24, nn.3, 6; 25; 27; 29–33; 35, nn.1, 2; 36; 37, nn.1, 2; 38, n.1; 40; 41, n.1; 42; 43; 45; 46, n.1; 47, n.3; 48, n.4; 49(ii); 50, n.1; 51–53; 54, n.3; 55, n.1; 56; 57, nn.1, 3, 8; 58–62; 63, nn.1, 3; 64; 66; 67, nn.2, 3; 69–72; 76; 78(ii); 79; 80, nn.1, 2, 4; 81; 82; 83, n.3; 88; 92(ii), (iii); **figs.7.4**; 7.7; 8, **introd.; nos.1**; 2, n.1; 6–8; 10; 11, n.1; 12, n.5; 13; 14, n.4; 16; 17, n.3; 18; 19; 20, nn.10, 14; 24, nn.1, 4; 25, n.1; 28, nn.5, 6; 29; 31, n.4; 32, nn.2, 4, 5; 33, nn.1, 2; 34, nn.1, 6, 7; 35; 37, n.4; 38, nn.1, 2; 9, **introd.; nos.4**, n.6; 5; 7, n.4; 9, n.2; 12, n.2; 13; 16, n.2; 19; 22, nn.1, 3; 25; 28, n.3; 32; 33, nn.1, 2; 34; 35, nn.1, 8; 37; 39; 41; 43, nn.2, 4, 6; 47, n.7; 48, nn.2, 6; 49, nn.1, 2; 50, nn.1, 4; 51–53; 55, n.2; 56–58; 59, n.5; 61–64; 65, nn.6, 7; 66; 69; 70, n.3; 71, nn.1, 3; 72; 74; 75; 77; 78, nn.7, 13; 79, n.1; 80; 10, **introd.; nos.3**; 6; 7; 8; 9, nn.8, 9; 10–13; 14, nn.1, 2, 7; 15, 16; 17, nn.2, 3; 18; 20(i), (ii); 21, nn.3, 7, 9; 23, n.4; 24; 25, n.4; 26, nn.2, 7, 10; 27, nn.6, 8, 12; 29, n.1; 30(ii), (iv), (v); 31, n.2; 33; 34; 35, nn.1, 9, 11; 36, n.2; 37; 38, nn.9, 11, 12, 15; 39, nn.1, 3, 4, 9; 40, nn.5, 8; 41, n.4; **figs.10.1**; 10.7; 11, **introd.; nos.2–4**; 6–9; 11; 12; 13(ii)(b); 16; 18; 19(ii), (iii); 20(iv); 21(i); 22; 23, nn.1, 3; 24; 25; 26(i); 28; 29, nn.2, 6; 30(i), (iv); 33(i); 34–36; 42, n.2; 46, n.1; 48, n.1; 52–59; 61–65; 66(i); 67; **figs.11.2**; 11.6; 11.14; 11.22; 11.23; 11.25; 11.29; 11.31–11.36; 11.41–11.43; 11.45; 11.47; 11.49; 12, **introd.; nos.1**, n.1; 3, n.4; 5(i); 9; 12(ii); 15, n.3; 18, n.1; 22; 23; 25, n.1; 27, n.2; 30; 31; 32, n.3; 35, n.1; 38(i); 39; 41; 42; 43, nn.1, 4, 6; 44; 45(i); 47(ii); 48(ii); **figs.12.6**; 12.10; 13, **introd.; nos.1** (i), (iii); 2(i), (iv); 3; 4; 5, n.4; 6; 7; 8, nn.6–8; 9; 11(ii); 17, nn.2, 6; 18(ii); 19; 20, n.2; 22(i), (iii); 23(ii); 24, nn.2, 7; 25(i); 28(i); 29(i); 30; 31(iii); 32(ii); 33; 34, n.4; 36; 37; 38, n.3; 40, nn.3, 4; 41–44; 45, nn.11, 13; **fig.13.5**; 14, **introd.; nos.1**, n.9; 2–6; 8; 10, nn.1, 8; 16; 22(ii); 27; 29; 38, n.3; 39–41; 42(i); 44; 15, **introd.; nos.6**; 8, n.4; 11; 14; 17; 18; 21(i); 23; 24, n.1; 26, n.3; 16, **introd.; nos.20**, n.3; 21, n.3; 39(i); 41; 56; 58, n.1; 61, n.3; 63; 64, n.6; 68, n.1; 70, n.2; 71; 17, **introd.; nos.1**; 2; 3(i); 4; 7–10; 11, n.4; 12–15; 18; 20, n.1; 23; 25, nn.1, 3, 4; 26, n.1; 31, n.1; 32, nn.13, 14; 34, n.5; 35, nn.1, 4; 36, nn.2, 3, 5, 8, 13; 37; 38, nn.1, 2; 39; 40, nn.1, 3; 41, n.3; 44, n.3; 45; 46; **figs.17.2**; 17.3; 17.5; 17.8–17.12; 17.14
- Persian Gates (Tang-i Khas?)
10, **no.38(i)**; **fig.10.7**; 15, **no.10**, n.4; 17, **no.15**, n.1
- Persian Wars
6, **no.56**, n.6; 7, **introd.; nos.54**, n.3; 78, n.7
- persica
11, **no.58**
- Persidae (eponymous Persian ‘tribe’)
3, **no.33**
- Persis, *see also* Fars; Parsa/u
3, **introd.**; 6, **no.51**, n.6; 10, **no.30(i)**, (v); 13, **no.2(iv)**; 14, **introd.**; **no.2**; 15, **no.23**; 17, **nos.15(ii)**; 45
- Peshawar
6, **no.3**, n.2
- Petenes (Persian commander)
10, **no.8(i)**, (iii)
- Petesacas (eunuch of Cyrus II)
3, **no.10**; 4, **no.2**; 12, **no.13**
- Petesas, f. Spitamas
8, **no.10**
- Petosiris (Egyptian functionary)
10, **no.39**, nn.1, 3, 4, 8, 9
- Peucestas (Macedonian satrap of Fars)
15, **no.23**, n.1; 17, **no.14**
- Phagres (Macedon)
6, **no.23(ii)**
- Phaidym(i)e (Upandush), d. Otanes
5, **nos.7**; 14, n.3; 11, **nos.45**, n.3; 68(ii)
- Phainias of Lesbos
13, **no.12**, nn.1, 4, 5
- Phalerum (Attica)
6, **no.56**; 7, **nos.42**; 44
- Phalinius (Tissaphernes’ associate)
9, **no.23(i)**
- Phanes (of Halicarnassus)
4, **no.7(i)**

- Pharandates, s. Teaspes
11, no.25
- Pharax (Spartan admiral)
9, no.34
- Pharnabazus
 (1) (gs. of Parnaka/Pharnaces (1))
8, no.16
 (2) (s. of Parnaka/Pharnaces (2))
8, introd.; nos.25, n.4; 26; 30–32; 9, introd.; nos.10; 21(i); 30–32; 34; 36; 39–43; 47; 49; 62; 64(i); 66; 12, nos.46(ii); 48(ii); 13, nos.31(iv); 35, n.2; 36; 44, n.5; 15, no.16; 17, nos.35; 37
 (3) (s. Artabazus (2))
10, nos.12; 14
- Pharnaces, *see* Parnaka
- Pharmacyas (eunuch of Sogdianus)
8, nos.20; 22
- Pharnaspes
 (1) (f. of Cassandane)
4, nos.1; 4
 (2) (f. of Otanes, identical to (1)?)
5, no.7
- Pharnazathres, s. Artabates
11, no.25
- Pharnuces (interpreter)
17, no.11
- Pharos (Egypt)
8, no.7
- Phaselis (Lycia)
7, no.72; 8, no.13; 14, no.10, n.4; 17, no.5
- Pherae (Peloponnese)
9, no.43
- Pherecydes the Syrian
6, no.11, nn.1, 2, 4
- Pherendates
 (1) (satrap of Egypt, Darius I)
6, no.59, n.4; 9, no.77, n.10; 17, no.30
 (2) (s. Megabazus(1), identical with (1)?)
7, no.73; 11, no.25
 (3) (satrap of Egypt, Artaxerxes III)
9, no.77
- Pheretime of Cyrene
6, no.4
- phiale, phialai
7, no.66, n.12; 8, no.4, n.1; fig.8.1; 11, nos.26(ii); 53; 12, nos.42, n.7; 44(ii); 13, no.24
- Philae (Egypt)
9, no.65, n.2
- Philagros, s. Cyneas (Eretrian)
6, no.53
- Philip
 (1) (II of Macedon)
9, introd.; no.80; 10, introd.; nos.3; 6; 7; 8, n.5; 9, n.9; 14, n.2; 33; 36; 13, no.44; 16, no.61, n.2
 (2) (III, Arrhidaeus)
10, no.4; 39, n.4; 17, no.36(iii)
- Philippides (Marathon runner)
7, no.54, n.2
- Philistine(s) (Peleset)
11, no.25, n.75
- Philistus, s. Pasicles
7, no.61
- Philocrates (Athenian commander)
9, no.46
- Philotas, s. Parmenion
11, no.21, n.11
- Philoxenus (Alexander III's commander)
10, no.29
- Phocaea, Phocaeans(s)
3, nos.14; 20; 6, nos.37, n.5; 43; 9, no.52; 12, no.24
- Phocion (Athenian general)
9, no.75
- Phocis, Phocian(s)
7, introd.; nos.29; 30; 37; 60; 10, no.33, n.3
- Phoenicia, Phoenician(s)
ch.1; 3, no.21, n.19; 4, introd.; nos.3, n.1; 7(iv); 10, nn.2, 7; 11, n.9; 19; 6, nos.1; 3; 37; 40; 43; 45–48; 54(ii); 7, nos.12; 43; 47; 61; 73; 8, introd.; nos.6; 7; 11; 34, n.7; 9, introd.; nos.33; 34; 48; 50, nn.2, 3, 5; 52; 69; 75; 10, introd.; nos.16; 18; 21; 23; 24; fig.10.7; 11, no.25; 13, nos.43; 45, nn.1, 13; fig.13.4; 14, nos.2; 10, nn.14, 37, 46, 49; 44, n.6; 15, nos.5; 14; 17, nn.1, 9; 17, introd., app.
- Phoenicus (Cythera)
9, no.43
- Photius
ch.1; 3, nos.20, n.5; 32, n.1; 5, no.5, nn.1, 9; 7, nos.7, n.1; 78, n.4; 8, no.21, n.6; 9, no.61, nn.1, 2, 4; 14, nos.5, n.1; 6, n.1
- Phraortes (Fravartish)
 (1) (f. Deiokes)
2, no.13
 (2) (s. Deiokes)
2, introd.; nos.14; 15
 (3) (rebel 522/1)
5, no.1, n.45
- Phrasaortes (satrap of Fars, 330)
10, nos.8, n.2; 30(iv)

- Phratagune (w. Darius I)
5, no.14, n.3; **7, nos.2**, n.5; **31; 13, no.2(v)**
- Phrataphernes (Persian commander)
17, fig.17.14
- Phrygia (Greater), Phrygian(s)
 Introduction; **5, nos.2; 15; 6, nos.18; 33; 34**, n.3; **7, introd.; nos.17; 18; 69; 77**, n.2; **8, no.32; 9, nos.9**, n.2; **12; 38; 39; 10, nos.8(iii); 11**, n.5; **20**, n.3; **fig.10.7; 11, nos.18; 21(iii); 25; 13, nos.29**, n.1; **36; 14, nos.2; 16**, n.3; **15, introd.; nos.3; 18; 16, introd.; 17, introd., app.; no.21**
- Phrynichus (tragic poet)
6, no.44
- Phthiotis (Achaean of)
7, nos.14; 28, n.1
- Phylacus, s. Histiaeus of Samos
13, no.17(ii)
- Physcus (Caria)
9, no.41
- Pieria, Pierian(s)
6, no.23(ii); 7, nos.14, n.2; **25; 15, no.12(iv)**
- Pigres
 (1) (interpreter)
15, no.6; 17, no.21
 (2) (citizen of Xanthus)
17, no.33
- Pinara (Caria)
14, no.12
- Pindar (lyric poet)
3, no.17, n.1
- Piraeus
7, no.42; 9, no.43
- Pi-Ramesse (Per Ramesses, Egypt)
4, no.15, n.5
- Pirdubatti (Fars)
11, no.20(ii)
- Pirindu, *see also* Meydancikkale (Cilicia)
ch.1; 17, fig.17.2
- pirradaziš
6, no.41, n.4; **15, no.22**
- Pisidia, Pisidian(s)
7, no.77, n.2; **9, nos.9; 15**, n.1; **23(ii); 38**, n.6; **61; 10, fig.10.7; 11, no.18; 13, no.36; 15, no.18; 17, introd.; nos.4; 5; 35**
- Pisistratus, Pisistratid(s)
6, no.29, n.1; **35**, n.7; **51; 7, nos.9; 40; 41**, n.2
- Pissuthnes (satrap of Lydia)
8, introd.; nos.14; 17; 24, n.3; **25; 26; 28; 9, no.36**, n.1
- Pitane (Hellespontine Phrygia)
10, no.7
- Pits, the (Barathra, Egypt)
9, no.77
- Pittannan (Fars)
13, no.4; 16, no.38
- Pixodarus/Pixodaro
 (1) (in the Ionian Revolt)
6, no.38
 (2) (satrap of Caria-Lycia)
10, no.11, n.3; **14, no.12; 17, no.33**
- Plataea, Plataean(s)
6, nos.31; 35, n.7; **49**, n.4; **56; 7, introd.; nos.4**, n.2; **9**, n.2; **14; 42; 49**, n.2; **53**, n.3; **56; 58; 60; 61; 76; 81; 83**, n.3; **8, no.6**, n.8; **11, nos.25**, nn.32, 58; **66**, n.3; **12, no.1**, n.2; **13, no.42**, n.1; **16, no.68**, n.1; **17, no.18**, n.1
- Plato
5, nos.7, n.3; **13**, n.1; **13, no.24**, n.2
- Pleistorus (Thracian god)
7, no.66
- Pliny (the Elder)
4, introd., n.4
- Plutarch
ch.1; 4, no.9, n.4; **7, nos.73**, n.2; **74**, n.2; **8, nos.3**, nn.1–3; **13**, n.6; **9, nos.5**, n.1; **10**, n.5; **72**, nn.1, 2, 4; **74**, n.1; **75**, n.12; **10, no.26**, n.2; **27**, n.8; **11, nos.29**, nn.2, 4; **32**, n.1; **33**, n.6; **34**, nn.2, 3; **54**, n.1; **56**, nn.1, 3; **57**, n.3; **59**, n.6; **63**, nn.2, 5; **12, nos.11**, n.2; **31**, n.2; **38**, nn.4, 7; **13, nos.12**, nn.1, 2; **29**, nn.6, 10; **31**, nn.16, 17; **16, introd.**
Life of Artoxerxes, **ch.1; 8, no.22**, n.3; **9, no.5**, n.6; **10, no.35**, n.11
Life of Alexander, **ch.1; 10, introd.**, n.1
Life of Themistocles, **8, no.2**, n.2
- Pnytagoras (s. of Evagoras (1))
9, nos.54; 75
- Polichne (Chios)
6, no.46
- poll tax
14, nos.1, n.11; **10**, n.13
- Polo, Marco
11, no.24, n.3
- poludoria
13, no.21, n.1
- Polyaenus
ch.1; 8, no.20, n.14; **9, nos.38**, n.1; **64**, n.4; **68**, n.3; **11, no.20**, nn.8, 10; **12, nos.39**, nn.1, 3, 11; **42**, n.1; **13, no.36**, n.1
- Polybius
11, no.15, nn.1, 5, 7; **14, no.41**, n.1

- Polycleitus of Larissa
14, no.8, n.1
- Polycrates of Samos
4, introd.; nos.3, n.1; **7(iii); 16; 5, no.15; 6, nos.2; 38**, n.4; **45**, n.1; **13, no.38**
- Polycritus of Mendes
12, no.12, n.2
- Pompeii
10, no.38, n.1; **fig.10.1**
- Pompeius Trogus
ch.1; 10, introd., n.1
- Pontic Alps
9, no.39, n.12
- Pontus,
 (1) & Pontic Region, *see* Black Sea
 (2) kingdom of
11, no.36, n.1
- Porus (Indian ruler)
10, fig.10.7
- Poseidon
3, no.20, n.3; **7, no.27**
- Poseidonius
11, no.20, n.4
- Posidium
 (1) (Thrace)
7, no.22
 (2) (Levant)
14, no.2
- potibaziš (PTP; pitibaga; patbag; *pithvabaga)
12, no.8
- Potidaea, Potidaean(s)
7, no.49(ii); 8, no.16
- Poulydamas (pankratist)
12, no.45(i)
- PQYD* (paqdu, steward/officer)
14, no.35; 15, no.4; 16, introd.; nos.60, n.10; **66**, n.9; **69**, n.3
- Prasias, Lake (Thrace)
6, nos.18; 19; 27
- Prexaspes (Cambyes II's courtier)
4, no.21; 5, nos.3; 4; 7; 9
- Priene, Prienian(s)
3, no.20; 6, no.43; 8, no.14
- 'prince', *see* 'son of the house'
 'princess', *see* dukšiš
- Procles (Demaratid)
7, no.82
- Proconnesus (Bosporus)
6, no.47; 17, fig.17.9
- propinqui, *see* sungeneis
- Propontis, Propontic
6, introd.; no.38; 9, nos.11, n.5; **36**, n.3; **39**, nn.15, 18; **80**, n.1; **10, no.7**, n.3
- proskynesis; proskunein
11, nos.22, n.13; **29**, nn.2, 7; **12, no.23; 13, no.1**, n.5
- Prosopitis (Egypt)
8, nos.6; 7
- Proteas, s. Andronicus
10, no.21
- Protesilaus (Greek hero)
7, no.66
- Protothyes, *see* B/Partatua
- proxenos, proxeny, *see* xenia
- Proxenus (Boeotian)
9, no.26
- Psammenitus, *see* Psammetichus III
- Psammetichus (Psammenitus)
 (I) **8, no.7**, n.2
 (III) **4, nos.3**, n.1; **8; 9(i); 11; 15**, n.3; **5, no.5**, n.4
 (IV) **6, no.59**, n.4; **7, no.6**, n.2; **8, no.7**, n.2
 ('V') **8, no.7**, n.11
 ('VI'), *see* Amyrtaeus (3)
- Psammuthis (P3-sry-n-Mwt, dyn. XXIX)
9, no.60; fig.9.4
- Psamshek (steward of Arshama (2))
16, nos.60(iii); 65; 70
- Pseudo-Scylax
6, no.3, n.1
- Ptah (Egyptian god)
4, nos.12; 19, n.1; **13, fig.13.5; 15, nos.27; 29; 30**
- Ptah-hotep (Egyptian functionary)
13, introd.; fig.13.5
- Pteria (Cappadocia)
3, no.13
- Ptolemies, Ptolemaic
 Introduction; **4, introd.**, n.6; **nos.12**, n.1; **14**, n.1; **9, introd.; nos.60**, n.1; **78**, n.4; **10, introd.; 14, no.10**, n.46
- Ptolemy/Ptolemaeus
 (1) (I, Lagus)
15, no.5; 17, nos.2(i); 25, n.1
 (2) (II)
9, no.57, n.1
 (3) (geographer)
9, no.67, n.2
 (4) (Macedonian commander in Caria, 334)
10, no.13
- puhu ('boy(s)', i.e. servant(s), valet(s), apprentice(s))
12, no.37, nn.5, 7; **13, nos.4**, n.2; **26**, n.6; **14, no.34**, n.10; **15, no.1(ii); 16, nos.14; 39(i); 43; 44; 52(ii)**
- Pumyaton, s. Milkyaton
9, no.50, n.3

- Purush (= Pura?)
17, no.42(ii)
- Pylae (on Euphrates)
15, no.6
- Pylaemenes (Trojan hero)
13, no.36
- Pyrilampes, f. Demus
13, no.24
- Pytheas (Aeginetan)
12, no.12(ii)
- Pythia(n), Pytho
3, nos.12; 16; 17; 7, no.40; 13, no.31(iii)
- Pythius (Lydian)
11, no.30(i); 13, nos.3, n.2; 29(i)
- Qadie (= Maka)
11, no.13(ii)(b)
- qanat
 Introduction; **ch.1; 14, introd.; no.41, n.3; fig.14.2**
- Qandjou
8, no.8
- queen mother(s)
3, nos.1; 8; 10, nos.26, n.8; 35, n.11; 12, introd.; nos.11; 12(iii); 35, n.2; 13, nos.22(ii); 29, n.10; 14, no.4, n.1; 16, introd.
- Quintus Curtius, *see* Rufus
- Raga (mod. Rey, Media)
5, no.1; 10, no.32
- Rakha, *see* Rakkan
- Rakkan (Fars)
5, no.1; 16, nos.36(v); 39(iii); fig.16.5
- Ramateya (Zagros leader)
2, nos.1(ii); 4
- Ramesa (district, Fars)
16, no.38
- Ram Hormuz
14, no.16, n.2
- Rapiqu (on Euphrates)
15, no.6, n.4
- Rashd/ta
 (1) (Irdabama's chief officer, Shiraz)
12, no.37(i)
 (2) (satrapal scribe, Egypt)
14, nos.35; 37; 15, no.4
- Ratahshah (Artakhshathra), d. Xerxes (1)
12, no.36
- Ratininda (= Urate/inda; Rumada(?))
16, nos.20; 40; 43; 44; 54
- Raubasa (high functionary, Fars)
16, no.49
- Rautannush (Fars)
16, no.49
- Rawka (garrison commander)
17, no.29
- Razaundu (?*Raza-vant(a)-; ?Rhazounda)
9, no.67
- Re (Egyptian god)
4, nos.11; 13; 17, n.3; 11, no.2
- Red Sea ('Erythraean'), *see also* Gulf, Persian
3, no.28; 4, no.7(ii); 5, no.3; 6, nos.3, n.3; 44; 7, no.52, n.2; 8, no.8, n.1; 11, nos.6, n.4; 25; 13, no.30; 15, no.5; 17, no.44, n.3
- register(s) (of landgrants)
14, introd.; no.20(ii)
- Re-Harakhte (Egyptian god)
11, no.2
- Rehum ('chancellor')
16, no.60(ii)
- Renault, Mary (The Persian Boy)
12, no.15, n.2
- Rhathanes (commander in Phrygia)
9, no.39
- Rhenaia (nr. Delos)
6, no.54(i)
- Rheomithres (Persian commander)
10, nos.8(i); 30(iv); 13, no.32, n.4
- Rhodes, Rhodian(s)
6, introd.; no.42, n.1; 9, introd.; nos.34; 44, n.7; 46; 10, no.21; 13, introd.; no.44, nn.1, 9
- Rhodogune
 (1) (d. Xerxes (1))
7, no.4; 13, no.30
 (2) (d. Artaxerxes II)
13, no.31(iv)
- Rhoesaces (satrap of Lydia)
10, no.8, n.4
- Rhoeteium (Hellespont)
10, no.7
- Rhyndacus (river; mod. Adirnay Cay)
9, no.39
- rhyton/a
12, no.44, n.10; fig.12.7
- Rimut (zazakku)
3, no.23
- Rinocorora (Sinai)
15, no.14, n.1
- 'road counter(s)'/builder(s) (dattimara; *hodopoios/i*)
15, introd.; nos.12(ii), (iii)
- road(s), 'royal'
9, no.39, n.9; 10, no.30, n.1; 14, nos.21(i); 22(ii); 15, introd.; nos.3; 6, n.9; 17, no.3(ii)

- Romania
6, **no.9**, n.4
- Rome, Roman(s)
ch.1; 3, **no.27**, n.1; 4, **fig.4.2**; 5, **introd.**; 7, **introd.**, n.2; **no.92**, n.5; 9, **no.78**, n.4; 10, **introd.**; **nos.26**, n.7; 39, n.1; **fig.10.1**; 11, **nos.20**, n.9; 25, n.50; 13, **nos.32**, n.5; 36, n.1; 14, **no.17**, n.1; 15, **no.5**, n.4; 17, **introd.**; **nos.33**, n.10; 36, n.1
- Roxane
(1) (w. Cambyses II)
5, **no.5**
(2) (d. Hydarnes(5))
12, **nos.33**; 38(ii)
(3) (w. Alexander III)
10, **fig.10.7**
- royal judge(s)
4, **no.23**; 12, **no.38**, n.7; 13, **nos.28(ii)**; 31(iii); 17, **no.29**
- Rufus, Quintus Curtius
ch.1; 10, **introd.**, n.1; **nos.18**, nn.1, 2, 10; 20, n.12; 23, n.5; 30, n.17; 34, n.6; 35, n.1; 40, nn.5, 7; 11, **introd.**; **no.21**, nn.12, 13; 13, **no.6**, nn.1, 3; 17, **introd.**; **no.2**, n.8
- Ruggulitu (nr. Til Barsip)
2, **no.10**
- Rusa (Urartian king)
5, **no.13**, n.4
- Rusapu, Rasappu (Jebel Sinjar)
2, **no.10**
- Russia(n)
5, **no.1**, n.122; 11, **fig.11.49**
- Sabaces (satrap of Egypt)
10, **nos.16**, n.5; 24, n.2; 38, n.15;
fig.10.2
- Saca (Astyages' cup-bearer)
2, **no.19(ii)**
- Saca(e) (Central Asian Scythians, incl. 'pointed hat' and 'hauma-drinking' groups), see also Scythia, Scythian(s)
Introduction; 2, **no.17**; 3, **nos.8**; 18, n.1; 20; 35; 5, **app.**; **no.1**; 6, **introd.**; **nos.3**, n.4; 5, n.2; 56; 7, **nos.45**; 88; 10, **no.31**; 11, **nos.1**; 2; 4; 12; 16; 22; 25; **figs.11.23**; 11.34; 14, **no.2**; 17, **fig.17.14**
- Sacesinians (N. Iran/Caucasus)
17, **fig.17.14**
- Sacred Precinct (Pasargadae)
3, **fig.3.5(a)**; 11, **no.35**, n.1;
fig.11.19
- Sadyattes (Lydian king)
2, **no.15**
- Sagartia, Sagartii, Sagartian(s)
3, **no.5**; 5, **app.**; **no.1**; 11, **nos.7**; 25; 14, **no.2**; 15, **no.1(v)**; 17, **no.9**
- Sais, Saïtes (Egypt)
Introduction; ch.1; 4, **nos.10**, nn.1, 4; 11; 17; 8, **no.6**, n.11; 9, **introd.**; **nos.57**; 58; n.6; 11, **no.2**, n.6; 14, **nos.10**, n.8; 17, n.2; 17, **introd.**; **no.32**, n.16
- Sakhmet (Egyptian goddess)
10, **no.38**; 13, **fig.13.5**
- S/Galaïmenes, b.-in-law of Sardanapalus
2, **no.16**
- Salamis, Salaminian(s)
(1) (in Cyprus)
6, **nos.36**; 37; 8, **no.11**; 9, **introd.**; **nos.31**, nn.2, 4; 46, n.2; 48, nn.1, 2; 49; 50, n.8; 51; 52, n.3; 53–56; 63, n.4; 75; **fig.9.3**; 13, **no.31(iii)**; 15, **no.21**, n.1
(2) (in Greece)
7, **introd.**; **nos.29**, n.6; 39; 40; 43; 44, n.1; 49(ii); 50, n.1; 52; 53; 61, n.2; 62, n.1; 69, n.3; 8, **no.9**, n.9; 11, **no.25**, n.34; 13, **nos.12**, n.2; 18(i); 17, **no.13**, n.1
- Salmacis (Halicarnassus)
10, **no.11**
- Salmydessus (Thrace)
6, **no.9**
- šalur/p ('gentlema/en', 'free ma/en')
14, **no.34**, n.5; 15, **no.1(v)**; 16, **no.52(ii)**
- Samaria
ch.1; 10, **introd.**; **no.25**; 12, **no.47**, n.5; **fig.12.9**; 17, **introd.**; **no.32**
- Samarkand (Maracanda)
Introduction; 11, **no.21**, n.12; 17, **no.11**
- Sambana (Babylonia)
17, **no.17**
- Samos, Samian(s)
4, **introd.**; **nos.3**, n.1; 7(iii); 10(i); 16; 5, **nos.11**, n.3; 15, n.1; 6, **introd.**; **nos.1**, n.1; 2; 14; 34; 37; 43; 45; 49, n.7; 7, **nos.52**; 61; 8, **nos.14**; 30, n.2; 9, **no.42**, n.3; 13, **no.18(ii)**; 14, **no.10**, n.46
- Sam(i)us (Spartan admiral)
9, **no.8**
- Sanballat/Sinuballit (governor Samaria)
17, **no.32**
- Sanda(u)ce, sister of Xerxes (1)
13, **no.12**
- Sandoces, s. Thamasius (governor of Cyme)
7, **no.27**; 13, **no.28(ii)**

- Sangarius (mod. Sankarya)
8, no.32, n.2; **9, no.39**
- Sangibuti, Bit, (Bit Singibuti, Zagros)
2, nos.1 (i); 2 (iii)
- Sapaei (Thracian group)
6, no.28
- Saqqara
ch.1; 4, no.12, n.1; **fig.4.3; 8, no.34**, n.1; **9, no.65**, n.6; **12, fig.12.9; 16, introd.**, n.8; **17, figs.17.11; 17.12**
- Sarakuzzish (high functionary, Fars)
16, nos.9; 39 (i)
- Sarangia, Sarangian(s), *see* Drangiana
- Sardanapalus (Assyrian king)
2, nos.16–18 (i); fig.2.5; 3, no.8, n.2
- Sardinia
6, nos.39; 40
- Sardis, Sardian(s) (Sparda)
 Introduction; **ch.1; 2, no.15; 3, introd.; nos.13–20; 4, no.16; 5, no.15; 6, introd.; nos.2; 20**, n.1; **22; 30; 31; 34–38; 40; 41; 46; 47**, n.2; **51**, nn.2, 6; **53; 57**, n.1; **59; 7, introd.; nos.3**, n.3; **9, n.3; 13; 14**, n.1; **17; 18; 27**, n.3; **46**, n.1; **53**, n.1; **61**, n.5; **62**, n.1; **63; 76; 78 (i); 8, introd.; nos.14; 17**, n.5; **24**, n.3; **25**, n.1; **26**, n.2; **29**, n.1; **9, introd.; nos.11; 19**, n.2; **25**, n.5; **37; 38; 40; 44; 10, introd.; nos.9; 36**, n.4; **40**, n.1; **fig.10.7; 11, nos.1; 2; 4; 12; 13; 16; 24; 30**, n.1; **46**, n.1; **50**, n.1; **59; 12, nos.20; 29**, n.13; **46**, n.3; **47**, n.1; **13, nos.29**, nn.1, 4, 5; **38**, n.3; **41; 14, no.6; 15, introd.; nos.1**, n.1; **3; 8 (i); 24; 16, no.32; 17, introd.**, n.2; **no.36**, n.5
- ša reši, *see* eunuch(s)
- Sargon of Akkad
5, no.18, n.5
- Sargon II
2, introd.; no.2; 3, no.21, n.19; **5, no.13**, n.4; **11, no.24**, n.3; **15, no.12**, n.6
- saris, *see also* eunuch(s)
8, no.8, n.3; **12, no.25**, n.4; **13, no.20 (i)**
- Sarpedon (cape, Thrace)
7, no.21
- Sarsamas (= Arshama/Arsames?)
8, no.9
- Sasanda (Caria)
9, no.34
- Saspirean(s), Saspireas (Armenia)
7, no.57, n.2; **11, no.25; 14, no.2**
- Sassanian(s)
 Introduction; **11, figs.11.14; 11.15; 11.48**
- šatammu
3, no.23
- Satibar ('chancellor')
17, no.30
- Satibarzanes
 (1) (Artaxerxes II's courtier)
9, no.49; 13, no.39
 (2) (satrap of Areia)
10, no.35; fig.10.7; 17, fig.17.14
- šatin/šatimpe ('priest(s)')
11, no.39, n.1; **16, no.9**, n.3; **15**
- Satiphermes (Šiyati-farnah; Satiparna Shataparnu, Satarbanu, Satarpani)
 (1) (Zagros chief)
2, nos.1 (ii); 2 (i)
 (2) (supporter of Cyrus (3))
11, no.32
 (3) (official, Fars)
16, no.36 (v)
- Satrae (Thracian group)
6, nos.23 (ii); 28
- satrap (khshacapa-, ahsadrapanu, muma'iru, muma'irutu), satrapy, satrapal
ch.1; 2, nos.16; 18 (i); 3, nos.20, n.10; **32**, n.4; **35; 4, introd.; nos.14; 16**, nn.1, 4, 7; **5, app.; 6, no.49**, n.1; **7, no.66**, n.8; **8, nos.1; 13; 26**, n.2; **9, introd.; nos.13**, n.3; **68; 70**, nn.1, 2; **11, no.5; 12, introd.; no.49; 14, introd.; nos.1; 2; 27; 15, no.13; 17, introd.; nos.2; 6 (i); 35**, nn.2, 3; **42**
- 'Satraps' Revolt
9, introd.; 68, n.3; **70**, n.1; **10, no.8**, n.2; **13, introd.**
- Satrap Stele
7, no.6, n.2; **9, no.79**, n.3; **10, no.4**, n.4
- Sattagydia, Sattagyddian(s)
5, app.; no.1; 7, no.88; 10, no.29, n.1; **11, nos.2, 4; 7; 13 (ii) (b); 16; 14, no.2; 17, introd., app.**
- Sauromatia, Sauromatian(s)
6, nos.10; 12
- Scamander (river)
7, no.19
- Scaptesytle (Thrace)
6, no.23 (i)
- Scepsis (Aeolis)
17, no.35

- sceptre-bearer(s) (*skeptouchos/i*)
11, no.22; 12, introd.; 13, nos.11 (ii); 22 (iii); 23 (i)
- Sciathus (Aegean island)
7, nos.25; 32
- Scolopoīs (nr. Mycale)
7, no.61
- Scopasis (Scythian king)
6, no.10
- scribe(s)/secretary/ies
 (1) (royal/satrapal, *see also* ‘chancellor’)
5, no.15; 9, no.13; 12, introd.; 13, no.20 (ii); 16, no.60; 17, introd.; no.30, n.8
 (2) (army)
14, no.38
 (3) (depot/store)
15, no.27; 16, no.23
 (4) (in Persepolis bureaucracy)
16, introd.; no.13
 (5) (of the Egyptians)
16, introd., n.6; no.59
- Scylax
 (1) (of Caryanda)
6, nos.3; 38, n.5
 (2) (of Myndus)
6, no.31
- Scyllias of Scione (Greek diver)
7, no.32, n.4
- Scyros (Aegean island)
7, no.25; 9, no.47
- scythed chariot(s)
9, no.21 (iii); 10, no.26; 17, no.40
- Scythes (king of Zancle)
6, introd., n.3
- Scythia, Scythians, (in general and Black Sea), *see also* Saca(e)
 Introduction; **2, introd.; nos.12; 14; 15; 3, nos.7; 8, nn.4, 5; 20, n.5; 34; 5, no.1, n.122; 6, introd.; nos.5–15; 22, n.1; 25; 29, n.2; 30, n.2; 32, n.3; 47, n.2; 48, n.1; 56, n.4; 58, n.2; 60, n.1; 7, nos.2, n.3; 22, n.2; 52, n.6; 11, nos.2, n.15; 4; 7; 12; 13 (ii), n.7; 16; 25; fig.11.34; 12, no.12, n.4; fig.12.2; 13, nos.3, n.1; 23, n.3; 36; 43; 14, no.42 (ii); 16, introd.; nos.18, n.1; 38, n.4; 17, introd., app.; fig.17.5**
- Scythobarbes (Scythian king)
6, nos.7; 13
- Sealand (Babylonia)
6, no.44, n.6
- sealed document/order, *see halmi*
- Sebennytus (Egypt)
9, introd.; nos.65, n.2; 78, n.4; fig.9.4
- secretary, *see* scribe
- Seistan, *see* Drangiana
- Sekyndianus, *see also* Sogdianus
8, introd.; no.19, n.6
- Selene (deified moon)
11, no.36
- Seleucid(s)
 Introduction, **ch.1; 3, nos.24, nn.1, 8; 25, n.1; 4, no.7, n.3; 10, nos.2, n.1; 15, n.1; 27, n.14; 11, no.15, n.1; 17, introd.**
- Seleucus
 (1) (I)
10, no.4 (ii); 11, no.15, n.7; 15, nos.5; 9, n.2
 (2) (II)
10, no.4 (ii)
 (3) (III)
15, no.26, n.3
- Selymbria (Propontis)
6, no.47
- Semiramis
3, no.18, n.2
- Sennacherib (Assyrian king)
2, nos.3; 11, n.1; 16, n.12; 3, no.21, n.23; 6, no.4, n.8; 7, fig.7.3; 9, no.27, n.4; 11, no.25, n.19
- Sepias (Greek Magnesia)
7, nos.25; 27; 42; 11, no.48
- Serapaeum
4, no.12, n.1; fig.4.3; 13, fig.13.5
- Serbonian marsh (Sinai)
15, no.14
- Sesostris I (Egyptian king)
4, no.10, n.9
- Sestos (Thracian Chersonese)
6, no.12; 7, introd.; nos.12; 46, n.1; 66; 69; 10, no.6, n.3; 11, no.25
- Se/Euecheros (?Enmerkar, legendary Sumerian king)
5, no.18
- Sfire (Syria)
10, no.12, n.7
- Shadukka (‘the Scythian (girl)’, storehouse supervisor)
16, no.38
- Shah-nama (‘Book of Kings’)
3, no.36, n.1; 5, no.18, n.7; 7, nos.1, n.5; 88, n.1
- Shakka (‘the Scythian’, deputy treasurer, Persepolis(?))
16, no.18
- Shakshabanush (scribe, Fars)
16, nos.15; 17
- Shalmaneser III (Assyrian king)
2, no.2, n.3; 10, fig.10.3; 11, no.11, n.8

- Shamash (Mesopotamian sun god)
2, introd.; nos.6–9; 12; 10, no.41; 14, no.22(i)
- Shamash-eriba (Babylonian rebel, 484)
7, nos.7, n.4; 78, n.4
- Shamshi-Adad V (Assyrian king)
2, no.2, n.3
- S(h)aparda (Zagros)
2, nos.1 (ii); 2 (iii); 9
- Sharon, Plain of (Palestine)
13, no.45
- Shashgaz (Persian official)
12, no.26
- Shatas(h)pa (Zagros chief)
2, no.1 (ii)
- Shelemiah, s. Sanballat/Sinuballit
17, no.32
- Shimshai (scribe)
16, no.60(ii)
- Shimut (Elamite god)
11, no.40
- Shiraz (Tirazzish)
11, no.45, n.3; 12, no.37(i); 16, introd.; nos.11 (iii); 24; 39, nn.6, 9; 42, n.2; fig.16.5
- Shirku, s. Iddinaia, descendant Egibi, *see*
 Marduk-nasir-apli
- Shishudanush (Fars)
17, no.27
- Shisu, f. Petosiris
10, no.39, n.1
- Shuddayauda (abbr. Shutezza)
13, no.4; 16, nos.29; 39(i); 47; 49; 53(ii)
- Shupria
6, no.7, n.2
- Shutezza, *see* Shuddayauda
- Siberia
12, fig.12.7
- Sicily
6, introd., n.3; 35, n.7; 8, introd.; nos.26, n.1; 31, n.1; 9, no.63, n.5
- Sicyon, Sicyonian(s) (Peloponnese)
7, no.61
- Side (Pamphylia)
10, no.37, n.4
- Sidon, Sidonian(s)
ch.1; 6, introd.; no.1; 9, introd.; nos.34; 75–77; 10, introd.; nos.18; 21; fig.10.7; 11, fig.11.31; 13, nos.16(ii); 44; 45; figs.13.4; 13.6; 14, no.10; 15, introd.; no.17
- Sigeum (Troad)
6, no.29
- Sigon (Aradus)
10, no.18
- Sigrium (Lesbos)
10, no.12
- Sikayahuvati (Media)
5, no.1
- Simonides of Keos (poet)
6, no.35; 7, introd.
- Sin (Mesopotamian god)
3, nos.6; 22 (iii); 23
- Sinai
4, introd.; nos.7, n.3; 8, n.1; 9, nos.66, n.6; 77, n.6; 10, no.24, n.1; fig.10.7; 11, no.13 (i), n.12; 15, introd.; no.14, n.3
- Sinaites (Persian commoner)
13, no.37
- Singibuti, Bit, *see* Sangibuti
- Sinope (Black Sea)
3, no.13; 10, no.20, n.2; 11, no.29 (iii); 15, no.7
- Sinsharishkun (Assyrian king)
2, no.10
- Sinuballit, *see* Sanballat
- Sinuhe, Story of
4, nos.10, n.9; 11, n.17
- šip
11, no.43, n.2; 13, no.26, n.8
- Siphnos (Cyclades)
10, nos.12, n.16; 14
- Sippar
3, nos.1; 25, n.4; 28, n.7; 5, no.1, n.40; 6, no.59, n.6; 9, no.20, n.4; 10, nos.27; 41, n.3; 14, nos.21 (i); 22 (i); 15, nos.8, n.11; 33, n.4
- Anunitum
15, no.33(i)
- Sipylus (mountain range)
9, no.37
- Siromitres, f. Masistius
7, nos.57, n.2; 66, n.5; 11, no.25
- Sisamnes
 (1) (f. Otanes(2))
4, no.23; 6, nos.20, n.2; 38, n.1; 13, no.31, n.11
 (2) (s. Hydarnes)
7, no.29, n.5; 11, no.25
- Sisimakes (Persian general)
6, no.38
- Sisy/igambis, m. Darius III
3, no.8, n.3; 11, no.19, n.6; 12, nos.34; 35; 17, no.2 (ii)
- Sitalces (Odryian king)
8, no.16
- Sittacene, Sittacenian(s) (E. Tigris)
10, no.29, n.1; 17, no.17; fig.17.14

- Siwa (oasis)
4, introd.; nos.10, nn.1, 3, 10; **18**, n.2;
5, no.6, n.1; **9, nos.60**, n.8; **65**, n.7;
10, fig.10.7
- šiyati-
7, nos.87, n.3; **88**, n.11; **11**,
introd.; nos.2; 6; 7; 12; 13; 16;
17
- skauthi-
11, no.17, n.3; **13, no.1**, n.1
- Skudra, *see* Thrace
- Skunkha (Scythian chief)
5, no.1
- Smerdis, *see also* Bardiya
3, no.35, n.3; **4, nos.1**, n.1; **20; 5**,
nos.2, n.4; **3; 4; 7; 9; 14; 7, no.4**, n.4;
11, no.25
- Smerdomenes, s. Otanes (2)
7, no.24
- Smyrna (mod. Izmir)
8, no.17, n.2; **9, no.37**, n.3; **10, no.8**,
n.16
- Sobek (Egyptian god)
9, no.78(ii)
- Socrates
(1) (Athenian philosopher)
8, no.31, n.1; **11, no.21(i)**
(2) (Greek commander)
9, no.26
- Sogdiana, Sogdian(s)
5, no.1; 7, no.88; 10, fig.10.7; 11,
nos.1; 2; 4; 7; 12; 13; 16; 25; 14, no.2;
16, no.39(iv); 17, nos.7; 11, nn.1, 2;
figs.17.5; 17.14
- Sogdianus (Sekyndianus; Sogdios)
8, introd.; nos.19; 20; 22; 12,
no.45(i)
- Sohrab and Rustum
10, no.35, n.11
- Soli
(1) (Cyprus)
6, no.37; 9, no.51
(2) (Cilicia)
9, no.48; 10, nos.13; 21
- Solon
3, no.16; 6, no.37
- Somtutefnakht (Egyptian official)
9, no.78, n.7; **10, no.38**
- 'son of the house'/'prince' (mar bitī; BR BYT';
*vis(a)puthra-; misapuša)
8, nos.10, n.7; **34; 13, no.13**, n.3; **14**,
no.35, n.4
- Sosarmes (Median king, ap. Ctesias)
2, no.17
- Sounion (Cape)
6, no.56
- Spaka (Cyrus II's foster mother)
3, no.30
- Sparethra (Scythian queen)
3, no.8
- Spargapises, s. Tomyris
3, no.34
- Sparta, Spartan(s)
ch.1; 3, nos.13; 20; 33, n.3; **4, nos.7**,
n.5; **17**, n.3; **6, introd.; nos.29; 30;**
32–34; 51, n.1; **7, nos.2; 13; 14;**
29–31; 32, n.2; **42; 43; 52; 54; 59; 61;**
64; 66, n.3; **67; 81; 82; 83**, n.3; **8**,
introd.; nos.6; 7; 14, n.1; **18; 24(i);**
26; 27; 28, n.3; **29; 30**, nn.2, 4; **31**,
nn.1, 4; **32; 33; 34**, n.7; **37**, n.2; **9**,
introd.; nos.4, n.6; **7; 8; 10; 14**, n.1;
28; 29; 31–35; 37; 39; 41–44; 46; 47;
49; 63; 69; 75; 10, introd.; nos.6, n.1;
14; 11, no.20, n.3; **12, nos.1**, nn.2, 4;
46, n.4; **47(i); 48**, n.3; **13, nos.8**,
n.6; **17; 31(iii); 41; 15, nos.3; 20; 17**,
nos.20; 35, n.1; **37**
- spear/lance-bearer(s) = royal bodyguard
(r̥stibara; dory/uphoros/i; melophoros/i;
(GIŠ)šukurram kutira)
2, no.13; 11, nos.22; 23; 24, n.8; **67;**
figs.11.14; 11.29; 11.30; 12, introd.;
no.5; 13, no.36; 15, no.12(i), (ii)
- Spenta Armaiti (Iranian deity)
11, introd., n.5
- Sphendadates/Spentadata
(1) (impostor)
5, no.5
(2) (s. Fravartipata, Iranian entrepreneur)
17, no.34
- Spitakes, s. Amytis (1)
3, nos.8; 35
- Spitamas
(1) (s.-in-law of Astyages)
3, nos.8; 35
(2) (s. Petesas)
8, no.10
- Spitamenes (Sogdian leader)
10, fig.10.7; 17, no.11
- Spithra/idades
(1) (subordinate of Pharnabazus (2))
8, no.25
(2) (identical with (1) or son of (1)?)
9, introd.; nos.36; 39; 40; 17,
no.37
(3) (satrap of Lydia/Ionia)
10, nos.8(i), (iii); 9, n.1
- Spithrobates (Persian commander)
13, no.14, n.2
- Sri Lanka
17, no.43, n.2

- Stagirus (Chalcidice)
7, no.22
- Stateira
 (1) (w. Artaxerxes II)
12, nos.31; 33; 38
 (2) (w. Darius III)
10, no.8, n.15
- stathmos/i
6, no.57; 15, nos.2; 3; fig.15.2; 16, no.66, n.3
- station(s), staging post(s), *see* stathmos/i
- Stesenor of Curium (Cyprus)
6, no.37
- steward, officer *see* PQYD^{*}
- stool-bearer, royal (*diphrophoros*; *kadukabarra*)
11, no.31, n.2; fig.11.32
- Strabo
ch.1; 3, no.32, n.3; 4, no.10, n.10; 5, no.1, n.113; 7, no.78, n.7; 10, nos.11, n.3; 36, n.5; 11, introd.; nos.17, n.7; 19, n.1; 22, n.18; 25, n.10; 36, nn.1–3; 59, n.2; 13, nos.1, n.4; 8, n.11; 9, n.2; 14, introd.; nos.8, n.1; 29, nn.1, 3; 42, n.4; 17, nos.1, n.7; 6, n.2; 7, n.1; 44, n.5
- Straton (BD^{*}STRT)
 (1) (I of Sidon)
15, no.17
 (2) (II(I) of Sidon)
9, no.75, nn.18, 21; 10, introd.; no.18, n.10
 (3) (of Aradus (Arwad))
10, no.18
- Strattis of Chios
7, no.52
- Strouses, *see* Struthas
- Struchates (Median tribe)
2, no.13
- Struthas (= Strouses(?), satrap)
9, nos.44; 45; 51, n.5; 10, no.8, n.4
- Strymon (river)
6, nos.18; 22, n.2; 25; 7, nos.11; 22; 47; 49(i); 70; 75; 8, no.18; 10, no.10, n.2; 11, no.47
- Subartu (Assyria)
2, no.11
- substitute king ritual
5, no.5, nn.4, 8; 10, introd.; nos.27, n.1; 34, n.6
- Successors, period of, *see* Diadochi(c)
- Sudan
4, no.10, nn.4, 11
- Suez, Gulf of
6, no.3, n.3; 11, no.6, n.1
- Suhu (mid-Euphrates)
2, no.10
- Sultan Tepe (texts)
5, no.5, n.8
- šumar
11, no.68
- sumbolon, sumbola
13, no.24, n.4; 15, no.17, n.5
- Sumer, Sumerian(s)
3, no.21; 5, no.18, n.2
- sumpotos/i (drinking companion)
12, no.42, n.5
- Sun (?? = Mithra)
11, introd.; nos.36; 53–56; 57, n.3
- sundeipnos/i (dining companion(s)), *see also*
homotrapezos/i, homositos/i
12, no.42, n.3; 13, no.26, n.2; 14, no.25
- sungeneis (*propinqui*, ‘kin’)
12, no.5, n.4; 13, no.14, n.2
- Sunrise (*Marirash*; **(H)uvaira*; *sit šamši*)
11, introd., n.7; nos.30, n.3; 53, n.4
- Susa
 Introduction; **ch.1; 3, nos.2, n.2; 3; 4; 5, n.2; 21; fig.3.5(b); 4, nos.9(ii); 11, n.15; 5, nos.1, n.44; 3; 4; 9; 6, nos.2; 8; 16, n.3; 31–33; 40; 41, n.5; 44; 46; 57; 7, introd.; nos.2; 41; 62; 65; 83; 8, no.23, nn.1, 2; 9, nos.21(ii); 22, n.2; 49, n.3; 68; 76; fig.9.5; 10, introd.; nos.29; 30, n.1; fig.10.7; 11, introd.; nos.2, nn.1, 3; 3, n.1; 12; 13(i), (ii)(a); 14, n.4; 19, n.1; 20, n.5; 21, n.2; 25, n.31; 30(iii); 37, n.1; figs.11.2–11.4; 11.9–11.12; 11.20; 12, introd.; nos.3; 10; 25; 32, n.5; 37(ii); 45(i); fig.12.10; 13, nos.2, n.1; 38; 14, introd.; nos.7(ii); 16; 19, n.2; 20(i); 22(ii); 26; 34(i); 35, n.1; 15, introd.; nos.1(i)–(iii), (viii); 3; 5; 20; 22(ii); 16, introd.; nos.9; 12, nn.1, 4; 21; 30, n.2; 36(iii); 42(iii); 56; 57; 59, n.1; 64; fig.16.6; 17, introd.; nos.2; 15(ii); 17; 41, nn.1, 2; fig.17.14**
- šušānu
14, no.31(i), (ii); 16, no.66, n.6
- Susiana, Susian(s), *see also* Elam
9, introd.; 11, nos.36, n.2; 59; 14, nos.2; 34, n.12; 15, no.3; 17, no.1
- Sutekhirdis (ruler in Siwa)
9, no.60, n.8
- Sybaris (Italy)
6, no.44, n.7
- Syennesis (Cilician dynast)
2, no.15; 6, no.38; 9, no.14; 13, no.22(i); 15, no.10; 17, no.21, n.2

- Syleus, Plain of (Chalcidice)
7, no.22
- Syllium (Pamphylia)
10, no.37, n.4
- Syloson (of Samos)
6, introd.; nos.2; 45, n.1
- Syncellus (9. century AD)
9, no.57, n.4
- Syracuse
3, no.17, n.1; **4, no.16**; **6, no.35**, n.7;
7, no.16, n.3; **9, nos.33; 47**
- Syria, Syrian(s)
Introduction; **3, no.23**, n.21; **5, no.4**,
n.3; **7, no.77**, n.2; **8, nos.6; 10; 9**,
introd.; nos.16, n.2; **66; 69; 75; 10**,
introd.; nos.12, n.7; **17; 18; 24; 25**;
26, n.9; **11, nos.2; 20(iv)**; **21**, n.14;
22; 25; 42, n.1; **12, no.46(iii)**; **14**,
no.2; 15, introd.; nos.10(ii); **11; 16**,
introd.; nos.30, n.1; **40; 66(iii)**; **17**,
nos.34, n.5; **fig.17.14**
- Syrian Gates
15, no.10(ii)
- Syrians (= Cappadocians)
3, no.13; **6, no.33**; **11, no.25**; **13**,
no.36; **14, no.2**
- Syria-Palestine
3, no.21, n.19; **11, no.13(i)**,
n.9
- Syrmiadae (Thracian group)
6, no.9
- Syrphax (Ephesian leader)
10, no.36
- Syrtas, s. Datames (1)
13, nos.35, n.4; **36**
- Syspiritis (Armenia)
14, no.15
- Tabal (Central Anatolia)
11, no.25, n.54
- Tabalus (Persian governor)
3, no.20
- Tabban (Fars)
17, no.42(i)
- Tabnit of Sidon
13, no.45; **fig.13.6**
- Tabula Capitolina
6, no.29, n.2
- Tachos (Teos)
(1) (f. Nectanebo I)
9, no.65, n.1
(2) (Dd-hr, Egyptian king)
9, introd.; nos.65; 69; 74, n.1;
fig.9.4; **15, no.5**, n.7
(3) (Caro-Memphite)
9, no.63
- Tacitus
10, introd.
- Taenarum, Cape (Taygetus range)
10, no.14
- tage
14, no.1, n.5
- T3-h3p-imw, f. Nectanebo II
9, no.69, n.5
- Tajikistan
Introduction; **2, no.16**, n.6;
11, figs.11.27;
11.28
- Takhmaspada (Takmarshbada)
(1) (Darius I's general)
5, no.1
(2) (apportioner, Fars)
16, no.26(vi)
- Takht-i Kuwad
11, figs.11.27; 11.28
- Takht-i Rustam
4, introd.
- Takht-i Sangin
11, fig.11.28
- Takritain (mod. Ta/ikrit)
2, no.10
- Tall-i Zohak
11, introd., n.1
- Talmish/Talmeshu, *see* Matalubash
- Tamassos (Cyprus)
9, no.50, n.3
- Tamos (Caro-Memphite)
9, nos.8; 53, n.3; **58; 15, no.6**,
n.8
- Tamukkan (Tauka; Taoce, Fars)
16, nos.36(i), (iv), (v); **38**; **fig.16.5**;
17, no.42(i)
- Tanaïs (Don)
6, no.10
- Tanaoxares, *see* Tanyoxarkes
- Tanis (Egypt)
4, no.15, n.5
- Tanofrethor, m. Djedherbes
17, no.38
- Tanyoxarkes (Tanaoxares)
3, nos.35; 36, n.4; **5, nos.5; 8; 8**,
no.20, n.9
- Taoce
(1) *see* Tamukkan
(2) (mod. Borazjan?)
17, nos.42, n.2; **46**
- Tapyrians (N. Iran)
17, fig.17.14
- Tarava (?mod. Tarom, Fars)
5, no.1
- Tarbisu (Assyria)
2, introd.; no.10

- Tarentum (Italy)
6, no.1
- Tarkumuwa (= Datames??)
13, no.36, n.1
- Tarsus
2, no.15, n.6; 9, nos.14; 15; 10, fig.10.7
- Tattannu
 (1) (*rab umma*)
9, no.68
 (2) (archive)
14, no.13, n.13
- tattoo, tattooing, *see* mark, marking
- tauma-
5, no.1, n.45
- Taurians (Scythian tribe)
6, no.10
- Tauron (Macedonian commander)
17, no.2(ii)
- Taurus
 (1) (mountain range, Turkey)
13, no.36; 15, no.3, n.7
 (2) (= Elburz range)
14, no.41
- Taxakis (Scythian king)
6, no.10
- Taxila (Upper Indus)
10, fig.10.7
- tax office, royal (*bit miksu*)
14, no.13
- Tearus (Bunar-hissar river)
6, no.9
- Tegea, Tegean(s) (Peloponnese)
7, no.59; 8, no.16
- Tehran
 Introduction; **2, no.4, n.5; 5, introd., n.2; no.1, n.65; 10, no.32, n.1; 11, no.14, n.1**
- Teichioussa (Miletus)
8, no.28, n.1
- Teispes (Cishpish), ggf. Cyrus II
3, introd.; nos.3; 21; 5, introd.; no.1
- Telesarchus (Samian)
6, no.2
- Teleutias (Spartan commander)
9, no.46
- Tell el-Maskhuta (Egypt)
11, nos.2, n.15; 6, n.1
- Tellias, Telliadae (*seer(s)*)
7, no.58, n.7
- Tell Tawilan (Jordan)
15, no.32, nn.1, 5
- Telmessus, Telmessian(s)
 (1) (Caria)
3, no.15, n.2
 (2) (Lycia)
3, no.15, n.2
- Tema (mod. Tayma, Saudi Arabia)
3, no.23
- Tempe, Pass of (Thessaly)
7, no.15, n.2
- Tenedos (Aegean island)
6, nos.47; 48; 10, nos.12; 20, n.12
- Tennes (Tabnit II(?) of Sidon)
9, no.75
- Tenos (nr. Delos)
6, no.54(i); 7, no.42
- 'tenure (hold in)', 'share (of property)', *see* MHŠN
- Teos, Tean(s) (Ionia)
3, no.20; 6, no.43
- Tepe Nush-i Jan
2, introd.; figs.2.1–2.3
- Terenouthis (Egypt)
14, no.10, n.1
- Teres (founder, Odrysian kingdom)
8, no.16
- Teritouchmes, s. Hydarnes
12, nos.33; 38(ii)
- Termilae/es (= Lycians)
16, no.28, n.3; 17, no.33
- Teucer, Teucrian(s)
6, no.38; 9, no.48, n.2
- Teuthrania (Troad)
7, no.82
- Thales of Miletus
2, no.15; 3, no.13
- Thamanians (E. Iran)
14, nos.2; 40
- Thamneria (Media)
8, no.37
- Thapsacus (= Tapsuhu?)
9, no.18, n.1; 10, nos.15; 26, n.10; 15, introd.; nos.8(ii); 11
- Thasos, Thasian(s)
6, nos.21; 23(i); 46; 50, n.1; 7, introd.; no.75; 14, no.25
- Thebe (Hellespontine Phrygia)
9, no.39
- Thebes, Theban(s)
 (1) (Greece)
7, nos.14; 31; 53, n.3; 55; 56; 58; 60; 9, introd.; nos.47, n.7; 69, n.3; 70, n.1; 75; 77; 10, no.9, n.6; 11, no.29(ii)
 (Theban Delium) **6, no.54(ii)**
 (2) (Egypt)
4, no.10(i); 6, fig.6.4; 11, no.2, n.9
- Themistocles
4, no.9, n.4; 7, introd.; nos.32; 40, n.2; 43; 50; 61, n.10; 63; 69; 8, no.3,

- nn.1, 2; 11, **no.29(i)**; 13, **introd.**;
nos.12; 40; 41, n.3; 14, **introd.**;
no.42, n.2; 15, **no.18**; 17, **nos.13; 23**
- Theodorus of Samos
11, no.30(iv); 16, **introd.**
- Theomestor, tyrant of Samos
7, no.61; 13, **no.18(ii)**
- Theopompus of Chios
9, nos.48, n.2; 51, n.6; 56, n.3; 61,
n.1; 11, **introd.**; **no.27**, n.1
- Thera (S. Turkey)
10, no.13
- Therme, Thermaic Gulf (N. Greece)
7, nos.24; 25; 49(ii); 15, **no.12**,
n.5
- Thermopylae
7, nos.25; 29–31; 33; 35, n.2; **42; 43**,
n.8; **64; 8, no.6**; 13, **no.2**, n.4
- Thersander of Orchomenus
17, no.18
- Thespieae, Thespian(s) (Boeotia)
7, nos.14; 42
- Thessaly, Thessalian(s)
6, no.26; 7, **introd.**; **nos.9; 14; 15; 26;**
28; 31; 37; 45; 46; 49(ii); 52; 60; 9,
nos.7; 80, n.1; 14, **no.2**
- Thetis, m. Achilles
11, no.48
- Thettalion (Sidonian courtier)
9, no.75
- Thibron (Spartan general)
7, no.82; 9, **nos.29; 30**, n.1; 44
- Thonis (Egypt)
14, no.10, n.1
- Thoth (Egyptian god)
10, no.39; 15, **no.29**, n.1
- Thrace, Thracian(s) (Skudra(?))
3, nos.20; 28, n.6; **6, introd.**; **nos.9;**
12; 14, n.1; **17; 18; 21; 22; 25; 28; 30**,
n.2; 39, n.2; **42**, n.4; **47; 48; 51; 7,**
introd.; **nos.9**, n.2; 11, nn.1, 2; 17,
n.1; **22; 46**, n.1; **48**, n.2; **49(i)**; **60; 66;**
70; 75; 81; 88; **fig.7.2**; 8, **nos.11**, n.1;
16; 18, n.3; 24, n.4; 31, n.1; 9, **nos.7;**
80, n.1; 10, **introd.**; **nos.10; 25**, n.5;
11, **nos.2; 4; 12; 16; 25; 47**, n.1; 13,
no.23, n.3; 14, **no.25**, n.1; 16,
no.36(iv); 17, **no.2(ii)**
- Thrasybulus (Athenian general)
9, no.46, n.3
- Thucydides
ch.1; **6, nos.8**, n.1; 29, nn.1, 3; 31,
n.4; **7, nos.65**, n.2; **66**, n.16; **67**, n.2;
70, n.3; **73**, n.6; **75**, n.1; **8, introd.**;
nos.6, nn.1, 14; 7, nn.1, 7, 8, 11; 9,
n.10; 11, n.3; 17, nn.4, 6; 18, nn.1, 5;
24, n.1; 26, n.2; 28, n.5; 29, n.1; 17,
no.13, n.2
- Th(u)ys (Otys; Cotys; Gyes, Paphlagonian
chief)
9, no.39; 13, no.36; 17, no.37
- Thybarnae (Lydia)
9, no.37
- Thymbrium (Phrygia)
9, no.12, n.1
- Thymondas, s. Mentor
10, no.12
- tiara, *see also* kidaris
7, nos.48; 73; 11, nos.22; 25; 61;
fig.11.25; 13, nos.1(ii); 41
- Tibareni (Central Anatolia)
11, no.25; 14, no.2
- Tibethes (eunuch)
5, no.5
- Tiglath-pileser III (Assyrian king)
2, introd.; **no.1**
- Tigra (Armenia)
5, no.1
- Tigranes
(1) (s. Artabanus (1))
7, nos.24, n.3; **61; 11, no.25**
(2) (active 390s–360s(?) in Asia Minor)
9, no.44
- Tigris
Introduction; **2, nos.10; no.16**, n.8; 3,
introd.; **nos.1; 21; 28; 5, no.1; 6,**
no.44; 9, nos.20, n.4; 21, nn.2, 3; 10,
nos.26; 29, n.1; **fig.10.7; 15, nos.3; 8,**
nn.11, 13; 13, n.1; 17, **nos.6**, n.1; 17
- Tikra(nu)sh (Fars)
11, no.21(ii)
- Til Barsip (mod. Tell Ahmar)
15, no.8, n.5
- Timagoras (Athenian ambassador)
13, no.20(ii)
- Tiribazus (governor in Armenia & general in
Asia Minor)
9, nos.44; 45, n.4; **47; 52; 53**, n.3; **56;**
63; 72; 11, nos.33(i); 34, nn.1–3; 12,
no.48(i); 13, **nos.16(i)**; 31; 32, n.2;
36, n.5; 17, **no.22**
- Tiridates
(1) (abbr. Tiriya; in receipt of flour,
Persepolis region)
16, no.52
(2) (governor of Persepolis)
10, no.30(iii), (iv)
- Tissaphernes
7, no.82, n.1; **8, introd.**; **nos.25–30;**
31, n.1; 32, n.8; 33; 34, n.7; 9,
introd.; **nos.1; 4**, n.6; **5; 7; 8**, n.4; 9;
23(i); 24–28; 30; 32; 33; 35; 36, n.4;

- 37; 38; 48, n.2; 53, n.3; 58; fig.9.2;
11, no.18, n.7; 12, nos.38, n.11;
46(i); 47(i); 16, no.66(i); 17, no.20
- tithe, tenth
14, nos.1; 10; 12
- Tithraustes
(1) (commander at Eurymedon)
7, no.73
(2) (commander in Asia Minor, 395)
9, nos.38; 39; 62; 13, no.36
- Tlos (Caria)
14, no.12
- Tmolus (mod. Boz Dağ, W. Turkey)
3, nos.14, n.1; 15; 6, no.35
- Tomyris (queen of Massagetae)
3, no.34; 6, no.6, n.1
- Torone (Chalcidice)
7, nos.24; 49(ii)
- Trachis (N. Greece)
7, nos.29; 30; 37; 42
- Tralles (Ionia)
9, no.17, n.3; 10, no.10, n.1
- translate(d), translation, translator
16, introd.; 17, introd.; no.30, nn.1, 8
- treasure, treasury, treasurer, *see* ga(n)za-, ganzabara
- Treasury(-building, Persepolis)
11, no.11, n.5; fig.11.29
- tribute, *see also* baji-; MNDT
14, nos.1, n.9; 2; 27; 29; 30; 33; 40
- Triopium (Caria)
10, no.13
- Tripolis (Phoenicia)
9, no.75, n.4; 10, no.16; fig.10.7
- Tritantaichmes, *see also* Tigranes
(1) (s. of Artabanus(1))
7, no.24
(2) (satrap of Babylonia, s. Artabazus (3))
14, no.27
- Troad, Troy, Trojan(s), Trojan War, Teucrian(s)
6, nos.20; 38; 7, introd.; nos.19, nn.1, 2; 66, nn.1, 10, 13; 81; 82, nn.2-5; 9, no.35, n.5; 10, nos.7; 9, n.8; 13, no.36; 14, no.2, n.7; 17, no.36(ii)
- Troezen, Troezenian(s) (Argolid)
7, nos.25; 39; 61
- Tshetres (southern district, Egypt)
14, no.14; 17, no.32
- Tsikhiagora, Iberia
17, fig.17.3
- tukta
11, no.64
- tunavant-
11, no.17; 13, no.1, n.1
- Turkan (Fars)
16, no.42, n.2
- Turkey, Turkish, *see also* Anatolia, Asia Minor
Introduction; ch.1; 2, introd.; 3, no.15, n.2; 4, introd.; 6, introd.; 10, no.12, n.12; fig.10.7; 11, introd.; nos.29, n.5; 36, n.1; 14, fig.14.1; 17, figs.17.9; 17.10
- Turkmenistan
Introduction; 2, no.17, n.3; 5, no.1, n.81
- Turrukurtish/Shirrukurtish (Fars)
16, no.5
- Tuthmosis III
11, no.21, n.14; 16, fig.16.7
- Tyre, Tyrian(s)
9, nos.48, n.2; 52; 10, introd.; nos.18; 19; 21, nn.1, 5, 9; 22; figs.10.3; 10.7; 13, no.16(ii); fig.13.4; 17, introd., app.
- Tyrodiza (Thrace)
6, no.25
- Udarakka (Fars)
16, no.42, n.2
- Udjahorresne(t)
4, no.11; fig.4.2; 9, no.78(ii); 13, no.21, n.2
- Ugarit, Ugaritic
13, no.45, n.10; 14, no.10, n.14
- ulhi
5, no.1, n.29; 12, no.29, n.10; 16, introd.; nos.50; 51
- Umakishtar, *see* Cyaxares
- Umiyashsha (Fars)
16, no.42, n.2
- Umman-manda
2, introd.; nos.10; 11; 3, no.21
- Ummanush (>Ummanunu, Martiya)
5, no.1, n.44
- Unsak
13, no.25; 16, no.22
- Upper Satrapies
8, no.2, n.2; 9, introd.; no.51; 10, no.28
- Ur
(1) (city, Babylonia)
3, nos.6, n.3; 21; 22, n.4; 5, no.1, n.104; 10, no.30, n.2
(2) (Ur III dynasty/period)
10, no.26, n.7; 16, no.26, n.10
- Urاندush (= Mirandu(?), Fars)
16, introd.; nos.25; 26, n.2; 51, n.1; 54, n.1
- Urartu, Urartian
Introduction; 2, nos.2, n.4; 10; 5, no.1, n.2; 13, n.4; 11, no.13(ii)(b)

- Urmia, Lake
2, nos.2, n.4; 4, n.4; 9, no.67, n.2
- Uruk
3, nos.1; 23, n.23; 7, no.91, n.3; 8, no.36; 10, introd.; no.4, n.7; 12, introd., n.7; 14, nos.24; 31(ii); 38; 15, no.26, nn.1, 2
- Ushsharash (district, Fars)
16, no.48
- Ushtana/i/u, *see* Hystanes
- Utian(s), *see* Uxian(s)
- Uxian(s)
10, no.30, n.1; fig.10.7; 11, no.25; 14, no.2; 17, introd.; nos.1; 2; figs.17.1; 17.14
- Uyama (Armenia)
5, no.1
- Uzbekistan
 Introduction; **2, no.16, n.6; 17, no.11, n.2**
- Uzikurrash (Fars)
12, no.40(iv)
- Vahyazdata
5, introd.; app.; no.1; 11, introd.
- Valerius Maximus
8, no.20, n.17
- Van, Lake
 Introduction; **7, introd.**
- Varfish (Viraftha-, Persian noble)
16, no.70
- Varuvahya (Persian noble)
14, no.35; 16, no.70, n.2
- Vaumisa (Darius I's general)
5, app.; no.1
- 'Verse Account'
3, nos.21, n.6; 24, n.5; 25, n.5; 26, n.2
- Vidarna, *see* Hydarnes(1)
- Vidranga (Mitranka)
 (1) (Persian commander, S. Egypt)
9, no.59; 17, no.32
 (2) (in Fars bureaucracy)
16, no.37(i)
- Vindafarna, s. Vahyasparuva, *see* Intaphernes
- Vishpauzati (Parthia)
5, no.1
- Vishtaspa, *see* Hystaspes
- vith-
5, no.1, nn.29; 112; 8, nos.4, n.4; 23, n.4; 11, nos.1, n.6; 7, n.4; 17, n.5; 16, no.50, n.1
- Vivana (satrap of Arachosia)
5, app.; no.1
- Vulci, Etruria
3, fig.3.3
- wab-priest(s)
4, no.14; 9, no.78; 10, no.39; 14, no.14; 17, no.30
- Wadi
 (1) Natrun
14, nos.10, n.61; 30, n.6
 (2) Hammamat
14, no.17, n.1
- Wadjet (Egyptian goddess)
4, no.15
- Wahibre (scribe-translator)
17, no.30
- Warpalawas (king of Tyana, Central Anatolia)
11, no.25, nn.37, 51
- way-station(s), *see* stathmos/i
- Wenamun (local ruler, Siwa)
9, no.65, n.7
- Wennofer (Onnophris, doctor)
9, no.69, n.7
- West Semitic
14, no.9, n.9; 15, nos.15, n.4; 27, n.13; 16, nos.30, n.1; 69, nn.2, 4
- White Castle/Fort (Leukon Teichos, Egypt)
8, nos.6; 7; 14, no.2
- White Shore (Leukos Limen, Thrace)
6, no.25
- winged disc
11, introd.; figs.11.11; 11.14; 11.25; 11.29; 11.37; 11.44–11.46
- wooden writing tablet(s)
15, no.20; 16, introd.
- WRŠBR, maršaparra, *varša-barra- (?groom; ?official; ?forester; ?nurseryman; ?tenant farmer)
12, no.29, n.8; 14, no.37, n.3
- Xanthippus (Athenian admiral)
7, nos.52; 66
- Xanthus (Lycia)
8, nos.28, n.4; 29, n.1; fig.8.4; 9, no.4, n.6; 14, no.12; 17, no.33; fig.17.7
- Xenagoras
 (1) (author of *Chronicles*)
6, no.42
 (2) (s. Praxilaus)
7, no.80
- xenia, xe(i)nos/i, proxenos
4, no.10, n.8; 6, no.31, n.3; 7, nos.23, n.1; 48, n.3; 51; 8, no.24(i); 12, no.48, n.4; 13, nos.17, n.3; 29(i); 15, no.17
- Xenias of Parrasia
9, nos.1; 17
- Xenocles (Spartan commander)
9, no.37
- Xenophilus (treasurer)
11, no.30(iii)

Xenophon

ch.1; 2, introd.; 3, nos.11; 33, n.3; 35, nn.3, 8; 36, n.1; 7, nos.17, n.3; 20, n.6; 77, n.1; 82, n.4; 8, introd.; nos.19, n.8; 32, nn.5, 8; 33, n.1; 9, introd.; nos.3, n.3; 14, n.1; 23, n.2; 25, n.4; 27, n.1; 35, n.5; 39, nn.13, 20; 42, n.3; 43, n.4; 11, introd.; nos.18, nn.1, 2, 7; 20, nn.1, 3; 21, nn.9, 10; 22, nn.1, 15, 17, 18; 23, nn.1, 3; 24, n.4; 28, n.5; 32, n.1; 52, n.1; 57, n.3; 58, n.3; 12, nos.5, n.1; 6, n.1; 7, n.1; 12, n.1; 15, n.3; 47, n.7; 13, introd.; no.9, nn.1–3; 15, introd.; no.6, nn.1, 7; 16, nos.66, nn.2, 5; 71; 17, introd.; nos.4, n.1; 6, n.1; 12(i) *Anabasis*, **ch.1; 9, introd.; no.8, n.2; 16, introd.
Education of Cyrus (Cyropaedia), **ch.1; 2, nos.18, n.2; 19; 3, nos.16, n.5; 20, n.5; 21, n.19; 24, n.7; 33; 5, no.5, nn.2, 6**
Hellenica, **ch.1; 8, no.35, n.2; 9, nos.4, n.1; 8, n.2; 40, n.4****

Xerxes ('Ahasuerus')

(1) (I)

Introduction; **ch.1; 3, fig.3.5(a); 4, no.16, n.4; 5, introd.; no.1, nn.4, 5; 6, introd.; nos.23(ii); 24–26; 28; 31, n.4; 38, n.1; 47, n.2; 58, n.1; 59, nn.5, 6; 7, introd.; nos.1–14; 15, nn.1, 2; 16, n.3; 17–25; 27–33; 35; 36, n.1; 38–49(i); 50, n.2; 51; 53, n.1; 58; 60, n.3; 61; 62; 64–66; 70; 73; 76–78; 80; 82, nn.3, 6; 83–90; 91, n.3; 92; figs.7.1; 7.4; 7.6; 8, introd.; nos.1, nn.2, 4; 2, n.1; 4–6; 7, n.2; 9, nn.4, 11; 18; 22, n.2; 23(ii); 9, nos.2; 35, n.5; 38, nn.4, 6; 62, n.1; 73; 79, n.3; 10, introd.; nos.4, n.4; 7, n.5; 8, n.8; 11, introd.; nos.12, n.9; 13(i), n.5; nos.17; 18, n.1; 19, n.2; 20(iii); 21, n.9; 24; 25; 30(i); 37; 46; 47, n.1; 53; 64; figs.11.3(a); 11.15; 11.29; 12, nos.1; 4; 16, n.1; 20; 21, n.2; 26; 29, nn.2, 13; 32, n.3; 36; fig.12.1(a); 13, introd.; nos.16(ii); 18(i); 20(i); 29(i); 30, nn.1, 2; 45, n.13; 14, nos.2, n.1; 10, n.1; 25; 31, n.12; 15, nos.12(iv); 20; 21(i); 27; 16, introd.; nos.12, n.1; 35, n.1; 62, n.1; 67, n.1; fig.16.4; 17, nos.13; 16; 17; 23, n.1; 25; 36, n.6**

(2) (II)

8, introd.; nos.19; 20; 22

Yabatamru (Babylonia)

15, no.26

Yahdunlim of Mari

11, no.53, n.4

Yahohanan (high-priest, Jerusalem)

17, no.32

Yahweh/Yahu/o

ch.1; 3, no.26; 7, no.89, nn.1, 2; 15, no.28; 17, introd.; no.32

yasht

11, nos.35, n.6; 59, n.6; 63, n.3

yaud-

7, no.88, n.6

Yauna ('the Ionian')

16, nos.13; 30

Yedoniah (head of Jewish community, Elephantine)

17, nos.31; 32

Yehud

14, no.28

Yutiya (Fars)

5, no.1

Zab, River(s) (Upper & Lower: Zabatas)

2, no.10; 15, no.3

Zagros

Introduction; **2, introd.; nos.2, n.4; 4, n.5; 17, n.1; 3, nos.2, n.2; 28, n.5; 6, introd.; 7, nos.29, n.3; 87, n.1; 10, fig.10.7; 11, nos.15, n.4; 25, n.38; 15, no.3, n.11; 16, no.41, n.4; 17, introd.; no.6, n.1; fig.17.1**

Zakrute/i (Zagros)

2, no.2(iii)

Zamban (E. Tigris)

3, no.21

Zamua (Zagros)

2, introd.

Zappi (Fars)

16, no.38

Zarin/s (Drangiana)

11, fig.11.40; 12, no.38(ii)

Zarina (Scythian queen)

3, no.8, n.5

zazakku, 'royal secretary'

3, no.23; 5, no.1, n.31

Zazana/u (Babylonia)

5, no.1

Zelea (Hellespontine Phrygia)

10, nos.8(i); 12, n.2; 10, no.15, n.1

Zendan(-i Suleiman, Pasargadae)

3, fig.3.5(a); 11, no.63, n.3; figs.11.48; 11.50; 14, no.10, n.46

Zenis of Dardanus

17, no.35

GENERAL INDEX

- Zenon Archive
14, no.10, n.46
- Zeriya (šatammu)
3, no.23
- Zeugma (on Euphrates)
10, no.15, n.1
- Zeus
3, nos.17; 33, n.2; **36; 4, nos.10(i); 16; 6, nos.2; 4; 10; 13; 33; 38; 7, nos.28; 46; 49(i); 8, no.12; 11, nos.22; 24; 35; 36; 13, no.41; 17, nos.36(i); 37**
- Zishshawish (Cicavahush = Tithaeus?; Tithraustes?)
 (1) (deputy of Parnaka(1))
11, no.68(i); fig.11.44; 13, no.26(iii); 16, introd. nos.12; 36(iii); 42(ii); 45
- (2) (in receipt of hides, Fars)
16, no.26(iv), (v)
- Zishundush (in receipt of cult, Narezzash)
11, no.45, n.3
- Zopyrus
 (1) (reign of Darius I)
3, no.37; 7, nos.7; 24, n.6; **13, no.11**, n.1
- (2) (s. Megabyzus)
8, nos.10; 15
- Zoroaster, Zoroastrian(ism)
11, introd., n.4
- Zuza (Armenia)
5, no.1